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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 1.

## A NOTE ON THE IMPERSONAL PRONOUN IN OLD HIGH GERMAN

The use of the impersonal *es* in the history of the German language was a secondary development and did not gain very much ground, so far as our literary monuments allow us to infer, until the Middle High German period. In Old High German the use of the impersonal pronoun (*iz*) was extremely limited both as subject and as object of the verb. It is the purpose of this article to treat the syntactical development of this indefinite pronoun in Old High German with special reference to its use as object of the verb; tracing the transition of the pronoun object from its purely personal to its purely impersonal construction in which the pronoun denotes merely the abstract idea of the verbal action.<sup>1</sup> References will be made also to Middle High German, insofar as the M. H. G. construction is connected with the earlier syntax of the language.

The first and original use of the pronoun *es* was entirely personal, representing some substantive singular of the same gender and did not, therefore, differ in any respect from the use of the masculine or feminine pronouns. The Gothic, just as the Latin and Greek, usually omitted the personal pronoun in the nominative case, except where especial emphasis was necessary,

jah waiwûn windôs jah bistugqun bi þamma razna  
jainamma jah ni draus. *Matth.* 7, 25.

<sup>1</sup> BIBLIOGRAPHY: Curme, Geo. O., *A Grammar of the German Language*, New York, 1905, pp. 347-352. Erdmann, Oscar, *Grundzüge der Deutschen Syntax*, Stuttgart, 1866. Erdmann, Oscar, *Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otfriids*, Halle, 1874. Grimm, Jacob, *Deutsche Grammatik IV* (Neuer Abdruck, Gütersloh, 1898, p. 257 ff.). Grimm, Jacob, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, III, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 1116-1125. Paul, Hermann, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, Halle, 1898 (4th ed. 1909), § 91. Wilmanns, Wilhelm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, III, 2, Strassburg, 1909, § 237. Wunderlich, Hermann, *Der Deutsche Satzbau*, III, Stuttgart, 1901, 243 ff.

(Not, jah *ita* ni draus, *ita* = *razna*.) But in O. H. G. the neuter pronoun singular was most often used in such a case. Tatian (43, 1) translates the same passage *Matth.* 7, 25, using the neuter pronoun singular which is omitted in the Gothic:

inti anafielun in thaz hûs, inti *iz* fiel.

(Cf. Luther: stiessen an das Haus, da fiel *es*.) The same use of the personal pronoun *ez* appeared regularly in M. H. G. (except perhaps in cases of 'Ersparung der Rede,'<sup>2</sup> where like any pronoun it may be inferred from the context of the lines immediately preceding):

ûfz pfert er saz, *ez* truoc in kûme fürbaz. *Parz.* 534, 18.

Similarly the accusative of the personal pronoun *es* represented originally a neuter substantive. The accusative was less often omitted in the older dialects than was the nominative, even the Gothic being generally unable to dispense with it:

jabai augô þein þata táihs wô marzjai þuk,  
usstigg ita (*ita* = *augô*). *Matth.* 5, 29,

which T. likewise translates: "arwirph *iz* fon thir," T, 28, 2. So in M. H. G.,

Sigelint diu rîche nâch alten siten pflic  
durh ir sunes liebe teilen rôtez *golt*.  
si kunde'z wol gedienen. *Nib.* 40, 4.

where *ez* = *golt*.

The first step towards the use of the impersonal *es* was to represent, instead of a neuter substantive, a neutral idea implied in a substantive previously mentioned, with which the pronoun often cannot agree in gender and number. In O. H. G., O. I. I. 6 ff.:

ôugdun iro kléini in thes tîhtonnes reini.  
Iz ist ál thuruh nôt so kleino girédinot,  
iz dúnkal eigin fúntan, zisamane gibúntan.

*iz* in both lines (7, nom., 8, acc.) has direct reference to *thes tîhtonnes* in the preceding line 6. As the author proceeds, however, the particular idea expressed in *thes tîhtonnes* becomes the gen-

<sup>2</sup> Paul, *M. H. D. Grammatik*, § 381.

eral theme of discussion so that only the general idea of 'writing poetry' is kept in mind. This general idea is represented by *iz*, occurring repeatedly in the subsequent lines (ll. 13, 14, 15 *iz machout*; l. 15, *iz ist gifuagit*; l. 21, *duent iz*; l. 23, *eigun sie iz bithenkit*, etc.). After the substantive *thes tih-tonnes* itself became lost in the linguistic consciousness, *iz* was used referring to 'whatever one writes,' a neutral idea which had its inception in the substantive in question; so l. 37,

Íli thu zi nóte theiz scóno thoh gilute

and l. 39,

Tház tharana singe, *iz* scóno man ginenne.

Similarly in r. r. 9, 10,

Sie ouh in thfu gisagetin, thaz then thio búah nirmábetin.  
joh wól ersih firwésti, then lésan *iz* gilústi.

*Iz* (acc. object of *lesan*) refers to the neutral idea implied in the preceding line, in *thio buah* which expresses the same general idea as the substantive *thes tih-tonnes*.

want her dô arme wuntane bougá,  
cheisuringu gitân . . .  
dat ih dir ú nu bi huldî gibu. *Hildebr.* 35.

(ich schwöre), 'dass ich *es* dir nun aus Freundschaft gebe.' It refers to *wuntane bougá* (l. 37), 'a pair of golden bracelets' which Hildebrand has unwound from his arm and presents to his son in token of friendship.<sup>3</sup>

So too in M. H. G., *ez* may refer to a neutral idea implied in a substantive previously used, as, for instance,

*Disiu selben mære* gehôrte Sigemunt  
*ez* reiten sine liute: dâ von wart im kunt  
.  
.  
*Ez* gevriesc ouch Sigelint, des edelen küneges wip.  
*Nib.* 50, 1, 2, 51, 1.

*Ez* in these lines refers to the general idea implied in *disiu selben mære* with which it cannot agree both in gender and number since the substantive is plural while the pronoun is singular.

In both cases we have the beginnings of *iz* used to represent a neutral idea implied in a substantive previously used. The next step in the development of the impersonal use of *iz* was to repre-

sent a neutral idea (very often a clause, sometimes a verb, etc.) implied in the context without referring to a substantive. For instance in O. H. G., O. *An Hartmut*, l. 24,

thar thultent bēh filu hēiz so ih iz ālleswio ni wēiz,

*iz* refers to the neutral idea implied in 'thar thultent bēh filu hēiz,' namely, 'their suffering the pangs of hell.' Similarly in O. *an Hartmut*, l. 105,

Óba thu es begīnnis, in búachon thu iz fīndis,

*iz* refers to the neutral idea implied in the previous lines in which Otfrid has given an account of the lives of those men who were beloved of God. *Iz* comes, then, to represent the general subject under discussion and is equivalent to 'das von mir Erzählte,' *iz* = *the thing of which I have been speaking*.

joh ób *iz* zi thfu wurti, thaz blúat iru firstúlti.

O. III, 14, 22.

*Iz* refers to the neutral idea implied in *zi thiū* which, in turn, represents a thought previously mentioned in line 18 (thaz siu inan biruarti), 'if it (cf. l. 18, that she could touch the hem of his garment) should be brought to pass, then (she thought to herself that) her blood would stop flowing.' Cf. O., I, 2, 19, "ob *iz* zi thiū thoh gigéit."

Similarly in M. H. G., *ez* may also represent a neutral idea without referring to a neuter substantive,

'nu versprich *ez* niht ze sêre,' sprach aber ir muoter dô.  
*Nib.* 16, 1.

*Ez* refers to the substance of the preceding stanza (15) in which Kriemhild has sworn never to wed.

der wirt der bat *ez* lâzen. *Nib.* 36, 1.

*Ez* refers to the various activities of the tournament described in the preceding stanza.

In these cases the impersonal pronoun represents a neutral idea previously implied in the sentence but it may also (both in the nom. and acc.) often refer to some neutral idea which is to follow; for instance, O. *an Ludwig*, 21,

Óba *iz* uuard iowánne in not zi féhtanne,

*iz* refers to the neutral idea expressed in the subsequent clause *in not zi féhtanne*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wunderlich, *Satzbau*, II, 244.

In hímilríches scóne so wérde iz iu zi lóne  
mit géltés ginúhti, thaz fr mir datut zúhti,  
O. *an Sal.*, 21, 22.

*iz* refers to the subsequent clause introduced by *thaz*. Similarly :

iz ist in álanáhi, tház thu nan gisáhi. O. *III*, 20, 177.

Likewise,

So er thára iz tho gifíarta, er thesa wórolt ziarta,  
O. *II*, 1, 29.

*iz* refers to the neutral idea expressed by the following clause introduced by *er*. Cf. O. *III*, 14, 24 ; 21, 5. 19 ; v, 19, 34.

Similarly in M. H. G., *ez* often refers to a neutral idea expressed in a subsequent clause :

er 'nbôt ez froun Uoten und ir tohter wol getân  
daz si mit ir mageden hin ze hove solde gân.  
*Nib.* 275. 3. 4.

Not only was the neuter pronoun in its impersonal function less often used in the nominative case in O. H. G. than in M. H. G., but its use in the accusative case was still less frequent. This was especially true where *iz* represented not some neutral idea previously mentioned or about to follow but simply the abstract verbal idea itself. In O. H. G. the linguistic material is so limited that it is impossible to follow this development satisfactorily, but in M. H. G. we find that the impersonal *ez* represented more often some particular situation in question rather than merely the abstract verbal idea. Then from this particular situation the *ez* very often went over into the mere abstract verbal notion ; the particular idea being entirely lost in the linguistic consciousness. Almost all such verbs with *ez* had reference to some particular situation involved in the verbal action in which the medieval customs of dancing, jousting, singing, drinking, etc., played an extensive rôle.<sup>4</sup> The original significance of the verbal action with reference to these customs was, in the course of time, lost in the linguistic consciousness and thus passed over into an entirely abstract notion. For instance, *ez triben* meant originally *das Spiel, den Ball treiben*, 'to drive or move the ball in some kind of game.' Then it passed over into the general notion of *moving* or *acting*, the *ez* originally

referring to some particular thing (such as a *ball*) but in course of time came to denote solely the abstract verbal idea. Thus the metaphor of the game came to denote *action in general*,

es hátz getriben wol zehen jár. *Wigal.* 113, 12,  
so also in N. H. G.,

Ja, es ist ohne Beispiel, wie sie's trieben. *Tell* 541.

(Cf. M. H. G. *ez walken, ez rüeren, ez heben*, etc.) Sometimes the *ez* in M. H. G. retained its original particular significance but most often passed over into the mere abstract notion, which is almost universally the case in N. H. G. Many such M. H. G. expressions, especially such as had direct reference to the customs and civilizations of the Middle Ages, have been lost in N. H. G., while many have developed since the M. H. G. period. (Cf. N. H. G. *es davon tragen, es aufnehmen mit*, etc.)

In M. H. G. the indefinite object *ez* generally referred to some particular thing connected with the medieval customs above mentioned, but there are a few cases in which *ez* did not refer to any particular thing which the speaker had in mind but to things in general,<sup>5</sup> thus representing the mere abstract verbal idea, for instance :

1. *ez lesen* : to read,<sup>6</sup>

ein riter, der gelêret was  
unde ez an den buochen las. *Iw.* 22.

2. *ez slâfen* : to sleep,

wir haben ez lange geslâfen. *Fundgr.* II, 303, 12.

3. *ez friden* : to make peace, become reconciled,

swie gern ichz friden wolte, der künec entuot es niht.  
*Nib.* 2073, 3.

4. *ez enden* : to end 'it' ; finish,

und wil dirz helfen enden, sô ich allerbeste kan.

*Nib.* 54, 3.

It is very probable that this impersonal *ez* in M. H. G., both as representative of some particular thing in connection with the verbal action (as in *ez triben*—*das Spiel, den Ball*) and as denoting solely the abstract verbal idea (as in *ez*

<sup>5</sup> Grimm's *Grammatik*, B. IV, 392 ff.

<sup>6</sup> As this is apparently the only example of *lesen* with the indefinite *ez*, Grimm's interpretation is not assured ; cf. Henrici's edition.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Grimm's *Grammatik*, B. IV, S. 392 ff. ; *DWb.* III, 1118 ff.

*lesen, ez slâfen*) existed in O. H. G., but the scarcity of linguistic material makes it impossible to discover to what extent the construction actually existed. Verbs of the former type in O. H. G. the writer has not been able to collect, and only two cases of the latter type have been found available.<sup>7</sup>

*iz chôsôn* = *loquī, recitāre, to talk, speak,*  
*sô wio ih iz chôsôde. N. Boeth.*

The *iz* here is the cognate object of the verb, denoting the mere abstract verbal idea.

wie mac ter *iz* hevigôr chôsôn. *Graff* 4, 502.

There is one case of *iz* used in O. H. G. to denote the abstract verbal idea which seems to have escaped the notice of philologists. Grimm, for instance, makes no mention of it either in his *Wörterbuch* or his *Grammatik*. The passage in question is found in the *Fragmenta Theotisca*<sup>8</sup> in the first fragment (*Evangelii secundum Matthaeum*), and is a translation of the fifteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of the gospel according to St. Matthew. I shall use this passage as an example in O. H. G. of *iz* used to denote the abstract verbal idea: "incrassatum est enim cor populi huius et auribus graviter audierunt et oculos suos clausuerunt, ne quando videant oculis et auribus audiant," *Matth. XIII, 15*,

arsuillet ist gauisso desero liuteo herzo enti orom suuaro  
 ghortun enti iro augun bislozun, neo iz augom *gasehen*  
 enti orom ni gahorren,

'for this people's heart is waxed gross and their ears are dull of learning, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they *should see* with their eyes and hear with their ears.' The *iz* here is the cognate object of *gasehen* and represents the abstract notion implied in the verbal idea: (inf.) *iz gasehan* = *to see*. That such an *iz* is not at all necessary is shown by the fact that it is almost always omitted in O. H. G. with verbs of this character. In fact, the writer has been able to collect only these two examples in O. H. G., namely: *iz chôsôn*, and *iz gasehan*, in which *iz* represents solely the abstract verbal idea. With *gasehan*, for instance, the *iz* of this character is

elsewhere regularly omitted. Tatian translates the same passage without *iz*<sup>9</sup>:

Githiket ist herza thesses folkes, inti ôrun suarlihho  
 gihôrtun inti iro ougun bisluzun, mîn sie mit ougon  
 sihuuane *gisehen* inti mit ôrun gihôrent.

The verb *iz gasehan* of the *Fragmenta Theotisca* is exactly equivalent to *gasehan* of Tatian without *iz*, and finds its direct parallel in M. H. G. in such verbs as *ez lesen, ez slâfen, ez friden*, etc.

From this brief outline of the use of the pronoun object in O. H. G. it may be inferred that the transition from its purely personal to its purely impersonal use was something as follows:

1. *Iz* used to denote a neuter substantive singular.

T. 28, 2. *oba thîn zesuwâ ouga thih bisuihhê . . .*  
*arwirph iz; iz = ouga.*

2. *Iz* used to denote a neutral idea represented by some substantive implied in the context or previously mentioned with which it *does not* agree both in gender and number.

O. 1, 19, 10: *Sie ouh in thîu gisagetin, thaz then*  
*thio búah nîrsmâhetin.*

*jah wól er sih firwêsti; then lésen iz gilústi.*  
*iz = thio buah.*

3a. *Iz* used to denote a neutral idea implied in the context without reference to a substantive,

O. an Hartmut, 105: *Óba thu es béginnis, in*  
*búachon iz fîndis. iz = das von mir Erzählte.*

3b. This neutral idea may also denote merely the abstract notion of the verbal action. *Fragm. Theot. Matth. XIII, 15,*<sup>10</sup> *neo iz . . . gasehen.*  
 (inf.) *iz gasehan = gasehan.*

It is probable also that even in O. H. G. the impersonal pronoun object represented some particular action in connection with such medieval customs as have been mentioned in connection with certain M. H. G. verbs, and subsequently passed over into the entirely abstract notion (3b) but the scarcity of linguistic material makes any definite conclusion impossible. Certain it is, however, that the impersonal pronoun object had

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *DWb.*, B. III, 1125.

<sup>8</sup> Ediderunt Stephanus Endlicher et Hoffmann Fallersleben: curante Joann. Ferd. Massmann. Wien, 1841, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Sievers' *Tatian*, Paderborn, 1892, 74, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the *Monsee Fragments*, edited by Hench, Strassburg, 1890.

gained great headway in M. H. G. from which most cases in N. H. G. can be directly traced.

The origin of this construction in N. H. G. is a very important study in syntax and deserves a much more searching and thorough investigation than this article affords. There can be no doubt, however, that one instance of this impersonal construction in O. H. G. has been heretofore overlooked by philologists, namely, *iz gasehan* (inf.) which occurs in the *Fragmenta Theotisca* in the passage previously quoted. Such an example is very important in throwing light upon the origin of this construction inasmuch as it is taken from an early period in the history of the language where the linguistic material is so very limited. The examples of the impersonal objects given by Grimm<sup>11</sup> are all taken (with the exception of *iz gifaren*, *iz geban*, *iz chōson* and *iz retten*) from the M. H. G. when the development of the construction had gained considerable progress. The study of the impersonal *iz* in O. H. G., on the other hand, reveals the earliest stages of the impersonal construction and it is quite possible that a careful examination of all the material at hand during this period will bring to light still other examples of *iz* as object of the verb, denoting the abstract verbal idea.

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### THE REFRAINS OF THE *COUR DE PARADIS*<sup>1</sup> AND OF A *SALUT D'AMOUR*<sup>2</sup>

In studying the songs and the refrains of the *Roman de la Violette*<sup>3</sup> and in searching elsewhere for similar lyrics, I found that comparatively little work had been done in grouping refrains of the same type. Work of this nature has been pub-

lished by Jeanroy in his *Origines de la poésie lyrique*, by Gaston Paris in his article on the *chansons* in Huet's edition of the *Rose*,<sup>4</sup> by R. A. Meyer for the motets of the Bamberg, München and Wolfenbüttel manuscripts<sup>5</sup> and by others; but as yet no complete study of the refrains cited by the various romances (*Cléomadès*, *Méliacin*, etc.)<sup>6</sup> has appeared. It is intended that the present article form a chapter of a more complete study embracing all the refrains cited in the longer poems.

#### I

The *Cour de Paradis*, as published by Méon, consists of 625 octosyllabic lines containing eighteen refrains and the liturgical *Te Deum laudamus* (the latter is given with musical notation). The poem may be termed a religious fabliau in which God holds court and the Virgin, the Archangels, the Apostles, the Evangelists, and the Patriarchs sing and dance in the most approved earthly fashion. It belongs to the same class of poems as Rutebeuf's *Voie de Paradis*, Raoul de Houdenc's *Songe d'Enfer*, and such other works as the *Verger de Paradis*, the lively *Salut d'Enfer*, etc. Unlike the *Rose* or the *Violette*, the *Cour de Paradis* offers only refrains of one line each (except one of two lines at line 458). They are introduced at irregular intervals, and are sung chiefly by the characters already mentioned as they come to the Court of Heaven in answer to God's bidding. The poem itself consists of a description of this Court.

The refrains are usually of the same nature as the carols of the *Violette* (the name is there used at line 201). In many, the adaptation of the words to the movement of the dance may be seen, as, for example, in the use of the refrain cited at line 278. If these refrains are the débris of older dance-songs, colored by the aristocratic court poetry, at least the idea of placing them in the mouths of the Patriarchs is novel.

The refrains are given in their order.

1. Je vi d'amor en grant esperance (259)

sung by the Patriarchs. Cf.:

<sup>4</sup> *SATF.*, vol. 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Gesellschaft für rom. Lit.*, XIII, 141 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See G. Paris, *Chansons*, l. c., and Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 116.

<sup>11</sup> *DWb.*, B. III, S. 1116-1125; *Grammatik*, B. IV, S. 392-401.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Barbazan et Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris, 1828, III, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux*, etc., Paris, 1842, II, 235.

<sup>3</sup> See "The Songs of the *Roman de la Violette*" in *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, Baltimore, 1911.

Soufert m'a en esperance  
Mon cuer grant pieça

(Raynaud, *Motets*, I, 54).

Quant chantent oisiaus tant seri  
Seur le gaut folli,

Lors m'est d'un solaz membré  
Que j'ai adés esperé.

Mès a tart vient l'esperance,

Que unques en mon aage

Ne joi d'amors, fors qu'en pensé

(*Motets*, II, 47).

2. Ne vos repentez mie de loiaument amer (270)

sung by the Apostles. This is another typical refrain of the *courtois* poetry. It occurs also in Bartsch, *R. und P.*, p. 280; *Rose*, l. c., l. 2365; *Motets*, II, 133; Dinaux, *Trouvères du nord de la France*, III, 142 (song by Colars li Bouthillier); the *Salut d'amour*, published by P. Meyer in *BECh.*, XXVIII, 155; see also *Gesellschaft für rom. Lit.*, XIII, 158 and 162, and Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 120.

3. Tout ainsi va qui d'amors vit et qui bien aime (728)  
sung by the Apostles. The adaptation of the words to the movement of the dance may be seen. Refrains of this type are common. Cf.:

Ensi va qui bien aime,

Ensi va (*Violette*, 716).

La jus desoz la raime,

Einsi doit aler qui aime.

Clere i sourt la fontaine,

Ya!

Einsi doit aler qui bele amie a.

(*Rose*, 295 ff., and 2505 ff.).

Dex! ensi va qui aime

Ensi va! (*Motets*, II, 58).

Mes fins cuers n'est mie a mi,

Ainz l'a qui bien l'aime (*Motets*, I, 5).

See also Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 392 and 396.

4. Cil doit bien joie mener, qui joie atent des max qu'il sent (287)

sung by the Martyrs. Cf.:

N'onques nul ne les senti

Les maus d'amors si com je[s] sent

(*Motets*, I, 7).

Vileine gent, voz ne les sentés mie

Les doz maus que je sent (*Motets*, I, 77).

This refrain differs, however, in the introduction of the idea of the *vilain*.

Lor doit bien joi mener qui d'amours est espris  
(*Bamberg ms.*, ed. Stimming, l. c., pp. 17 and 150).

There is also a slight similarity to *Renart le Nouvel*, 6727.

5. Je ne fui onques sans amor, ne jà n'iere en ma vie (304)

sung by the Shreven. There is a suggestion of this refrain in the following:

Voi t'an lai qui n'aimme mie,

Voi t'an lai;

N'est pais de no[s] compaignie,

Voi t'an lai qui n'aimme mie,

Ne jai nuns jor de sa vie

N'an serait;

Voi t'an lai qui n'aimme mie.

(*Motets*, II, 25).

6. Sire Diex, la joie qu'avons, biaux pere, el nous vient de vous (311)

sung by the Innocents. This is a variant of:

Amis dous, li malz que j'ai me vient de vous

(*R. und P.*, p. 152).

Cf. also Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 180, and

Ains me dist: 'biaus amis dos,

tote la joie que j'ai

me vient de vos' (*R. und P.*, p. 284).

A similar refrain may also be found in the Berne MS. (*Herrig's Archiv*, XLII, 253).

7. Renvoisiement i vois à mon ami (327)

sung by the Virgins. Cf.:

Renvoisiement i vois a mon ami

Ensin doit on aler a son ami

(*Motets*, II, 49).

The second line of this refrain is similar to that already given at line 278. The refrain does not form a part of a longer song in the *Motets*, but has been preserved alone. In the same collection (II, 129) the refrain also occurs as introducing and ending a motet, the first line serving to introduce and the second to close the piece. Cf. also:

j'anmoins par les dois m'amie,

s'an vois plus mignotemant

(*R. und P.*, p. 145).

Similar refrains may also be found in Keller's *Romvart* (p. 298), and Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 396.

8. Se j'ai amé folement, sage sui, si m'en repent (339)  
sung by the Widows. The entire refrain occurs twice in the *Motets* (II, 47 and 76), the only variant being *saiges* for *sage*. Raynaud divides the

line after *folement*. The last line of the refrain as thus divided occurs also in *Motets*, II, 79.

9. Ensi doit Dame aler à son ami (349)  
sung by the Married Women. This is merely a variant of a refrain found in an anonymous song given by Bartsch :

Ansi va bele dame a son ami (*R. und P.*, p. 33).

This occurs also in an anonymous song given in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, xciv, 84, and is similar to the refrain already cited at line 278.

10. Vos qui amez, traiez en çà, en là qui n'amez mie (380)  
sung by Saint Peter. This seems to be a variant of a refrain given by Bartsch in a brief *romance* :

Belle Alis matin leva,  
sun cors vesti et para ;  
enz un verger s'en entra,  
cink flurettes i trouva :  
un chapelet fet en a  
de rose fleurie.  
'por deu, trahez vous en la  
vus ki ne amez mie.'

(*R. und P.*, p. 209.)

I cite the entire stanza to show how far these refrains have strayed from their original setting. Cf. also :

Traiés vos la, qui n'amés mie par amors  
(*Motets*, I, 171).

11. Tuit cil qui sont enamouraz viengnent danssier, li autre non (400)  
sung by the Virgin and Mary Magdalene. This refrain begins and ends a motet given by Raynaud :

Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat  
Viegnent dançar, li autre non !

(*Motets*, I, 151.)

At the close of the song where the refrain is repeated, *avant* is substituted for *dançar*. The idea of a division of the dancers, doubtless coming from an older carol, renders this refrain similar to that just cited at line 380. For other cases see Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 320 and 394.

12. Je gart le bos que nus n'en port chapel de flors s'il n'aime (414)  
sung by the entire Court. This refrain occurs in a song given by Raynaud and ending :

Ainsi gart la raimé  
Et la flour du bois,  
Si que nus n'en port chapiau de flors, s'il n'aime  
(*Motets*, I, 194).

Jeanroy (*Origines*, p. 395) cites this refrain, but does not mention the occurrence in the *Cour de Paradis*.

13. Qui sui-je donc, regardez-moi et ne me doit-on bien amer ? (430)

sung by the Lord. This refrain was probably at first composed to be placed in the mouth of some girl as she danced the carol. The incongruous setting in the *Cour de Paradis* should be noticed. Raynaud offers two similar refrains :

Vien avant, biaux dous amis,  
Robin, Robin, Robin,  
Esgair con je suix belle ! (*Motets*, II, 7).  
On doit bele dame amer,  
Et s'amours garder  
Cil qui l'a (*Motets*, I, 16).

The original use of refrains of this type may here be seen. The author's realism becomes more pronounced, for :

La sainte Virge douce et pure,  
Prist les pans de sa vestéure  
Et va chantant trestout entor,  
Par reposées :

14. "Agironées depart mes amors, agironées."

The scene is strikingly like that of a medieval festival. This refrain occurs also in the *Châtelaine de Saint-Gille* :

A gironées depart amors, a gironées.  
(Ed. Schultz-Gora, I. 307 ; see also page 14.)

15. Fins cuers amorous et joli,  
Je ne vos vueil metre en oubli (458)

sung by Mary Magdalene. Cf. :

qui amors a, nes doit metre en oubli  
(*R. und P.*, p. 17).

This occurs also in a *chanson de toile* cited in the *Rose*, 5178.

The phrase in the last line of this refrain as cited in the *Cour de Paradis* frequently occurs in other refrains ; cf., for example, *Motets*, I, 218.

16. G'enmain par la main m'amie, s'en vois plus mignotement (470)  
sung by the Lord as he dances with the Virgin Mary. This refrain occurs in several other places. Bartsch gives an anonymous pastourelle ending :

j'anmoins par les dois m'amie,  
s'an vois plus mignotement  
(*R. und P.*, p. 145).

Cf. also :

Je tie[n]g par la main m'amie,  
S'en vois plus mignotement  
(*Motets*, I, 192).

There is also a similarity to :

C'est la jus desoz l'olive,  
Robins enmaine s'amie, etc.  
(*Rose*, 521 ff.)

For the second line, cf. :

Je m'en vois si mignotement (*Motets*, I, 23).

See also Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 396 ; cf. also the type of refrains already cited, ll. 278, 327 and 349.

17. Toz li cuer me rist de joie quant Dieu voi (487)  
sung by all present. Raynaud gives the song of a *mal mariée*, in which the wife sings to her lover :

Touz li cuers me rit de joie  
Quant le voi (*Motets*, I, 130).

Cf. also from a song by Jehans Erars :

Tout li cuer me rit de joie  
Quant la voi  
(Dinaux, *Trouvères du nord de la France*, etc., IV, 458)

where the lover, not the girl, sings the lines. The refrain occurs also in De La Barde, *Essai sur la musique*, II, 188. The refrain of the *Cour de Paradis* is, of course, an adaptation of earlier refrains of this type.

18. J'ai joie ramenée ci (595)  
sung by Saint Michael. This refrain occurs also in a song by Watrquet de Couvins ; see Dinaux, *Trouvères*, l. c., IV, 701. See also the *Tournois de Chauvenci*, l. 1516, and *Renart le Nouvel*, l. 2444.

After attributing the origin of All Souls' Day to this court, the author ends with a prayer and the wish that we may all meet at the Court of Paradise.

## II

The *Salut d'Amour*, published by Jubinal, consists of twenty-nine stanzas of four, five, or seven lines each, always ending with a brief refrain borrowed by the unknown author from the *chansons*. In each stanza the poet assures his lady of his love, but apart from this there is no connection between the stanzas. The *salut d'amour* may be termed a medieval valentine ; it has been defined by Ray-

nouard<sup>1</sup> as *une pièce qui commençait par une salutation à la dame dont le poète faisait l'éloge* ; it has been treated in detail by P. Meyer in the *BECh.*, XXVIII, 124. I give the refrains in their order.

1. Bele, de fin cuer amée, merci.  
This refrain occurs also in the *Motets*, I, 189. Cf. also for the same idea :

Bele, aies de moi merci,  
Car pour vos muir (*Motets*, I, 59).  
Fines amouretes,  
Je voz cri merci (*Motets*, I, 169).

The same idea expressed in the body of the poem may be found in *R. und P.*, pp. 51, 106 and 202.

2. Ci me point une estincele  
Au cuer desouz la mamele.

Cf. :

Ha ! bonne amour, par ta franchise  
En qui j'ai mon entente mise,  
Te pri que la vuelles haster  
Et metre li une estincele  
De ton feu desous la mamele  
Pour embraser (*Motets*, I, 249).

Por poi que ne li part li cuers soz la mamelle  
(*R. und P.*, p. 68).

See also *A. und A.*, xciv, 97.

3. Ahi ! terre d'outremer, vous m'avez trahie.  
I have not found this refrain elsewhere, but the following should be noted :

Perdus sui, et pour voir di  
Qu' amouretes m'ont trahi  
(*Motets*, I, 229).  
He ! amouretes, vous m'avez trahi,  
Se de moi n'aiés pitié ou merci !  
(*Motets*, I, 287).

4. Onques n'amai tant comme je fu amée ;  
Par mon orgueil ai mon ami perdu.  
This occurs also in the *Cour d'amour* (*Ro.*, x, 523). Variants may also be found :

Lasse ! por coi sui je de mère née ?  
Par mon orgueil ai mon ami perdu  
(*Motets*, II, 48).

See also *Hist. lit.*, XXIII, 815.

Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 320, also cites this refrain from Richart le Fournival. Cf. also the following from an anonymous *pastourelle* :

e bone amour, je me mur, ke ferai ?  
par ma follour mon amin perdu ai.  
(*R. und P.*, p. 170).

<sup>1</sup> *Choix*, II, 258.

## 5. Qui va la quoquillète, il va, il va.

This seems to be of the same type as the refrains given by Bartsch in an anonymous *pastourelle* :

va de la dondele, etc.,

and :

va de la doudie, etc.

(*R. und P.*, pp. 202 ff.).

## 6. Lai aler le moine, bele, lai aler le moine.

I have been unable to find either this or the following refrain elsewhere.

## 7. Toute i morrez, Hallé, jà n'aurez ami.

## 8. Hé ! resveille-toi, Robin, quar l'en enmaine Marot.

This occurs in a *pastourelle* by Huitaces de Fontaines (*R. und P.*, p. 270), where the line is divided after *Robin* ; it occurs also in the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, whence Coussemaker (*Oeuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle*, p. 377) reproduces it with the music. Variants may be found in anonymous *pastourelles* given by Bartsch :

mignotement l'en maine

Robins Marot.

(*R. und P.*, p. 215).

e non deu ! Robins enmaine  
bele Mariete.

(*R. und P.*, p. 221).

## 9. Ge n'i voi qui je doie amer fors une.

I have not found this refrain elsewhere.

## 10. Vilaines genz, vous ne les sentez mie

Les dous maus que je sent.

This refrain occurs also in *Motets*, I, 77. See also the refrain given in a song by Colars li Bouthillier (Dinaux, *Trouvères*, l. c., III, 137). The following from the *Rose* (ed. Huet, l. 517) may also be noted :

Vos ne sentez mie les maus d'amer,  
Si com je faz.

Cf. also the refrains cited in Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 394 ff.

11. Tant vous aim que partout m'en dueil :  
Se je muir ce m'ont fet mi oeil.

Many variants of this type occur ; Raynaud gives a song beginning :

Ne m'en blasmés pas, se je m'en duel,

and ending :

Tous les maus ke j'ai m'ont fait mi oel.

(*Motets*, II, 73).

Cf. also :

En regardant m'ont si vair oil  
denez les maus dont je me dueil.

(*Chât. de St. Gille* ; ed. Schultz-Gora, II, 107-108).

Schultz-Gora cites further examples on p. 11 of his edition ; his references, however, are not complete and should be supplemented by the other examples that I have given. Similar refrains may also be found in *Motets*, I, 52, 98 ; II, 4, 11, 29, 117 ; Scheler, *Trouvères belges*, II, 89 ; Coussemaker, *Adam de la Halle*, p. 219.

## 12. La rose m'est donée ; jà ne la perdrai.

Lavoix, in his study, *La musique au siècle de Saint Louis* (Raynaud, *Motets*, II, 411), cites this refrain from the *Mariage des sept arts et des sept vertus*, where it is divided into two lines.

## 13. Par ci va la mignotise par ci où je vois.

This refrain is common. It occurs three times in *Motets* (I, 95, 243 ; II, 16) ; in the first instance the word *Dieu !* introduces the refrain ; in the second case the song begins with the first line of the refrain and ends with the last ; the third reference gives the refrain broken into two lines. Stimming prints it from the Bamberg MS. :

Deus ! par ci va la mignotise,

Par la ou je vois.

(*Gesellschaft für rom. Lit.*, XIII, 73).

This is the only instance of the use of *la* in the second line. The refrain also occurs in the *Tournois de Chauvenci*, l. 1302, and *Adam de la Halle*, (ed. Coussemaker, p. 333), where the music may be found. This refrain belongs to the type so well adapted to the carols, the words corresponding to the movements of the dance. Others of the same type may be found in Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 96, and in the first part of this article.

## 14. Amorettes m'ont navré ;

Qui porroit ces maus souffrir ?

The first line of this refrain occurs also in *Motets*, I, 29 ; see also Stimming's edition of the Bamberg MS. (l. c., pp. 37 and 155), where R. A. Meyer's citation from *Renart le Nouvel*, l. 6956, may be found :

Vrais Diex, ki m'en garira ?  
amours m'ont navré.

15. Dame, bien sai ne sai quoi me tormente,  
Dirai-le-vous por avoir garison.

This refrain has not been found elsewhere.

16. Qui léaument sert s'amie,  
Bien li doit sa joie doubler.

This refrain occurs, but with no indication that it is a refrain, in *Motets*, I, 181, where it forms the first and tenth lines of a motet.

17. Se j'avoie à fère ami,  
Je le feroie brunet.

With this may be compared :

La jonete fu brunete :  
de brun ami j'aati,  
je sui brune,  
s'avrai brun ami ausi.

(*R. und P.*, p. 19),

and :

Je sui brune j'avrai brun ani  
Ausi (*Motets*, I, 17).

18. Qui tel vie ne veut mener,  
Si se voist rendre à Clervaus.

This refrain has not been found elsewhere.

19. Vous qui là irez, pour Dieu, dites li,  
S'ele onques ama, de moi ait merci.

This may be found in the *Violette*, l. 4417; it occurs also with a slight variation :

Et qant la verrez, por deu dites li  
q'a la mort n'a mis se nen a merci.

(*R. und P.*, p. 135).

See also *A. und A.*, xciv, 83.

20. Je cuidoie amors oublier,  
Mès je ne porroie.

There is an echo of this in a refrain given by Raynaud:

Si vos pri que de moi vos voelle remembrer,  
Car je ne vous porroie oublier.

(*Motets*, I, 220).

21. Se n'ai vostre amor,  
La mort m'ert donée,  
Je n'i puis faillir.

Cf. :

Se je n'ai s'amors,  
La mort m'a donée,  
Ge n'i puis faillir.

(*Poire*, ed. Stehlich, l. 1424; see also *Hist. lit.*, xxii, 875).

This refrain also occurs in the Wolfenbüttel and the München mss. (*l. c.*, pp. 98 and 105); the latter offers this variant:

Se je n'ai s'amor,  
La mort m'iert donee,  
Je n'i puis faillir,  
Ainz muir de desir.

22. Bele, car n'amez et je vous ameré  
Par amours, s'il vous vient en gré.

This is similar to:

Voz amis serai,  
S'il voz pleist et agréé;  
De fin cuer vous amerai,  
Douce dame henorée.

(*Motets*, I, 43).

23. Je ne puis sans vous durer,  
Comment durez-vous sanz moi?

Maetzner gives a song, of which a stanza has the refrain :

Sire dieus, que devenrons nous?  
Je ne puis endurer sans vous,  
Et sans moi comment dures vous?

(*Altfr. Lieder*, p. 71).

The refrain occurs also in *Romvart*, ed. Keller, p. 309. Raynaud gives a motet beginning :

Je ne puis plus durer sans voz,

and ending :

Et sans moi coment durés vous?

(*Motets*, I, 25).

The same collection contains the following refrains :

Car sanz vos ne puis durer (I, 66),  
Dieus! coment porroie  
Sanz cele durer  
Qui me tient a joie? (II, 99),  
Dieu! j'aim tant que je n'i puis durer (I, 94),  
Las! si n'en puis sans lui durer (I, 109).

Examples of this type are frequent in the *Motets*. Compare also, from the Bamberg ms. (*l. c.*, p. 59):

Je ne puis et si ne vuill  
Sans li durer.

24. Eu! Eu! Diex! or en criem morir d'amer!

With this the first line of a song by Pierres de Molaines may be compared :

Chanter me fait cou dont je criem morir.

(*Maetzner, Altfr. Lieder*, p. 6).

See also Maetzner's note on p. 126; this refrain occurs also in *Romvart*. A variant of the line may be found in *A. und A.*, xciv, 77.

Cf. also :

Maix por samor crien morir.  
(Herrig's *Archiv*, XLII, 300).

Raynaud prints a refrain which suggests a blending of this and the preceding refrain :

Je quidai mes maus celer  
Et endurer,  
Mais je n'i puis durer,  
Ains morrai pour bien amer.  
(*Motets*, II, 71).

The next two refrains have not been found elsewhere :

25. Hé ! oiseillon du bois, léens,  
Pour Dieu, resveille-moi souvent.

26. Bele qui mon cuer avez,  
Rendez-le-moi se vous volez.

27. J'ai amé et aime encore et ai amours.

This is a variant of the refrain which ends each of the seven stanzas of a *pastourelle* by Bastorneis :

J'ai ameit et amerai,  
he ! dorelot ! et s'aimme aincor,  
deus ! de jolif cuer mignot.  
(*R. und P.*, pp. 306 ff.)

Cf. also :

J'ai ameit et amerai  
Trestout les jours de ma vie,  
Et plus jolive an serai.  
(*Motets*, II, 34).

The *Cour d'amour* (*Ro.*, x, 523) contains the refrain :

J'ain loiaument et amerai tous jours.

The last two refrains of the *Salut* have not been found elsewhere :

28. Qui me rendroit mon aignel  
Et mon damage, à li me rent.

29. A qoi fère en parlez vous ?  
L'en n'en feroit rien por vous.

Thus of the twenty-nine refrains of the *salut d'amour*, at least twenty have been preserved elsewhere, either exactly or in the form of variants, many of them occurring in a number of other songs of various types.

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PROVENÇAL *aib*, *ab*, *aiba* ;  
PORTUGUESE *eiva*

Among the various etymologies proposed for Provençal *aib*, (with the by-forms *ab* and *aiba*) "quality, characteristic, habit," listed in Körting, § 382, probably the only one deserving of serious consideration is Thurneysen's suggestion<sup>1</sup> that the word is related to the Old Irish *óiph*, "appearance," which is taken to come from an original feminine form *\*aibá*. This view is open to serious objections. Aside from the material difficulty of the treatment of the intervocalic *b*,—unless we assume the word to be a late importation,—Thurneysen himself states that it is impossible to decide from the Old Irish form whether the original Celtic word began with *oi-* or *ai-*, that we must assume an entirely hypothetical masculine form *\*aibo* to account for the form *aib*, and that, as Diez suggests, the form *ab* exhibits a "flattened diphthong," to which Provençal parallels are not cited. The change in meaning from "appearance" to "quality," though not in itself improbable, involves further conjecture. It is doubtless such considerations as these which led Windisch to omit the word from his list of Romance borrowings from Celtic.<sup>2</sup>

Under these circumstances perhaps it may not be presumptuous to hazard another opinion. Meyer-Lübke has compared<sup>3</sup> the Provençal word with the Portuguese and Galician *eiba*, *eiva*, which, according to Madame Michaelis de Vasconcellos,<sup>4</sup> means "jeglichen körperlichen oder geistigen Makel oder Fehler ; beim Menschen das Fehlen eines Gliedes oder Unbrauchbarkeit

<sup>1</sup> *Keltoromanisches* (Halle, 1884), p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Gröber's *Grundriss*, I<sup>1</sup>, 312 (= I<sup>2</sup>, 403-404). It is also worthy of note that Holder says nothing of the Provençal word in his *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* (Leipzig, 1896), s. v. *\*aibā*, and that Flechia (*Archivio glot. ital.*, VIII, 320) regards the origin of the word as "non ben chiara." On the other hand, Meyer-Lübke (*Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, I, § 20) and Horning (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XIV, 218) are inclined to accept Thurneysen's view.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XI, 270.

<sup>4</sup> *Miscellanea Caix-Canello* (Florence, 1886), p. 125. Meyer-Lübke seems to be right in rejecting the etymology *\*labia*, proposed by the learned author of the *Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung*.

desselben, Krüppelhaftigkeit sowie Geisteschwäche und moralische Unzulänglichkeiten; auf Glas oder Porzellan angewandt einen Sprung, Riss, oder Flecken: beim Obste das Fleckigsein, der Ansatz zur Fäulnis etc." Meyer-Lübke's hypothesis is strongly supported by the existence in Old Provençal of *aiba* in the concrete sense of "bodily infirmity or malformation."<sup>5</sup> This form *aiba* is represented by the modern *aibo*, used in the Alpine region, in the sense of the ancient *aib*,<sup>6</sup> as well as by *aiva* and *aivage*, forms in use in the Lyonnais.<sup>7</sup> *Aiba*, "quality," also occurs in the Old Veronese legend of St. Catherine, where Musafia regards it<sup>8</sup> as probably a loan-word from Provençal, a view which, as he suggests, commends itself likewise in the case of the examples of *aibi*, *haibi* cited from Old Genoese<sup>9</sup> and Old Pavian.<sup>10</sup>

All the words in the family seem to be derived from an Arabic word occurring under the three forms 'aib, 'ab and 'aibah, and defined by Lane<sup>11</sup>: "[in a man, and in any animal,] *A vice*, [and in the same, and in anything,] *a fault or faultiness, an unsoundness, a defect, an imperfection, a blemish, or something amiss. . .*" This word was in common use among the Spanish Arabs, as is proved by the fact that the thirteenth century *Vocabulista in arabico* published by Schiaparelli<sup>12</sup> gives it in the sense of the Latin "Vi-

cium," and that Pedro de Alcalá (1505)<sup>13</sup> uses 'aib to translate *mal* by itself (304 b) as well as in the expressions *cometer mal* (124), *hazer mal* (267), and *dezir mal* (187). The fact that the word preserved its concrete sense in Spain as late as the sixteenth century is indicated by Pedro's translating *tollido* by *ma'ayúb* (415a). If the view here advanced be correct, the word passed into the Romance language in the usual sense, indicated by Lane and the *Vocabulista*.

The good sense frequently borne by *aib* in Old Provençal is readily understood. *Aib* often has a neutral sense in Provençal, as in the common expressions *bos aibs* and *mals aibs*. One can easily see how *mals aibs*, from meaning "serious defects," can come to mean "bad qualities," and then how an expression like *bos aibs* can help *aib* to take on the sense of "good quality, merit."

It may be urged against the view here advanced that the apparent absence of the word from Catalan would militate against derivation from the Arabic; until we have an Old Catalan dictionary, however, this argument has no great force, in the face of the existence of the word in Portuguese and in Galician. Any assumption that the word entered Portuguese and Galician through Provençal influence is precluded by the fact that the word bears in Portuguese a sense rare in Provençal and not cited at all from the troubadours, and that *eiba* is not used in the works of the Portuguese and Galician lyric school.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Levy, s. v. *aiba*; note also *enaibat*, "deformed, misshapen," (Levy).

<sup>6</sup> Mistral, *aibo*, with the definition, "qualité, manière."

<sup>7</sup> Mistral defines *aivage* as "Sorte, espèce, en Forez," and Puitspelu has: "AIVA (èva) s. f. AIVAJO (èvajo) s. m.—Qualité, race, surtout en parlant des arbres et des plantes. "Celos sardi sant de bon aiva," ces cerisiers sont de bonne race. Par confus. avec l'art., certains endroits disent *lèva* . . ."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, LXXV (Vienna, 1873), pp. 247, 299.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Archivio glot. ital.*, VIII, 320.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Salvioni, *Archivio glot. ital.*, XII, 385, and Meyer-Lübke, Gröber's *Grundriss*, I<sup>2</sup>, 710. The Italian words are referred to by Meyer-Lübke in his *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, I, 20, and in greater detail in his *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 300.

<sup>11</sup> Book I, pt. 5, p. 2206. It is perhaps worth remarking that this word has no connection with the words 'aub and 'aibah mentioned by Diez (p. 504).

<sup>12</sup> Florence, 1871; cf. pp. 147 and 627.

<sup>13</sup> Cited by Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, vol. II, p. 193. I have used Lagarde's reprint of Pedro de Alcalá (Göttingen, 1883).

<sup>14</sup> Professor Henry R. Lang, of Yale University, who has kindly looked into this matter at my request, states that he is unable to add any Old Portuguese citations to the single example cited by Madame de Vasconcellos (I, I, p. 125, n. 3) from a legal text. Professor C. H. Grandgent, of Harvard University, and Dr. Florence Nightingale Jones and Dr. J. M. Mathews, of the University of Illinois, have courteously assisted me in connection with the preceding note.

ON THE ANGLO-SAXON POEM *EXODUS*

No slight responsibility is assumed in any attempt to prepare the text of the so-called Cædmonian *Exodus* for the use of college students and other readers that are expected to lean hard and confidently on editorial guidance. Professor Blackburn has dealt with this responsibility in a manner that must fail to win complete approval. This text is difficult to read, principally because of the numerous errors committed by the scribe; and these errors together with the poet's peculiarities of diction and composition have elicited a considerable aggregation of critical comments and emendations. To Professor Blackburn it has seemed best to present the text in its faulty manuscript-form, and to grant the student the privilege of an independent use of the conjectured readings, giving him further assistance only in the case of the more difficult passages, which are discussed in an appended commentary.

The following observations are for the most part directed at Professor Blackburn's edition,<sup>1</sup> but in some instances this specific aim is, of course, not maintained.

1-7. Professor Blackburn begins his notes by disturbing the grammatical construction of the established epic beginning. The poet has revealed himself at once as no mean artist by his admirable expansion of the traditional formula so as to include within it the effective contrast between *bōte lifes* and *langsumne rād*. Professor Blackburn's interpretation of *langsumne rād hæleðum seegan* makes confusion of studied art and is, of course, altogether untenable. Deserving of notice is also the conventional close of this first full and varied chord: *gehýre sē ðe wille!* (Körner, p. 256).

8, 14, 15. The assumed dialectal gen. pl. in *-e* (*werode*) and the "Northumbrian form" *andsaca* (15) represent a method of defending scribal errors that is contradicted by the inflectional character of the text as a whole. And the unwarranted change of *freom* (14),

which is made clear by *Gúthlāc* 874 and *Andreas* 8, into an unknown word *frēom* (Glossary) is doubly erroneous in method. A new word should never be assumed under slight provocation; but in this case the provocation is less than slight, for it is based on a mistaken notion of what constitutes a long syllable. This same mistake is made conspicuous in other notes, especially at *Dan.* 11.

33-42. *īu gēre* and *caldum wītum* put an appropriate emphasis on the antiquity (cf. note on 138-153) of the history, of which the recital is now specifically begun. The reference in *wītum* is to the three-fold affliction of the Egyptians just before the departure of the Israelites, namely, the loss of treasure (*Ex.* XI, 2, 3; XII, 35, 36), the death of the first-born, and the overthrowing of the idols (*Ex.* XII, 12; *Num.* XXXIII, 4). The poet selects this culmination of the calamities (not the series of plagues) as the effective cause of the national distress. The first two of these afflictions are handled, interlacingly, in the lines under consideration; the account of the third then follows. Only one detail of the history is heightened for epic effect. The "jewels of silver and the jewels of gold, and raiment" are elevated to the dignity of the national hord. The despoiled citizen gives place, therefore, to the fallen *hordweard* and the defeated *burhweard* (cf. Zeigler, 167-168; and Klaeber, *Archiv* CXIII, 146). The passage is thus clear in all its details. It is necessary, however, to read some such word as *gedrecced* (34), and to observe that *hēaf was genīwad, swāfon sele-drāmas*, since *berofene*, is parenthetical; that the *mānsceaða* is the destroying angel; and that *dugoð forð gewāt* refers to the death of the first-born, on account of which *wōp was wide* (*Ex.* XII, 30). If the poet were plainly logical, not boldly figurative, in his language, we should have *berofenra* (36) to qualify *hordwearda*.

45-47. *Fēond* refers to Satan. The relation between the next two first half-lines may be shown by transposition: *druron dēofolgyld, hergas on helle* (*Ex.* XII, 12; *Num.* XXXIII, 4; see also Holthausen, *Archiv* CXV, 162). The parenthetical (or perhaps paratactic and

<sup>1</sup> *Exodus and Daniel, Two Old English Poems.* Edited by Francis A. Blackburn. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1907.

casual) expression 'Heaven came thither,' may be compared with *þær Drihten cwōm* (91), and *Ps.* XVIII, 9, "He bowed the heavens also, and came down." The figure is not extraordinary, for it merely translates the biblical immediateness of the intervention of Deity, and in a narrowly constructive sense it is no figure at all. The same is true of the description of the judgment executed upon the powers of hell. The two parts of the period, therefore, agree in the strictest manner in character of conception. The rhetorical effect gained by the contrast between the expressions of the two divisions of line 46 should have checked inclination to find fault with the transmitted text; to suggest *healle* (for *helle*); to be uncertain of the meaning of *heofon*; and even to question *þider*.

47. *Dæg wæs mære* (*Ex.* XII, 42; XIII, 3; cf. *Ps.* CXVIII, 24).

49-53. It is chiefly the construing of the verb *drēah* with the meaning 'endured' that has occasioned the judgment that this passage "is obscure and probably corrupt" (Samuel Moore, *Modern Philology*, IX, 94). The solution of the difficulty, probably lies, therefore, in admitting the use of *drēogan* with such meanings as 'execute, devise, perpetrate, impose,' etc. If this verb signifies "ein buntes tun und treiben machen" (Osthoff, *Beiträge* VIII, 276), there must be caution in restricting its applications. Indeed the citations of its use in the Bosworth-Toller *Dictionary* warrant the admission of the sense required to make the passage under consideration clear: 'as then that *ealdwērige* (weak adj. form) *Egypta folc* for many seasons had imposed (*drēah*) captivity (*fæsten*), when (*þæs þe*) they' (the Egyptians), etc. It should not be necessary to add that the meter requires *on langne* (53).

60. *lyfthelme* is not the 'pillar of cloud,' but belongs to the description of the country. It is fog and mist that thatched *land heora*, and a damp waste (*mōr*) extended its reach (*hēald* = *hēold*) over the marches (*mearchofu*).

79. *dægscealdes hlēo*. The Icel. *himin-targa* as an epithet of the sun is cited by Mr. Toller (see the *Dictionary s. v. hlēow* and the *Supple-*

*ment s. v. dægsceald*); and this represents the judgment that accepts or inclines to accept the poet's puzzling expression as a figurative name of the sun. Holthausen, on the other hand, supports the interpretation of the passage that refers the figure to the 'pillar of cloud,' and suggests the reading *swealoðes hlēo*, 'Schutz gegen die Tageshitze?' He adds: "nach der Vorstellung des Dichters hat Gott ein Schutzdach zwischen den Wolken und den oberen Himmel, der Bahn der Sonne, geschaffen, um die Israeliten gegen deren Strahlen zu schützen" (*Archiv* CXV, 163). But this positive statement does not set aside the improbability of reference to the 'pillar' in the context, *wand ofer wolcnum*; this can only be said of the sun (*Beiträge* XIX, 460). Now, does not the MS. report just such an appellation of the sun as a septentrional poet might be expected to employ? The change of *dægs-* into *dæges-* (or *dæg-*) results in the clearest and most appropriate epithet: *dæges-cealdes hlēo*, 'protection against, or deliverance from, the day-cold?' That the poet should introduce this notion of the sun's function into a passage that gains effect by an emphasis on the oppression of a hot climate may arouse a slight surprise. But if a mitigating implication of the beneficence of the source of light and heat be admitted to be unexpected here, it cannot be said to be altogether out of place; at all events, its connotations would be especially congenial to a poet of the land of nights and winters, with visions of a bright and warm heaven and a dark and cold hell.

100-103.

<i>mōdīgra mægen,</i>	<i>Werod eall ārās,</i>
<i>mære magorēswa</i>	<i>swā him Moyses bebēad,</i>
<i>fūs fyrdrgetrum;</i>	<i>Metodes folce,</i>

Here *fyrdrgetrum*, as an appositive, re-echoes *Werod*, thus completing a stylistic and constructive whole in the strictly conventional manner. To begin and end such a period at the middle of the line is in conformity with the poet's art.

108 f. The interpretation offered in *Mod. Lang. Notes* XVII, 213, is not submitted to the judgment of the reader,—the conjectured

*sunne* requires a change in punctuation that is not reported; but Professor Blackburn contents himself with the suggestion of an impossible manner of construing *behēold . . . scīnan*.

114-115. *heolstor* whether mase. or neut. (*Beiträge* XIX, 460), as aec. sing. satisfies the sense; and *nēah* ('nearly, almost') *ne mihton . . . āhȳdan* gives the emphasis of restraint from overstatement; the expression is, at all events, well chosen for its concrete particularity.

118-119. See *Mod. Lang. Notes* XVII, 213. The meter does not allow the adv. *ō*, and the proposed *on fērclamme* is strongly confirmed by the parallel function of the phrase *on langne lust* (53).

124. *hȳrde* must, of course, be for *hȳrden* (cf. Professor Blackburn's note against 151), and the meaning, 'hear, obey,' is equally certain.

125-129. Comparison of this period with 100-103 shows that *fūs on forðweg* (129) refers to *scīr werod* (125), not to *segn ofer swēoton* (object of *gesāwon*). The 'dative of the person' (*lēodmægne*) is correct with *forstōd*, 'opposed, hindered,' and the direct object is perhaps implied in *rihte strāte* (cf. *Ic him þæt forstonde*. *Riddles* 17, 8). The subject of the verb is *sēfæsten*, as correctly indicated in the Glossary.

130-132. *hīe* is the reflexive object of *wyrpton*; and this appears to be carried forward to *bræddon*. For a discussion of *wyrpan* 'recover, restore one's self, rest,' see Cosijn, *Beiträge* VIII, 573.

138-153. Within the limits of these lines the scribe may have omitted something more than merely the close of line 141; but nothing more is really wanted to make the sense clear. It must be *sē yldra cyning* that has become *yrfeweard*. Beyond this point Professor Blackburn's interpretation is only partially correct. He is certainly inadvertent in proposing to substitute the name *iōsephis* for *hēo his* (146),—a metrical impossibility. A better suggestion would be the name *Moyse*s, for that would fit the sense and relieve the line of an obscurity; but it would demand of the meter an unusual, if not a forbidden, anaerusus.

An interpretation of lines 144-149 can be sustained that accepts the reading *ða hēo his* (= Moses) *mægwinum* (146), and require the change of *mānum trēowum* (149) into *mannum twēonum* (=the two men engaged in the *ānwig*). This also places the resuming of the story of the exodus at the beginning of the next line, *woldon* (150). The theme of the entire passage is announced in *ymb ānwiġe*, which is accepted to mean the 'duel' in which Moses slew the Egyptian. In line 146, *hēo* and *his* refer to the combatants in a manner that is obscure from the modern point of view, but consistent in making each representative of his people: the two men contended on behalf of the two nations. The poet exalts into national significance the incident that had enraged the King (*Ex.* II, 11-15), and he closes a period effectively with a strong description of the mood of the combatants (148, 149), after this wide significance has been understood. The plain meaning, therefore, of *sīððan grame wurdon . . . wære bræcon* (see the Glossary for an inadmissible definition of *fretan*) is that the Egyptians, in consequence of the 'duel,' killed the male children born in the homes of the Hebrews (*Ex.* 1, 15-22: *morðor fremedon*),—an edict from which Moses himself had been saved,—and kept violating the ancient national compact by the imposition of hardships on the kin of Moses (*Ex.* I, 11-14: *wroht berēnedon, wære bræcon*). Unquestionably this epic prominence of the 'duel' is in keeping with the spirit and structure of the poem and its prevailing theme of contest and warfare (cf. the notable expansion at lines 323-330); and the poet can now resume the story of the exodus with an interlacing reference to the early concrete event (*feorhlēan*, 150; *dægweorc*, 151), in which Moses had been victor on behalf of his people (*lēode*, dat. sg.), as still operative in the mind of the Egyptians, who were determined (*woldon*, 150) to be avenged, if the god of the Hebrews would not thwart them in their deadly expedition (*spildsīðe*, 153).

It will now be seen that the poet has gained the effect of two distinct provocations for the hostile pursuit; and that each has in turn been designated 'ancient.' This latter detail is made

clear by allowing a difference in the points of time from which the reckoning is made. The immediate provocation, the three-fold calamity of the death of the first-born, the despoiling of the treasure-hords, and the casting down of the false gods, was in ancient times (*ealdum wítum*, 33), counting from the poet's own day. The remote provocation, was national hatred that had its beginning in the time that was long ago (*sē ðe him lange ær*, 138) from the point of view of the Hebrews in Egypt. It had first manifested itself in the royal decree by which they were unjustly deprived of the land that had been granted them and in the concomitant woes inflicted on them (138-143), and it had afterwards (*siððan*, 144) been greatly intensified because of the *ánwig*, which led to the fresh inflictions referred to in lines 146, 147. This national hatred, continued undiminished to the time of the exodus, and is thus specifically brought forward as contributing to the intensity of the hostile feeling with which the escaping Hebrews were pursued.

170 f. This episode of horsemanship is so remarkable an echo of *Beowulf* 865-868 (cf. also 916-917) as to appear strange until this relationship has been observed.

184. *twā pūsendo*. Professor Blackburn does not comment on the inadequacy of this numeral (cf. *werod ēacan . . . pūsendmālum* 194-196; *síde hergas, eorla unrīm* 260-261). Mürkens (p. 72) fails to find an explanation for this detail in its specific form, and Cosijn (*Beiträge* xx, 100) declares that the poet cannot possibly be charged with such a computation: "Ein dichter der sich so etwas vorstellen könnte, würde in Bedlam ein passendes unterkommen finden," and as evidence of the poet's sanity in the use of *pūsendmālum* (196) he refers to the Middle English *Story of Genesis and Exodus* (3213-3218), according to which the army of Pharoah consisted of 'six hundred chariots, fifty thousand horsemen, and ten score thousand (two hundred thousand) footmen.' This enumeration agrees exactly with that in Josephus, Bk. II, ch. xv, and Comestor (Samuel Moore, *Modern Philology* ix, 106), and therefore belongs to the accepted tradition. From this it may be safely con-

cluded that the Cædmonian text has been incorrectly copied at this point, for a simple emendation *twā[hund] pūsendo* restores conformity with the traditional expansion of the biblical account (*Ex.* xiv, 7). On the other hand, the biblical "six hundred" is adhered to, but in a curiously erroneous manner, by the writer of the fragmentary *Pharao* (Grein-Wülker, III, 182). The poet of *Die Altdutsche Exodus* (hrsg. von Ernst Kossman, Strassburg, 1886, 3023-3036) does not avail himself of the tradition, and does not misapply the biblical 'six hundred.'

194. *ēcan* may confidently be changed into *ēacan* 'increased, great, vast' (in the acc. sg., not necessarily or even probably pl.). This disposes of the attempt to get the required meaning out of *ēce* 'eternal,' and is supported by *síde hergas, eorla unrīm* (260-261).

202. *weredon wælnet* is a well selected figure (the verb is *werian* 'wear'), which is in keeping with the symbol of grief in 212. It may have been suggested, somewhat remotely, by "Dicturusque est Pharoe super filiis Israel: Coarctati sunt in terra, conclusit eos desertum" (*Ex.* xiv, 3).

212. *in blacum rēafum*. There is no room for doubt as to the choice between *blacum* and *blācum*. The error of admitting *blācum* (as in Grein) should not be upheld against the evidence of the meter (cf. *on blacum hrægle, Riddles*, 11, 7). With this symbolic use of 'black' may be compared the poetic values of *deorc, sweart, wann*, etc.; cf. also *weredon wælnet* (202).

214. The importance of this line for the correction of the text of *Beowulf* 386-387, from which it is derived, has been shown in *Mod. Lang. Notes* x, 44.

243. Read *on wīg curon*. Of course, *wīg* does not "mean warriors" (cf. *Num.* i, 3).

249-251. Conjectured *bidon* (for the impossible *būton*) not only suits the sense and is generally accepted, but is also one of those emendations that should satisfy the mind with the conviction of a certainty. It was not a happy thought of Cosijn's that led him to revert to the passage (*Beiträge* xx, 100) to disturb a settled state of mind by insisting, if *bidon* be

accepted, on the sequence of the subjunctive *bræce*, which would destroy the meter. Moreover, the expectant subjunctive would introduce a variation in the expression that would not be in accord with the poet's conception (in agreement with the biblical record) of the manner in which the Israelites regarded the miraculous guide. Its manifestations and movements were never 'awaited' but were always a fresh wonder to them. The lines in question are, of course, involved in the poet's method of dealing with the record of *Ex.* xiv, 19, 20. At line 205 the interposing agent is exclusively the *mihtig engel*, according to the first clause of *Ex.* xiv, 19; and in turn it is exclusively the pillar of cloud that appeared at the front of the host, towards the sea, altho the personification in *sīðboda* (250) may reflect a blending of the two agents. The Middle English poet, it may be observed, has not mentioned the 'cloud' before it is represented as leading the people across the sea. To return to the syntax of the lines, it is manifest that the indicative *bræc* is correct; for the people were still in doubt and despair, 'until the time when' (*hwonne*) the light of the guide 'broke' thru the obstructions of the sky. The contrasted subjunctive after *hwonne* is fittingly employed in *nēosan cōme* (475).

265. *ægnian* does not mean 'vex, torment,' but 'own, control as a possession,' etc. It is a variant of *āgnian*; cf. the variation between *āgan* and *ægan*; *āgen* (419) and *ægen*; also *ānga* (*āngan*, 403) and *ænga*.

277. Read *lifigendra lēoð*. The metrical type favors the double alliteration, and the construction (*lēoð* acc. in apposition with *stefne*) is satisfactory. The reading *lēoð* (for *þeod*) is made incontestable by *lēofes lēoþ* (308) together with *swēg* and *sanges bland* (309), which describe the same utterance; *wīglēoð* (221) also supports the conjecture. As a happily coined epithet, 'song of the living' expresses the import of deliverance from death.

278. The retention of *to* as belonging to the second half-line is forbidden metrically. Its transference to the end of the first half-line would occasion a doubtful change from the more probable A-type. It would seem best to

cancel *to*, and to look on it as having its place in the ms. by reason of hesitancy in choosing between *to* and *on*, which are both used with *lōcian*.

283. *water wealfæsten*. Thorpe's cancellation of *and* is to be preferred. The juxtaposition of subject and object is a characteristic feature of the poet's devices: cf. *Abraham Isaac* (398); *mearchofu mōr hēold* (61); *flōd blōd gewōd* (462); *sand sēcir span*, or *spāw* (291); (cf. *holm heolfre spāw*, 450); *lagu land gefēol* (483), etc.

291. *sand sēcir spān* (or *spāw*?); cf. The Middle English Poem, 3242: *A wind blew ðe se fro the sand*.

323-326. *be þām herewisan* clearly refers neither to the lion-standard nor to Pharaoh. The poet is conceiving the action to be in the spirit of the *comitatus*, and the *herewisa*, who might be supposed to be the chief of Judah, is certainly Moses, in accordance with the prevailing note of the poem. Here, again, a significant detail may be noticed in the Middle English poem (p. 92): 'Moses went first, and then the men of Judah'; and the Anglo-Saxon poet agrees with this not only in the lines under consideration but also in the two parentheses *ān wīsoðe* and *þy hē mære wearð* (348-349), which are then, according to the stylistic devise of placing the 'relative' before its antecedent, specifically defined in *swā him Moises bēad* (352). 'The retainers were not minded,' so runs the text therefore, 'so long as he their leader survived (*be him lifigendum*), to endure the reproach (*hynðo*) of any people' (*ðeoda ænigre*). Professor Blackburn's rendering of the absolute clause, *be him lifigendum*, is made impossible by the grammatical principle that the subject of an absolute clause cannot be the subject of the verb of the sentence.

327-328. Might one not read *hægstealda mōd* (cf. 489), construing *wæpna wælslihtas* of the next line as the gen. with *unforhte*?

345. *ofer garsecge* (Graz). Professor Blackburn occasionally deviates into a surprising contradiction of the inviolable laws of the meter. An especially misleading instance of this is his conjecture that *ofer*, in the cited

phrase, may be read *ofer*, 'shore' (which is accordingly placed in the Glossary). This leads to a misconstruing of *becwōm*, not only in the context but also at line 447, where *flōdegsa becwōm* is, of course, a complete sentence.

362. *Nōē oferlād* has been shown to be strictly metrical (∠ ∩ × × ∠; Sievers, *Beiträge*, XIX, 449, note). In scanning the second occurrence of this proper name (378), however, Sievers has gone into needless detail; *pæt from Nōē* is simply : ∠ × ∠ ×, A-type.

373. *mismicelra*. This form of the gen. pl. of the comparative is explained in Sievers-Cook, § 231, 4.

383. *hē on wræce lifde*. This seemingly unimportant detail acquires a significance when it is noticed that it is directly due to *Gen.* XXI, 34. A view is thus given of the poet selecting available incidents.

386. That *seone* is 'Zion' cannot be questioned. The wide-spread tradition that the mount on which Abraham offered sacrifice was the same as that on which Solomon afterwards built the temple is also accepted by the Middle English poet (*Genesis and Exodus*, p. 37). See also *Modern Philology* IX, 101.

399. *nō pȳ fægrea wæs*. Clearly *fægrea* is for *fægenra* (hardly for *fægerra*), and should not be assigned to *fæge*. Professor Blackburn's note is altogether astray. The terms of comparison must not be completed by 'than was Isaac,' for the whole line refers to Abraham exclusively. This use of the comparative occurs also at line 259 (*pȳ forhtran*), and in a positive sentence, without the instrumental, in *gylp wearð gnornra* (455), and it is commented on by Sievers in his edition of the *Heliand* (p. 508, note 323). Both Cosijn (*Beiträge* XX, 103) and Klaeber (*Archiv* CXIII, 147) are needlessly troubled about the idiom.

427-431. Mr. Toller in his *Supplement* (s. v. *behwylfan*) translates the chief portion of these lines: "heaven and earth cannot form a vault that shall [may] cover his glory's word [words], too wide and too ample for the globe and the firmament on high to embrace." This is in agreement with his more partial translation s. v. *sīd*, and differs from the rendering given in the older part of the *Dictionary* (s. v.

*behwylfan*) in construing *word* as object. Mr. Toller has not left much room for doubt, for the poet must have had in mind such scripture as *Is.* LV, 8-11 (cf. also XL, 8, LI, 6; *Ps.* CII, 25-27; *Jer.* XXXI, 37; *Mt.* v, 18; *Mk.* XIII, 31; *Luke* XVI, 17, XXI, 33, etc.). But one cannot be certain that he has assigned the right meaning to *behwylfan*. Why not be guided by the unquestioned meaning of *āhwylfan* (see *Supplement*), 'overturn, depose, bring to naught'? The verb *mæg*, it may be added, is correctly singular in form because of the coördination of the subject, and *mæge* (429) must be made plural.

432. Read *nū āð swerēð*.

460-463. *herewōpa mæst*, as direct object of *cyrmdon*, belongs to the sentence closed with *fægum stæfnum*. The important point to observe is that *storm* is here used not figuratively, as assumed in the glossaries, but literally. Tradition reports a 'storm' at the time of the destruction of the Egyptians. Josephus gives a vivid picture of it, and adds the comment, "so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians" (cf. lines 456-457; 509-514; and *Ex.* XIV, 28; *Ps.* CVI, 11). Comestor quotes *Ex.* XIV, 24, and imputes the description of the storm to the enemy: "id est intolerabiles imbres, et gravia tonitrua; coruscationesque ac lampades infecit super eos." The Middle English poet, observing the same connection with "the morning watch," writes:

And ðo sprong ðe daiening,  
ðhunder, and leuene, and rein ðor-mong  
God sente on ðat hīrd, stið and strong.

466-471. A full pause is required after *corðre*. The next periodic expression is a 'recurrence' of 457 f., from which several of the principal words are repeated. In accordance with this agreement between the two periods (cf. e. g. *mægen wæs ādrenced* and *mægen wæs on cwealme*), one need not hesitate to abandon further attempts to retain *nep* (470), but may confidently write *weg* (cf. *wegas*, 458),—a change that involves no contradiction of paleographic probabilities. The retreat (*eft oncyrde*, 452; *Ex.* XIV, 25) of the

Egyptians was cut off (*cyrr swiðrode*) as they were marching back (*wigbord scinon*) between the walls of the sea (*holmweall āstāh*); but they then discovered that they were caught in a death-trap (*mægen was on cwealme, fæste gefeterod*), and that their way out was beset by fatal snares: *forðganges weg, searwum āsæled*.

471. 'The sand (=the bottom of the sea; cf. 291, and *ēce staðolas* of 474; *land* of 483; and the conjectured *grund* of 503) awaited (*bāsnode*, for *barenode*; cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* III, 37) the fated army, until the sea should return to its accustomed place.' Vigorous epithets are bestowed upon the avenging waters: 'the unarmed messenger of distress' (*nacud nýðboda*) and 'the hostile spirit of war' (*fāh fēðegäst*).

485-489. A succession of guesses often leads to the desired result; and there may be no further value in the following suggestion than that of encouragement of further efforts to recover the right reading of the half-line that is now surely misrepresented by the scribe's *wer-beamas*. The place of error is probably at the middle of the word, and the transmitted form may be regarded as a perversion of *wægstrēamas*, the perversion leading to the further blunder of omitting the governing preposition. At all events, *on wægstrēamas* (= *in mediis fluctibus*, *Ex.* XIV, 27) gives clear sense and good meter. If the sense of the next sentence be, 'They could not restrain (*forhabban*) the path of the helping [waves], the rage of the sea-streams,' the conjectured *hwelpendra* (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XVII, 213) must be withdrawn.

499. Paleographically it is easy to obtain *brim* from *brun* (*im* and *un* being so similar in appearance; cf. *ungrundes*, 509, where *unrimdes* would suit the sense). One is, therefore, tempted to suggest *brim-ypinge* (= *brimes yppinge*), or *brim yppende*.

581. *afrisc mēowle*. The almost unanimously accepted interpretation of this expression is endorsed by Cosijn (*Beiträge* xx, 106): "hier zweifellos die jüdische *mēowle*, welche sich putzt." But *afrisc* has remained a *crux*. It is herewith proposed to regard *afrisc* as a scribal error for *ebriſc* (or *ebresc* = *ebreise*, *Hebreise*;

cf. *Gen.* 2021, *Christ* 133, and *Elene* 559). Paleographically the resemblance between the interchanged words is very close. Perhaps not altogether negligible is the confirmation of this suggestion that may be suspected in the poet's selection of the vowel *e* to alliterate with the name in *Dan.* 1 and 78. On the other hand, it is true that in *Exodus* the name *Israēla* is used exclusively (in *Daniel* it alternates with *Hebreas*); but that does not establish a necessary preference in the case of the adjective. At all events, it is noteworthy that the poets furnish no instance of the use of *Israelisc*, which might otherwise with consistency have been expected to occur in the *Exodus*.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

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*Thomas Percy und William Shenstone: Ein Briefwechsel aus der Entstehungszeit der Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.* Herausgegeben mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen von Dr. HANS HECHT, ao. Professor an der Universität Basel. Quellen und Forschungen, CIII, pp. xxxvi, 1-145, Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1909.

Few books of recent years contain within the compass of so few pages so much entertaining and instructive reading, as is to be found in the ninety and odd pages of the *Percy-Shenstone* correspondence. And, excepting Boswell's *Johnson*, I know of no description of the intellectual life of England in the mid-years of the eighteenth century which leaves such a vivid and pleasing impression on the mind of the reader. He feels himself not only interested, but an actual participant in the various questions concerning literature and art which Shenstone and Percy touch upon in their letters.

One who is not already familiar with Shenstone's personality as it is revealed in other writings than his rather insignificant poetry, is agreeably surprised to find him such a gifted letter-writer and such a genial human being. Everybody who has read the English poets of the eighteenth century knows of Shenstone's

love of nature, of the sort of idyllic, pastoral strain in his light verses, of his devotion to the art of gardening, and of his pride in the Leasowes. But it would not be possible to gather from his poetry alone that his interest in and knowledge of literature and art generally, were broad and deep.

To the lover of interesting, racy letters, there is not a single one in this small collection, whether written by Shenstone or by Percy, that seems in the least "long-winded." While Hecht has given us an excellent but brief characterization of Shenstone and his work in the *Einleitung*, we are occasionally impressed with the fact that he was either unmindful of, or did not have time to consider the grace and beauty of his epistolary style. The lover of such letter-writing as we have in the inimitable correspondence of William Cowper, would never apply the words *die allzu wortreiche und weichliche Eleganz seiner langatmigen Briefe* to these letters of Shenstone, and there is no one of our English letter-writers, it seems to me, whom Shenstone resembles, both in style and in a sort of childish interest for insignificant subjects, so much as Cowper.

And yet the sage lines of Marc Anthony,

"The evil that men do lives after them,  
The good is oft interred with their bones,"

are probably truer of William Shenstone than of any of his contemporary fellow poets. It would seem eminently true, judging from critical opinion, both contemporary and recent, that the reputation for most of the good he did on earth vanished with or soon after his death. And the things about him which are best remembered, if not exactly evil, have, I believe, never been thought to be the virtues of a great man. The peccadilloes of this remarkable man have indeed completely eclipsed his sterling qualities of mind and character. Those of his contemporaries who knew him only by report or hearsay, or who judged him by his "graceful" elegies and *The Schoolmistress*, neither understood the man nor appreciated his genuine worth. In fact, the estimate of Shenstone's life and work, which has

been echoed and reechoed in histories of literature and encyclopedias almost *ad nauseam* and which has become a sort of stigma on his name, is in the main that which was given currency by two or three famous men of his time who could have had nothing but the most superficial knowledge of him. These men were Horace Walpole, Thomas Gray, and Dr. Johnson.

The poet Gray<sup>1</sup> in a letter to the Rev. Norton Nichols, June 24, 1769, says of the then recently published letters<sup>2</sup> of Shenstone: "I have read an octavo volume of Shenstone's Letters; poor man! he was always wishing for money, for fame, and other distinctions; and his whole philosophy consisted in living against his will in retirement, and in a place which his taste had adorned, but which he only enjoyed when people of note came to see and commend it. His correspondence is about nothing else but this place, and his own writings with two or three neighboring clergymen who wrote verses too." Walpole's<sup>3</sup> comments, written about the same time and on the same volume of letters, are strikingly similar to the criticism of Gray: "I have been eagerly reading Mr. Shenstone's Letters, which, though containing but trifles, amused me extremely, as they mention so many persons I know; particularly myself . . . I felt great pity on reading these letters, for the narrow circumstances of the author, and the passion for fame that he was tormented with; and yet he had much more fame than his talents entitled him to. Poor man! he wanted to have all the world talk of him for the pretty place he had made; and which he seems to have made only that it might be talked of."

Now, both these criticisms and characterizations of Shenstone are in most respects greatly exaggerated and generally misleading. The letters of which Gray and Walpole write do contain many "trifles," which Shenstone

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, ed. Gosse, III, 344.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works in Verse and Prose of William Shenstone, Esq.* In 3 volumes. London, 1764-1767.

<sup>3</sup> "To the Rev. William Cole," June 14, 1769; Cf. *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Cunningham, vol. v, p. 169.

in a rather childish but always interesting manner, frankly discusses to the apparent entertainment and delight of his most intimate friends, Graves and Jago (to whom perhaps nine-tenths of the letters of that early collection are addressed), but which are scarcely noticeable in his less familiar letters, especially those to Bishop Percy. But even of his most confidential letters, it is absolutely misleading to say that "he was always wishing for money, for fame, and other distinctions; and his whole philosophy consisted in living against his will in retirement, and in a place which his taste had adorned," etc. The impartial reader of Shenstone's letters will, it seems to me, carry away the general impression that the poet enjoyed, on the whole, his retirement at the Leasowes much more than the noise and bustle of London or Bath or Birmingham, and that he was there as happy and as contented with his lot in life as he would have been anywhere else or under any other circumstances. Every one of his letters, even of the earliest, contains something else besides mere trifles. From the earliest years<sup>4</sup> of which his published correspondence allows us to judge, he appears to have been ever alert for the appearance of new books of literature, of new discussions of artistic subjects, and of new musical compositions. The early letters are teeming with references to contemporary men and women, but they have comparatively little to say about either Walpole or Gray,—because Shenstone did not know them personally, nor does he ever express a desire to know them.

But the unfavorable judgment passed by Dr. Johnson on Shenstone's life and work was more damning for the poet's reputation than the exaggerated *obiter dicta* of Gray and Walpole. "His mind," says Johnson,<sup>5</sup> "was not very comprehensive, nor his curiosity active; he had no value for those parts of knowledge which he had not himself cultivated," all of which and everything besides that he says about Shenstone's character and personality, show his en-

tire ignorance of the real man. While his estimate of Shenstone's poetry was on the whole just, Johnson had probably not read his letters when he wrote the *Life*. Otherwise he would hardly have written, "his general defect is want of comprehension and variety. Had his mind been better stored with knowledge, whether he could have been great I know not; he could certainly have been agreeable"<sup>6</sup> . . . "The pleasure of Shenstone was all in his eye; he valued what he valued merely for its looks; nothing raised his indignation more than to ask if there were any fishes in his water.

"His house was mean and he did not improve it: his care was of his grounds. When he came home from his walks he might find his floors flooded by a shower through the broken roof; but could spare no money for its reparation."<sup>7</sup> A good many years later, after Johnson's death, Bishop Percy insisted<sup>8</sup> that he "grossly misrepresented both Shenstone's circumstances and his house, which was small but elegant and displayed a great deal of taste." And Percy, who frequently enjoyed the hospitality of the Leasowes in the closing years of Shenstone's life, could surely speak with more authority than Johnson who was probably never in the house.

The new collection of letters, all of which were written in Shenstone's ripest years,<sup>9</sup> bears on every page emphatic refutation of most of the unfavorable and unjust criticism of Johnson, Gray, and Walpole, and shows everywhere qualities just the opposite of those which they ridiculed. The letters of Shenstone show him to have been a man of broad and profound learning, of deep human sympathy and interests, of exquisite taste in the best things of literature and art, and possessed of a genial, charming, epistolary style almost equal to Cowper's. In other words, Professor Hecht's collection of the Percy-Shenstone correspondence shows to us of the twentieth century who will read it, a very different personality from

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 359.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 352.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Nichols, *Lit. Illustr.*, VII, 151, cited by Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 352, footnote.

<sup>7</sup> 1757-1763.

<sup>8</sup> 1739-1740.

<sup>9</sup> *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, vol. III, p. 354.

that which most of his contemporaries thought they knew; and every student of English literature of the eighteenth century should be sincerely grateful to the editor for making these truly delightful letters accessible.

The correspondence contains a wealth of information and critical comment, as well as a great deal of "small talk" on an almost infinite variety of subjects drawn from contemporary English life. The reader finds little in the letters of Shenstone about his constant desire for "money, for fame, and other distinctions," comparatively little about "the pretty place he had made . . . only that it might be talked of"; but he finds much about men and books. Poetry, romance, drama, translations from classical authors, histories of painting, musical compositions, esthetic criticism,—in short, every kind of literature that was appearing from the busy presses of England during the years between 1755 and 1763,—are discussed and criticised with discerning judgment or referred to in the casual remarks and charming literary gossip.

The correspondence begins with a letter from Percy, apparently, in November, 1757, thanking Shenstone for "the favor of your Corrections"<sup>10</sup> of the Rhymes you were so good as to look over." "To your Pen," he continues, "they are now indebted for Beauties they were not before possessed of." It was at first somewhat formal, especially on Percy's part, who writes as if he was just a bit overawed by the fame and greatness of his more elderly correspondent. But Shenstone always seems to be perfectly at ease, and he is in his letters as in his poetry, always elegant and graceful. "In general I would wish you to make it as just to the Author and to your own Sentiments as you can," he writes Percy<sup>11</sup> about the latter's translation of Ovid's *Epistles*, "and afterwards employ me as a mere Musick-Master, whom you would wish to tune your Harpsichord; at most to retrench any little encroachments upon Sim-

plicity, ease of Style, and Harmony." In the same letter he writes, "I have likewise read the 'Essay on the Present State of Learning, etc.,' written by a Dr. Goldsmith, whom you know, and whom such as read it will desire to know. I dissent from him, however, in his Partiality to Rhime (I mean in works of length), but as to the present pomp and Haughtiness of style instead of sentiment am entirely of his opinion."

He shows everywhere in these expressions of his ripest years on literature and art the heartiest interest in, and sympathy for, about every phase of the eighteenth century romantic movement. And in spite of his reverence for form, he was a lover of simplicity in both language and style, and some of his condemnation of the pomp and conventionality of the poetry of the school of Pope makes him almost as much of a radical as Wordsworth is in his famous Preface. This love of simplicity and naturalness is particularly noticeable in one of his letters replying to certain suggestions which Percy had made as to the correction and revision of his own *Pastoral Ballad*:<sup>12</sup> "You will hardly convince me that any Pains of mine in point of revisal or correction have a tendency to hurt the *little Pieces* I produce. This I believe is very *seldom* the Case, when a Person's taste is not notoriously *perverted*. My chief endeavour, on these occasions, has been to produce *ease* and *Simplicity*, if not melody of expression, so far as this could be effected without *impoorishing* the Sentiment. And were I *not* to employ this Labour, Many of my Trifles would appear the most affected and the most *laboured* things that ever were. Pastoral Poetry, in my opinion, should exhibit almost *naked sentiment*. 'Tis possible that some parts in your Copy of my ballad may appear preferable to those that were finally inserted. But this was not owing to overcorrection, but to the decision of Friends, who on my shewing them a number of stanzas (upon whose merit I could not determine) occasioned me to reject some and admit others, as their Tastes were more or less fond of *Art*. . . . There *is*, however, a

<sup>10</sup> Quotations generally reproduce Hecht's text, except in the case of abbreviations which are always resolved.

<sup>11</sup> June 6, 1759, Hecht, p. 17.

<sup>12</sup> January, 1762, *Letter* XXXIII, p. 74.

time when this Labour does mischief. 'Tis when writers (of whom you may recollect some) think they can not too much *stiffen*, or *raise*, or *alienate their Language from the common Idiom!*<sup>13</sup> By this they procure a kind of Homage, parallel to what is acquired by a reserved behaviour: the Dignity of Distance, the awe pertaining to Eastern monarchs, but never once the more valuable effects of genuine *affection* or *sincere applause*."

Shenstone gives his views on poetry several times in the course of the correspondence, but his best piece of criticism is contained perhaps in a letter<sup>14</sup> of November 10, 1760, about the probable popularity that the *Reliques* are destined to enjoy: "There is no room that I can see to question the reception that your Work is like to meet with. If I have any talent at Conjecture, All People of Taste thro'out the Kingdom will rejoice to see a judicious, a Correct and elegant Collection of such Pieces. For after all, 'tis such Pieces that contain the true *Chemical Spirit* or *Essence of Poetry*, a little of which properly mingled is sufficient to strengthen and keep alive very considerable Quantities of the kind. 'Tis the voice of Sentiment rather than the *Language of Reflexion*, adopted peculiarly to *strike the Passions*, which is the only Merit of Poetry that has obtained my regard of late." His distinction between a song and a ballad is interesting, however much it may be at variance with the present prevailing conception: "Do you make any distinction betwixt a Ballad and a Song, and so confine yourself to the *Former*? With the common people, I believe, a Song becomes a ballad as it grows in years, as they think an old serpent becomes a Dragon, or an old Justice a Justice of the Quorum. For my own part, I who love by means of different words to bundle up distinct Ideas, am apt to consider a Ballad as containing some little story, either real or invented. Perhaps my notion may be too contracted, yet, be this as it will, it may not be of much Importance to consult Etymology on this occasion."<sup>15</sup>

Percy and Shenstone seem to have been in hearty sympathy on most of the artistic and literary questions which were brought under discussion in these letters. One gathers the impression from reading them that Percy, being considerably younger than Shenstone, is full of enthusiasm and energy to do things, which were occasionally in danger of running away with good judgment and taste. And Shenstone was apparently very helpful to his younger friend by generally assuming the rôle of the capable, conservative adviser. The greater part, and perhaps the most interesting letters of the correspondence are concerned with the genesis of that epoch-making work, Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. As is well known, Shenstone claimed that the idea of that publication originated with himself, and Percy confirmed his friend's claim in the introduction to the *Reliques*. In a letter to the Rev. Richard Graves of March 1, 1761, Shenstone writes:<sup>16</sup> "You have perhaps heard me speak of Mr. Percy—he *was* in treaty with Mr. James Dodsley, for the publication of our best old ballads in three volumes. He has a large folio ms. of ballads, which he shewed me, and which, with his own natural and acquired talents, would qualify him for the purpose as well as any man in England. I proposed the scheme for him *myself*, wishing to see an elegant *edition* and good collection of this kind. I was also to have assisted him in selecting and rejecting, and in fixing upon the best readings: but my illness broke off our correspondence, the beginning of winter; and I know not what he has done since!" And in the *Preface* to his collection<sup>17</sup> Percy says: "The plan of the work was settled in concert with the late elegant Mr. Shenstone, who was to have borne a joint share in it had not death unhappily prevented him." Percy's son, who edited the fourth edition of the *Reliques*, added a footnote on his father's statement, in which he says: "That the Editor hath not underrated the assistance he received from his friend, will appear from Mr. Shenstone's own letter to the Rev. Mr. Graves. . . . It is doubtless a great loss to this work, that Mr.

<sup>13</sup> Italics in last clause are mine.

<sup>14</sup> Letter XIX, p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> April 24, 1761, Letter XXIII, p. 52.

<sup>16</sup> Letter CIII, *Works*, vol. III, p. 321.

<sup>17</sup> *Reliques*, 4th ed., 1794, *Preface*, p. xvii.

Shenstone never saw more than about a third of one of these volumes, as prepared for the press."

While the letters which passed between Percy and Shenstone nowhere assert that the idea of publishing the *Reliques* originated with Shenstone, they do show in numerous instances that Percy asked his advice on almost every point of importance concerning the form and size of the work, the order and arrangement of the contents, revisions of, omissions from, and additions to the originals, and the best methods of publication. There is hardly any one of the forty-five letters which does not discuss at length, or mention in some way, certain features of the work that was to make Percy's name immortal. During the last three or four years of his life Shenstone was constantly reading and marking newly discovered collections of poetry for the purpose of helping along his friend's momentous undertaking. He was ever and anon warning Percy against making his collection too large, against having an eye to quantity rather than quality. And in almost every case the reader is impressed with his good judgment, his catholicity of taste, and his practical common sense. There is, indeed, no other book, I think, which gives us in such detail the interesting history of the origin and growth of Percy's famous work.

From the time when Percy first<sup>18</sup> wrote Shenstone, "I am possess'd of a very curious old Ms. Collection of ancient Ballads, many of which were never printed. . . . Mr. Johnson has seen my Ms. and has a desire to have it printed," Shenstone's interest in the progress of the work was intense and enthusiastic. "You pique my curiosity extremely by the mention of that ancient Manuscript," he writes in his first<sup>19</sup> letter to Percy, "as there is nothing gives me greater Pleasure than the simplicity of style and sentiment that is observable in old English ballads. If aught could add to that Pleasure, it would be an opportunity of perusing them in your company at the Leasowes, and pray do not think of publishing them until you have given me that opportunity." The character and

quality of Shenstone's advice and suggestions to Percy appear as well perhaps in the letter<sup>20</sup> dated October 1, 1760, as anywhere in the collection: "There will indeed be no *end of writing* all we have to say on the present occasion: A week's Conference on the Subject, when things are in somewhat greater Forwardness, will be more effectual than fifty Packets as much distended as your last. . . . After this, I would have you transcribe what you think proper in a large Paper-book and let me reconsider them all *together*, before they are sent away to Press. Many of those in *Print* need not be transcribed at all; only their Titles regularly inserted in those *Places* that you shall allot them," etc.

In this letter and on other occasions Shenstone does not hesitate to advise Percy to change the original manuscripts whenever in his judgment the poem in question is thereby made simpler and more interesting. Thus the tampering with his originals for which the editor of the *Reliques* was so severely condemned by certain of his contemporaries, received emphatic encouragement from the man who was for three or four years, at least, Percy's closest and most respected adviser.

Shenstone possessed among his many other laudable qualities, a fine sense and rich vein of humor, which are especially in evidence in his letters to Percy. Like the true humorist, he is never inclined to take himself or his friends too seriously, and this characteristic of his was no doubt on frequent occasions a great source of relief and help to the impulsive and enthusiastic Percy in his work.

Percy's letter to Dr. Grainger announcing the untimely and unexpected death of their mutual friend is a noble tribute to his character, and shows beyond a doubt the high esteem in which Shenstone was held by his intimate friends. "You will feel severely," he says,<sup>21</sup> "and join with us in lamenting with unaffected sorrow . . . the Death of our most elegant and amiable friend Shenstone, who alas! was snatched away by a fever on Friday the 11th

<sup>18</sup> Letter XVIII, pp. 43 f.

<sup>21</sup> Shenstone died February 11; this letter was written February 28, 1763. Letter XLVI, pp. 91-92.

<sup>18</sup> November, 1757, Letter I, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> January, 1758, Letter II, p. 6.

of this month, after an illness of eleven days. I know not any private gentleman, whose loss has occasioned a more sincere or more universal concern. The delicate sensibility of his writings, the consummate elegance of his taste, the beauties of his conversation, and the virtues of his heart had procured him a most extensive acquaintance, and every one of these aspired to his friendship, so that I know not an Instance of an event of this kind more deeply or more generally lamented. . . . But he is gone; yet tho' he is snatched from us, he still survives in our memory, and his fame will survive to ages, when we shall be no more."

WM. H. HULME.

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*L'Auberge et Autres Contes* par Guy de Maupassant, avec Introduction, Notes et Vocabulaire par Dr. A. SCHINZ. New York: William R. Jenkins Co., [1911]. 16mo., xiv, 177 pp.

This volume contains the following stories: *L'Auberge*, *Le Garde*, *La Mère Sauvage*, *Le Bonheur*, *L'Infirmes*, *La Main*, *Les Deux Amis*, *L'Aventure de Walter Schnaffs*. To illustrate one side of de Maupassant's genius, namely, his morbidity, no better selection could be made, for with the exception of *L'Infirmes* and *L'Aventure de Walter Schnaffs*, all the stories are gloomy and even gruesome; something more cheerful should be read besides, else the students will have a distorted view of the writer. We should not lose sight of the fact that he had a keen sense of humor; yet, to the editor's justification it should be added that few of the humorous stories are fit for class use.

The editing has been done with much care and the little book can safely be recommended to teachers and students. The print is clear, but the binding is poor; the paper cover coming off after very little handling. Lines are not numbered.<sup>1</sup>

The edition is intended for beginners. The notes and vocabulary therefore are unusually—I feel inclined to say unduly—full. Still, opinions may well differ on this score. I should say, however, that an introduction in French, pitched rather high, is likely to be useless to pupils who are in need of a vocabulary that gives the English equivalents for *chambre*, *chaise*, *carcasse*, *généreux*, *régiment*, etc., but who will look in vain for the much more difficult words of the introduction. Leaving the introduction out of consideration, and taking the editor's point of view, I venture to make the following remarks:

P. 10, l. 11. *Il était d'un naturel dormeur*. Neither *naturel* as a noun nor *dormeur* as an adjective is given in the vocabulary; ll. 23–25. *La neige . . . capitonnant les rochers*; I should prefer 'padding' the rocks to 'stuffing' or 'tufting' suggested by the voc.—P. 41, l. 5. *Il est des coins* is not explained, while l. 8 *nous autres* is given ten lines; reference is made to the Spanish *nosotros*, which, by the way, means 'we' as well as 'us.' The statement that *nos otros* occurs in the *Alexis* is doubly incorrect, since *otros* is not the Old French form, and since, if the reference is to *Alexis* 101c., the *anostros* of the manuscript can not be interpreted as having any connection with *altres*.—P. 42, l. 11. *fourrager* applied to a dog 'nosing' or 'hunting' in bushes is not to be translated by 'foraging.'—P. 44, l. 14. *chair blonde* should be translated by 'fair complexion,' hardly by 'blond skin.'—P. 50, l. 2. *ardent* applied to a burning house is not given in the voc.—P. 55, l. 18. *timbre* does not mean 'intonation' but 'timbre' also in English; it refers to the quality of the sound and not to the rhythm or pitch of a sentence as does intonation.—P. 58, l. 24. *gagner* with the meaning of 'reach' (a place) is not in the voc., neither is p. 59, l. 7 *se jeter à*

P. 9, l. 16 *partagé*; p. 11, l. 26 *les*; p. 19, l. 24 *le réveillait*; p. 20, l. 11 *absolue*; p. 50, l. 9 *détruit* and *celui*; same page, l. 22 *Là-dedans*; p. 58, l. 1 *L'Italie*; p. 82, third paragraph, lines mixed up; p. 34, l. 10 *mal-propre*; p. 93, ll. 17–18 are transposed; p. 127, note to 31. 20 read *eu* in both lines; p. 128, note to 35. 3 Norman patois; p. 130, note to 43. 18 read *hommes*; p. 131, note to 45. 18 *chair à canon*; p. 132, ll. 1, 2, 5 read *2e* and *1e*; p. 136, note to 67. 21 no accent on *pilon*; p. 148, note to 117. 17 read 1802.

<sup>1</sup> Typographical errors (correct forms only are given):

*la mer* referring to a valley or a river.—P. 60, ll. 9–10. *Il semble que tout soit*. This subjunctive should be explained and attention called to *Il me semble* with the indicative; lack of space cannot be alleged, since several lines of the notes are devoted to each of such familiar words as *vendetta*, *cotillon*, *hussard*, for the latter of which even the Hungarian etymology is given.—P. 67, l. 1. *arriver* in the sense of ‘happen’ is not in the voc.; l. 2. *je venais de* is nowhere explained, while *se mettre à* or *se remettre à* is explained eight times at least.—P. 69, l. 15. *à la dérobée* has a note and also a place in the voc., while l. 22 *ce vague de l’œil* is nowhere explained. I hardly see the need of a note to p. 79, l. 1 *On faisait cercle autour*; but *à cheval sur une chaise* on p. 82, l. 24 and *mauvais plaisant* on p. 85, l. 11, *ça ne doit pas être ainsi* on p. 88, l. 23 are much less obvious to the student.—P. 91, l. 1 *Paris . . . râlant*, and l. 25 *s’étaient pris d’amitié*, should be noted; l. 3, same page, *n’importe quoi* might be passed over, since *n’importe* is in the voc.—P. 92, l. 19. *roussi*, speaking of trees made yellow by the autumn blight should not be translated by ‘burned.’—P. 93, l. 22. *À la pêche donc*; this popular *done*, meaning ‘why,’ should be noted.—P. 106, l. 3. *siens* for ‘his family’ is not given; this would not be considered superfluous for students who find in the voc. *sien*, -*nc* (pron., m. f.) ‘his,’ ‘hers.’—A word might be said about the position of the pronoun in *le pouvait dénoncer* (l. 16, p. 107 and elsewhere, apparently a favorite construction of M.).—Pp. 110–111. *Pour et contre* is not explained.—P. 111, l. 11. *il sortit sa tête*; the voc. does not give *sortir* with the meaning of ‘stick out.’—P. 124, note to p. 19, l. 22. The rule for inversion of subject after *à peine*, *peut-être*, *toujours*, *aussi* (rule quoted three times) is too radically stated, because in several instances, not noted, it does not apply; e. g., p. 27, l. 12, *aussi je ne l’ai jamais raconté*.—P. 143, note to p. 96, l. 24. The student who has ever fished with a float on his line knows that the thread does not pass through the quill.

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GOETHE'S GESPRÄCHE. Gesamtausgabe, neu herausgegeben von Flodoard Frhr. von Biedermann unter Mitwirkung von Max Morris, Hans Gerhard Gräf und Leonhard L. Mackall. Leipzig, 1909–1911. 5 vols., xvi + 556, viii + 672, viii + 520, viii + 496, xviii + 508 pp., geheftet 20 Mk.

Dieser Preis ist für die starken und schönge-druckten Bände sehr mässig: ein Umstand der heute hervorgehoben zu werden verdient. Zudem erfährt die neue Ausgabe gegenüber der alten eine Verbilligung um 60 Prozent, wogegen die Zahl der Einzelgespräche um etwa 1900, d. h. um mehr als das Doppelte, vermehrt erscheint. Dem Herausgeber standen aber auch Helfer zur Seite, wie er sie für seine Zwecke nicht besser hätte wünschen können. Allerdings brauchten sie hier nur ihre bibliographische Stärke zu entwickeln. Selbstverständliches Ziel war Vollständigkeit, soweit diese den Herausgebern augenblicklich möglich: In ein paar Jahren werden aus entlegener brieflicher und gedruckter Literatur ein paar Dutzend neuer Minora einzureihen sein. Das Wort *Gesamtausgabe* hätte also lieber wegleiben sollen: der alte Biedermann war es in eben dem Sinne wie dieser hier. Es ist auch wol hauptsächlich aus einer leicht zu entdeckenden Koketterie mit auf den Titel gepflanzt; so etwas ist ja modern.—Dass manches Minderwertige mitläuft ist nur natürlich. Aber wie oft kommt es auf ein Datum, ein Wort, eine kleine Einzelheit an, die für irgend einen Zweck von Wichtigkeit sein mögen. Reichliche Register helfen zur Auffindung oder Drangabe des Erwarteten.

Die alte Ausgabe war überaus sorgfältig gearbeitet: ob es die neue gleichermassen ist? Eine Stichprobe, die ich angestellt habe, ist jedenfalls denkbar ungünstig ausgefallen. Es fällt das umso unangenehmer auf, wenn die erste Ausgabe die betreffende Sache richtig dargestellt hatte. Band 1, Seite 169, wird der bekannte Besuch, den Bürger unmittelbar nach dem Abschluss seiner zweiten Gedichtausgabe bei Goethe gemacht hat, in den Anfang Juni 1789 gesetzt. Wahrscheinlich weil Goethe am 19. Juni—nicht *Januar*, wie Biedermann 5, 28

steht—schreibt: *Leider hielten Sie sich neulich so kurze Zeit bei uns auf.* Aber das Wort *neulich* hat, vorab bei Goethe, weite Grenzen. Wir vermögen den Besuch fast auf den Tag festzulegen. Schiller schreibt am 30. April an Lotte (Jonas 2, 283), Bürger sei *vor einigen Tagen hier gewesen.* Am 6. Mai (Strodtmann, 3, 229 f.) spricht Bürger in einem von Langendorf bei Weissenfels an die Schütz gerichteten Briefe von *den acht Tagen, da ich von Ihnen bin*, von den *romantischen Naturscenen, welche sich links und rechts meinen Augen darboten*, also vom Ritt durchs Saaletal von Jena herunter, und von *dem angenehmen Traum der zwey bei Schützens verlebten Tage.* Rechnet man von hier zurück, so ergibt sich etwa: Dienstag den 28. April Abreise von Jena—Montag und Sonntag den 27. und 26. Aufenthalt daselbst—Sonabend und Freitag den 25. und 24. in Weimar—24. 23. 22. Reisetage. Dass Bürger am 22. April in Göttingen abgefahren war, ergibt der Brief vom 21. an Bertuch: *Vom Fels zum Meer* 1883, 171. Die grosse Postroute ging über Duderstadt und Gotha.

Was nun den Besuch selbst anbetrifft, so ist wirklich zu bedauern, dass nur die eine Partei, mit dem Briefe Althofs an Nicolai (Str. 4, 270 ff.), zu Wort kommt, dagegen der Bericht des einzigen Augen- und Ohrenzeugen, Reichardt, ausgelassen ist. Er steht bei Köpcke, *Tieck* 2, 187: Es ist zuerst von Schillers Recension die Rede. *Dagegen war Goethe gegen ihn freundlich gesonnen, und die Erbitterung Bürger's in dem bekannten Epigramm war ungerecht. Ich habe die Veranlassung dazu von Reichardt erzählen hören, und danach fällt die Schuld bei weitem mehr auf Bürger. Goethe und Reichardt hatten miteinander (an der Claudine) musicirt; während dessen war Bürger, der Goethe besuchen wollte, in das Nebenzimmer eingetreten. Goethe sieht ihn, und noch erfüllt von der Musik, tritt er ihm mit einer freudigen Begrüssung entgegen. In demselben Augenblicke verbeugte sich Bürger sehr tief. Durch das Sonderbare dieser Lage wird Goethe in Verlegenheit gesetzt, er wird verdriesslich, und eine steife und kalte Unterhaltung beginnt. Darüber wird nun Bürger empfindlich; er entfernte sich bald, und sprach in jenem Epi-*

*gramm seinen Zorn aus.* Ferner durften die bei Paulus, *Conversations-Saal* 1837, 184, bei Saupé, *Die Schiller-Goethe'schen Xenien*, 1852, 210 und im *Mitternachtsblatt für gebildete Stände* 1829, Nr. 1119, stehenden Berichte nicht ausser acht gelassen werden: Nur derjenige, der sie alle zusammen hat und kritisch zerlegt, wird zu einer rechten Anschauung gelangen. Ich werde demnächst der Sache nähertreten.

Wer von den beiden zuerst *Du* zu dem andern gesagt hatte, das ist ohne Bedeutung für die Beurteilung des Verhältnisses zwischen ihnen: Ist es richtig, dass es Bürger gewesen ist, dann fällt nur auf denjenigen, der die unrichtige Feststellung veranlasst oder gemacht hat, ein bezeichnendes Licht. Es ist bekannt, wie leicht der Sturm und Drang die vertraulichere Auredc aufnahm, aber auch, wie leicht er wechselte.—Statt derartiger Feststellungen hätte man in den Noten 5, 28 eher einen Hinweis auf die Homer-Angelegenheit erwartet. Auch hätte erwähnt werden können, worauf irgendwo Schmidt zum ersten Mal aufmerksam gemacht hat, dass Goethe wegen Herders Berufung gegründetes Interesse an den Zuständen der Göttinger Universität hatte.

Vorsichtig heisst es ebda: *Nach G.-Jhrb.* 1906, S. 254 soll der Herzog mit Goethe etwa im Mai 1781 Bürgern besucht haben. Boie schreibt an Louise Mejer am 7. Juni 1781: *Unter andern Briefen hatte ich gestern einen von Merck, . . sein Brief ist sehr gut "Goethe schreibt er, lebt still für sich in seinen Geschäften weg und entzieht sich dem Hofe so viel er kann. Seine Gesundheit ist nicht die beste. Ich wollte überhaupt, dass er aus dieser Galere wäre."* Er hat mit dem Herzog von Weimar Bürgern besucht. . . . Nach wäre ist also das Citat aus Mercks Brief geschlossen, und Er bezieht sich auf Merck. Wir wissen auch, dass Goethe nachher Mercken erst entgegenreiste. Und hätte Dorette in ihrem Hausfrauenstolz nicht auch Goethes gedacht, wenn er von der Partie gewesen wäre, als sie an Goeckingk berichtete (*Vierteljahrschrift* 3, 134)? Dieser Brief ist am 22. März geschrieben: der Besuch fällt also nicht in den Mai, sondern in den März 1781.

Man kann nur hoffen, dass sich solche Mängel nicht in grösserer Anzahl in dem Buche finden. Sonst könnte es seinerseits wieder manche Fehler verursachen.

G. SCHAAFFS.

*St. Andrews.*

*Espronceda's Blanca de Borbon*, edited by PHILIP H. CHURCHMAN, *Revue Hispanique*, tome XVII, 233 pages, New York and Paris, 1907.

*Byron and Espronceda*, by PHILIP H. CHURCHMAN, *Revue Hispanique*, tome XX, 210 pages, New York and Paris, 1909.

The first of Mr. Churchman's contributions to the study of Espronceda's works is a careful critical edition of the tragedy *Blanca de Borbon*, hardly familiar, it is safe to say, even to those who know the Spanish poet well as one of the chief voices of Spain's romantic movement. While the play is not a great one, it is certainly not inferior to many of those which constitute the body of Spanish dramatic poetry of the first half of the nineteenth century. The editor bases his text, first, upon a rare "first edition" printed by Espronceda's daughter in 1870, "in an extremely limited number of copies" (called B); second, upon two "autographs" in the British Museum (called respectively BR<sub>1</sub> and BR<sub>2</sub>); third, upon a ms. belonging to Sr. D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (called M); and, finally, upon a discourse on Espronceda (called E), read by Patricio de la Escosura before the Royal Spanish Academy in 1870, to which was attached an appendix with extracts from two "autographs" of the play.

Of the printed edition the author says: (p. 7) "Unsatisfactory punctuation, incorrect spelling, and whimsical accentuation . . . all betray the lack of printer's skill. Nor can it be said that this edition is very faithful to its manuscript models, if so be that the two autographs mentioned in the preface be those of which we shall presently speak." As regards the first of the two "autograph" mss. in the British

Museum, the editor feels convinced that it is authentic throughout after comparing the handwriting with that of other autographs. With the second ms. in the British Museum, however, the word autograph seems inaccurate, for we learn (p. 9), that it is the work "of several different hands," with corrections made by Espronceda; and (p. 11) that he "corrects only some of the most glaring errors in spelling (and not all even of these)." Of D. Marcelino's ms., which contains only four of the five acts, the editor says (p. 15) that "the theory [is] wholly plausible that this ms. represents Espronceda's own wish concerning the final form of *Blanca de Borbon*."

What has been said of the condition of all these versions sufficiently indicates the difficulty which Mr. Churchman had in putting together his text. Nevertheless, he has presented us with a most acceptable composite of his sources. Would it not be worth while to let us have also an unemended reprint of the single autograph BR<sub>1</sub>? For that, with all of its defects, would not only give a fair idea of the poet's method of work; it would furnish a text unencumbered by variants which, improvements though they may be, are probably not in every case due to the poet himself.

The preface further discusses the date at which Espronceda must have written this play, the conclusion being that it was finished before 1836. There is also (p. 15 ff.) an excellent characterization of this drama from the pen of Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín. Finally, three appendices add material of interest: the first gives some inedita (letters and poems) by Espronceda, the second consists of a very full bibliography of the poet's works, and the third has a note on his novel *Sancho Saldaña*. The reviewer may corroborate the conclusion reached by Mr. Churchman, that Espronceda's novel was first printed in 1834, in six volumes and forty-eight (and not eleven chapters) by adding that he bought a perfect copy of that edition in Madrid some years ago (and read it too); and that there can be no reasonable doubt about the date and form of the authentic first edition of the novel.

The second article contains a very exhaustive comparison of Espronceda and his great English contemporary, Byron. Here the reviewer's task becomes more difficult. Definite conclusions about "romantic" writers are hard to state because of those troublesome differences which arise from merely personal points of view. Moreover, the writers of the romantic school no longer have the wide circle of readers which they once had. Many of the poetic moods of even a Byron or an Espronceda no longer awaken a quick response of sympathy, because their personal attitude toward life and society, and their peculiar interpretation of experience do not conform either with the practical or with the esthetic ideas of the modern world. And of Byron it seems fair to say that the ground which he has lost is relatively greater than in the case of Espronceda.

The author has set himself the task of comparing and contrasting Byron and Espronceda under three main aspects; first, in the intellectual domain, in which are treated their endowments and their education, their religious views, their philosophy, their attitude toward society, politics and letters. Under the second head literary matters are discussed, but the line between this chapter and the preceding one cannot be readily drawn. Up to this point "the more general similarities and contrasts between the two poets" are suggested and illustrated by numerous quotations. That Byron is the dominating figure in this study, as he was the greater force in the literary world, Mr. Churchman leaves no room for doubt. With the third chapter on "concrete borrowings," we are, in the majority of cases, at least, upon solid ground. But one hesitates to accept the conclusions on the similarity of several of these concrete illustrations. Perhaps the reviewer is not wholly to blame for a different point of view, since Mr. Churchman himself presents some of the cases with diffidence. Cf. pp. 155, 156, 165. One of the examples of indebtedness on the part of Espronceda, where the parallels seem unconvincing, is that of the latter's epic poem *Pelayo*, and Byron's drama *Sardanapalus*. Nor does the diagram of "points in common" bring home the con-

clusion in a more convincing way, for with an addition of points a comparison between Byron's *Sardanapalus* and Doña Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's *Baltasar* might be instituted. The following individual passages are compared by the author, and they are quoted here to support the reviewer's opinion that it is not always easy to admit Espronceda's indebtedness:—

(Sardanapalus and his guests at table)

*Sard.* Fill full! Why this is as it should be;  
here  
Is my true realm amidst bright eyes and  
faces  
Happy as fair! Here sorrow cannot  
reach.

(A drinking scene from *Pelayo*)

Allí entregado á espléndidos festines,  
Rodrigo alegre y descuidado liba  
copas de nectar de fragancia pura,  
al deleite brindando y la hermosura.  
(P. 128.)

*Myrrha.* King! the sky  
Is overcast, and musters muttering  
thunder  
In clouds that seem approaching fast, and  
show  
In forked flashes a commanding tempest.  
Will you then quit the palace?

*Sard.* Say, Myrrha,  
Art thou of those who dread the roar of  
clouds?

*Myrrha.* In my own country we respect their  
voices  
As auguries of Jove.

(*Pelayo*) Envuelto en noche tenebrosa el mundo  
las densas nubes agitando, ondean  
con sus alas los genios del profundo,  
que con cárdeno sulco centellean;  
y al ronco trueno, al eco tremebundo  
de los opuestos vientos que pelean,  
se oye la voz de la celeste saña;  
"¡Ay Rodrigo infeliz! ¡Ay triste Es-  
paña!" (P. 129.)

(*Sard.*) The false and fond examples of thy lust  
Corrupt no less than they oppress, and sap  
In the same moment all thy pageant  
power  
And those who should sustain it.

(*Pelayo*) Que los vicios de un rey vician su gente;  
..... (P. 131.)

The influence of *Don Juan* on *el Diablo Mundo* (pp. 167-195) is convincingly established; here many similar sentiments and verbal resemblances bear out Mr. Churchman's contention, and illustrate the indebtedness of the Spanish to the English poet. The influence of one of Shakespeare's sonnets (LXVI): "Tir'd with all these, for restful death I cry, etc." seems more than doubtful; if Espronceda rendered, "As to behold desert a beggar born" by "*halla desiertos*," he could not have understood his Byron so well; p. 157. The influence of Walter Scott upon the novel *Sancho Saldaña* is, of course, undeniable; p. 198.

In studying foreign influences on Espronceda, however, one may be tempted to overlook his indebtedness to poets of the Peninsula. To mention but one native poet, the great romantic forerunner of Espronceda, Calderón, has (in my opinion) left a deep trace in some of the poetic moods of the author of *el Diablo Mundo*, and other Spanish poets would no doubt deserve consideration to the detriment of purely Byronic influence. But Mr. Churchman's work is thoroughly and conscientiously done, and he has served both Spanish and English literature by his investigations. Certainly his studies can be used with great profit by future biographers of both Byron and Espronceda. It may be remembered in this connection also, that students of Byron will find important material in another excellent article by Mr. Churchman: *Lord Byron's Experience in the Spanish Peninsula* in 1809, printed in the *Bulletin Hispanique*, January-March, and April-June, 1909.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE SOURCE OF THE BANQUET SCENE IN THE *Poetaster*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The well-known banquet scene in the *Poetaster* (IV, III) in which the guests, "char-

acteristically habited as gods and goddesses," speak and act as divinities, has always been referred to the *Iliad*, I, 493-611. The latest editor (1905) of the *Poetaster*, Mr. Herbert S. Mallory, remarks:

"The 'heavenly banquet' participated in by Ovid, Julia and the rest, making scene 5 of act 4, is, as Whalley discovered, modelled upon the synod of the Olympians described in the latter part of book I of the *Iliad*. Note particularly (1) the altercation between Jove and Juno, 89 ff.; (2) the reference to Thetis as a disturbing element, 109-111; (3) Jove's threat to shake Juno out of Olympus, 120 ff.; (4) the remonstrance of Vulcan, and his displacing Ganymede, 132 ff.; (5) music and song, 165 ff.; (6) the restoration of amity at the end."

The 'banquet scene,' however, owes more to Lucian than to Homer. Jonson clearly had in mind *Zeus the Tragedian*, and possibly *The Convention of the Gods*. From these two dialogues he got (1) the *spirit* of his scene—his laughing treatment of the gods in undignified parliamentary session. Moreover it will be observed that (2) both of these dialogues begin with a humorous proclamation by Mercury; and (3) both have Momus as a disturbing element. Finally, the description of Vulcan as a cup-bearer is clearly a recollection of *Dialogues of the Gods*, V. Indeed, throughout there seems to be a more or less conscious imitation of Lucian's manner of representing the Greek divinities.

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HENRI BORDEAUX AND Maud Muller

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—*La Vie des autres*, one of the sketches in Henri Bordeaux's *Carnet d'un stagiaire* (Paris, 1911, 8vo., pp. 289-295), is a free translation into prose of Whittier's *Maud Muller*. The heroine's name is changed to Étienne; descriptive phrases are added to intensify the setting; and the last part of the poem is shortened, so that the moral deductions are less emphatic. But, in most respects, story, characters, and atmosphere have been carefully preserved, often to the extent of

literal rendering. We find again the hay, the draught from the spring, the bare feet and tattered gown, the judge's proud mother and sisters, his humming in court an old love tune, and the familiar burden, *il aurait pu en être ainsi*. Nowhere in the volume does M. Bordeaux acknowledge his debt to the American poet.

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#### A NOTE ON IMMERMANN'S *Petrarca*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—There occurs in Werner Deetjen's *Immermanns Jugenddramen* (Leipzig, 1904) a curious oversight in the discussion of Immermann's *Petrarca* (1821). Among faults, Deetjen refers to impure and insipid rhymes, trivial and inane speeches, especially those of Laura, and then (p. 92) adds: "Auch Verstösse gegen die Grammatik

"Fort zieht das Eis  
Und meine goldnen Schlösser" etc.

kommen vor." This syntactical breach is, however, not Immermann's. What he did here was to insert, without any more ado, two stanzas of the folksong entitled *Das fahrende Fräulein*. (Cf. *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, Reclam, p. 79.) The slip is curious, because it was Deetjen, in this same monograph, who discovered the Anglo-Saxon ballad, *Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough and William of Cloudeley*, on which Immermann based his tragedy *Edwin* (1820). Immermann's works, with the single exception of his masterpiece *Der Oberhof*, contain such an abundance of more or less obscure references to other works, that it is always difficult and sometimes impossible to corral his literary forebears. In *Petrarca* alone there are no fewer than thirty mythological allusions as well as references to or quotations from Pope John XXII, Giacomo Colonna, Apelles, Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Socrates, Epictetus, the Bible, various well known Italian families, Provençal poetry, the Ghibelline-Guelf controversy and general Italian history. Yet the plot of the drama is the very simplest and the drama itself is but a few lines longer than Kleist's *Prinz von Homburg*. And it is on the whole significant that Immermann should have dramatized Petrarch's love for Laura, though, as Deetjen here and there points out, Engeline C. Westphalen (1806), Ludwig Halirsch (1823), Wilhelm von Chézy (1832),

Theodor Goldammer (1858), Peter Hille (1896), Jaroslav Vrchlicky (1900) and Königsbraun-Schaup (1903) have made dramatic use of the same theme. There is also a reference to Petrarch in Immermann's comedy (1817) *Ein Morgenschmerz*.

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#### THE PRE-SHAKESPEARIAN *Taming of a Shrew*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The following parallel between the pre-Shakespearian *Taming of a Shrew* and Du Bartas' *Week* has not hitherto been noted, but is of interest in connection with the other borrowings in the play. I quote from the facsimile *Taming of a Shrew*, pages 49-50, the lines being, in Boas' edition, numbered 116-125, on page 62:

Theternall power that with his only breath,  
Shall cause this end and this beginning frame,  
Not in time, nor before time, but with time, confusd,  
For all the course of yeares, of ages, moneths,  
Of seasons temperate, of dayes and houres,  
Are tund and stopt, by measure of his hand,  
The first world was, a forme, without a forme,  
A heape confusd a mixture all deformd,  
A gulfe of gulfes, a body bodiles,  
Where all the elements were orderles, . . .

With this compare the following from Du Bartas—the poet is talking about the universe ("La Sepmaine," 1593, "Premier Jour," lines 19-24, 223-227):

L'immuable decret de la bouche diuine,  
Qui causera sa fin, causa son origine:  
Non en temps, auant temps, ains mesme avec le temps.  
L'enten vn temps confus: car les courses des ans,  
Des siecles, des saisons, des mois, & des iournees,  
Par le bal mesuré des astres sont bornees.

Ce premier monde estoit vne forme sans forme,  
Vne pite confuse, vn meslange diiforme  
D'abismes vn abisme, vn corps mal compassé,  
Vn Chaos de Chaos, vn tas mal entassé:  
Où tous les elemens se logeoient pesle mesle: . . .

It will be observed that the author of *Taming of a Shrew* has "borrowed" in his usual blundering fashion. He has totally obscured the meaning of some of the lines; while the syntactical structure of his whole passage, and its bearing upon the question in hand—

"What dutie wiues doo owe vnto their husbands"  
—must remain unsolved mysteries.

Did he copy directly from the French? The question is interesting, for Joshua Sylvester was working about the same time, and, although his "First Day" (so far as we know) was not published until 1595,<sup>1</sup> it may have circulated in manuscript. Sylvester's version of the lines above runs thus (1608 edition, pp. 2 and 8):

Th' immutable diuine decree, which shall  
Cause the Worlds End, caus'd his originall:  
Neither in Time, nor yet before the same,  
But in the instant when Time first became.  
I meane a Time confused, for the course  
Of years, of moneths, of weeks, of daies, of howrs,  
Of Ages, Times, and Seasons, is confin'd  
By th' ordred Daunce vnto the Stars assign'd.

That first World (yet) was a most formless Form,  
A confus'd Heap, a Chaos most deform,  
A Gulf of Gulfs, a Body ill compact,  
An vgly medly, where all difference lackt:  
Where th'Elements lay iumbled al together. . . .

A comparison of the three versions shows, strangely enough, that the two Englishmen have little in common in their departures from the original. The change of *courses* to *course*, and the addition of *hours* and *nor*, exhaust the list. On the other hand, the passage in *Taming of a Shrew* is in some respects nearer to the French, while the *bodiles-orderles* couplet at the close may indicate that the author had some other translation before him—perhaps Sir Philip Sidney's, now lost. At any rate, the evidence is against his having copied from Sylvester; and no other version of the Du Bartas lines is known.

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## BRIEF MENTION

The *Matzke Memorial Volume* (Leland Stanford Junior University Publications, 1911) is more than the passing tribute of a few colleagues to the memory of their friend. The volume opens with two articles by Professor Matzke—articles of broader interest than those on language and literary history by which he is more generally known—*Gaston Paris* and *The Development and Present Status of Romanic Dialectology*. The volume will also interest the larger class of students, since the articles cover a wide range of subject and period. Furthermore, each contribution shows careful, painstaking preparation, as if the writer felt the personal influence of the man whom he

would honor. The interest and importance of the book can be seen from a brief summary of the contents:—Origin of the Legend of Floire and Blancheflor (Johnston), Old French *ne-se-non* in other Romance Languages (Espinoza), Purgatorio XI—The Lord's Prayer (Anderson), Commentary on verses 36-52 of the *Excuse à Ariste* (Searles), Relation of the German *Gregorius auf dem Stein* to the Old French Poem *La Vie de Saint Gregoire* (Allen), Doctrine of Verisimilitude in French and English Criticism of the seventeenth century (Alden), Spenser's *Faerie Queene* III, ii; and Boccaccio's *Fiammetta* (Briggs), Benedicitee (Flügel), Last Words of Shakespeare's Characters (Newcomer), Propertiana (Foster), Some phases of Martial's literary Attitude (Elmore), Aratus and Theocritus (Murray), Early Etruscan Inscriptions: Fabretti 2342-2346 (Hempl).

M. P. B.

By the publication of *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1911) Professor W. P. Mustard has recalled from oblivion the author of the familiar quotation *Semel insanivimus omnes*, who had so long been a favorite author in the schools but had in Boswell's day become almost entirely forgotten. It is true that since Kluge's study of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* in 1880 (*Anglia* III, 266 f.) the English student has been set right in the matter of the two Mantuans, but he has remained subject to such incomplete instruction with reference to the scope of the poet's works as that offered by Dr. Furness: "I think (I speak under correction) he wrote nothing but *Eclogues*" (Variorum *L. L. L.*, 1904, p. 150). Professor Mustard supplies the "correction" (p. 27 f.), and also studies the whole problem of that "popularity in the schools" which Dr. Furness can admit to be only "not utterly incomprehensible." One of the most curious of the minor details of Professor Mustard's full and minutely accurate Introduction is the refutation (first published in this journal, xxiv, 8) of the supposed evidence that Barclay wrote his *Eglogs* at Ely (p. 48, note 53). The chief importance of this book will be best recognized by the student of the pastoral. To have ready access to these eclogues in which the conventions of the earlier poets are so characteristically modified by a keen but humane satirist, is a gain that will deepen and enrich the appreciation of this literary form in its long and varied history. What has now been done so thoroughly for England,—with not a few indications of what is to be traced elsewhere,—should lead to corresponding accounts of Mantuan's vogue in Germany, France, Italy, and other regions of culture.

<sup>1</sup> Ashton, *Du Bartas en Angleterre*, p. 368.

## MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 2.

## THE SECOND MAID'S TRAGEDY

There is in the British Museum a manuscript tragedy (Lansdowne ms. 807) of so much interest to scholars that for over two centuries it has provoked discussions and conjectures from experts, and others. Aside from the dramatic interest attaching to this curious piece—and this is by no means small—there is the interest in the manuscript itself (a model of beautiful Elizabethan handwriting, in perfect preservation, one of the few manuscripts which escaped Warburton's immortally notorious cook); there is the question of authorship, which has brought out more than one wild guess; and, finally, and not of least interest, is the question of the numerous alterations, corrections, deletions, and additions made in the original. This last point is of peculiar interest because it involves the question of the nature of the censorship of the drama at the close of the Elizabethan period; for the manuscript contains the corrections of Sir George Buc, then Master of the Revels, the first preserved instance we have of the kind in Buc's own hand.

The drama referred to has always gone by the title *The Second Maid's Tragedy*, for reasons which will appear. Langbaine evidently knew nothing of this manuscript, but Oldys wrote in his copy of the 1691 edition of Langbaine, opposite *The Maid's Tragedy*, the following note: "*The second Maid's Tragedy* licensed by Sr George Buc 31 Oct. 1611.—Tis a M. S. Folio in the possession of John Warburton Esq Somerset Herald.—Somebody has written upon it 'a Tragedy indeed!' It had no Authors name to it when Sr Geo. licensed it, but was afterwards ascribed to Geo. Chapman whose name by another hand is erased & Shakespeare's inserted." On the last page of the manuscript itself is the following, in Buc's handwriting: "This second Maydens tragedy (for it hath no

name inscribed) may with the reformations bee acted publikely. 31. octob. 1611. G. Buc." This is the first licensed play in England of which we have the original manuscript and license. This method of endorsing the play on the back was followed by Buc's successor Sir Henry Herbert, and, in general, has been continued down to the present day. Below this interesting document, in a late 17th or early 18th century hand, is written, "By Thomas Goffe [or Goughe]," which has been marked out and "George Chapman" substituted, which in turn has been crossed out and replaced by "By Will Shakspear," followed by "A Tragedy indeed." Since these ascriptions, this tragedy has been placed to the credit of Massinger (by Tieck), of Cyril Tourneur (by Fleay), and of Middleton (by Swinburne).<sup>1</sup> It was not until 1824 that *The Second Maid's Tragedy* found its way into print. In that year it appeared in the *Old English Drama*, Vol. I, but with so many errors as to limit its value for textual study. In 1829 Tieck printed the piece in Vol. II of the *Shakespeare Vorschule*, and pointed out a number of blunders made in the English edition. In an able *Vorrede* Tieck makes out a strong case for Massinger as author of the tragedy, and, likewise, presents a plausible argument for naming the piece *The Tyrant* instead of by the title given it by Buc who, of course, had the then recent *Maid's Tragedy* in mind, the two dramas resembling in the one respect. On the first page of the manuscript, in the list of *dramatis personae*, the leading character is called "the now Usurping Tirant," and always enters as "Tyrant" throughout the tragedy which he dominates. Tieck calls the piece *Der Tyrann, oder die zweite Jungfrauen Tragödie*, and gives *Der Tyrann* for the running title. These two bits

<sup>1</sup> For discussions of the authorship of this tragedy, see *Englische Studien* II, 234; *Anglia* II, 47; and *Jahrbuch des deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft* XXVII, 194.

of evidence—Tieck's title and the MS. itself—are sufficient to free Fleay (*Eng. Dram.*, II, 331) from the charge, or credit, of furnishing the piece with a new title.

Again in Hazlitt's Dodsley (Vol. x) *The Second Maid's Tragedy* appeared, but still with numerous mistakes. In 1875, Chatto & Windus printed it with the "Doubtful Plays and Fragments" of Chapman, and indicated in footnotes the lines and words that had been marked in the manuscript for correction or deletion. This was a great advance over all former reprints of the tragedy, but manifestly too carelessly done, especially in respect of the marginal marks in the original, for the scholar's use. Finally I determined to edit the play myself, when lo! after spending a week last summer on the MS., the Malone Society appeared with such a faithful reprint of *The Second Maydens Tragedy* (Reprints 1909 [1910] with facsimiles and pp. xiii + 78), prepared by the General Editor, W. W. Greg, that I was thankful I had been forestalled in the task.<sup>2</sup>

*The Second Maid's Tragedy* is probably the work of Philip Massinger, and the alterations in the manuscript which have been made in a different hand, and which by some have been fondly ascribed to Shakespeare, are probably the work of a scribe. But it is not my purpose, in this brief review, to enter into the question of the authorship. The Malone Reprint will furnish the best argument for those interested in this phase of the subject. The tragedy turns on the lust of an usurping tyrant for the daughter of one of his subjects who is used as a pander. The tragic action is intensified by having the deposed king (a man of genuine nobility) in love with the heroine (who is always called "the Lady" in the piece). To save her virtue, the young lady commits suicide. At this point begins the peculiar originality of the author. The tyrant's lust does not end with the death of his victim. When he learns of her fate, he sends for a painter to bring back the bloom to the pale cheeks. When the tyrant is

called to inspect the work of the artist (who, by the way, is the deposed king disguised), he is overjoyed at the simulation of life, and rushes to kiss the lips of the dead woman. Poison has been mixed with the paint, and the usurper's passion meets its just reward. The whole thing is grotesque and revolting to the last degree, but, nevertheless, powerful. There is an under-tragedy of great merit, but it is overshadowed by the main theme.

Apart from the interest in this tragedy as a work of dramatic art, there is a vast opportunity for study and conjecture in connection with the alterations and marginal marks in the manuscript (these have all been indicated, with slight exceptions, with the greatest fidelity in the Malone Reprint). These are numerous and of a most perplexing nature. In the first place, there are five slips of paper with substitutions or alterations for as many passages, ranging from 5 to 15 lines in length and involving, in one instance, five speeches. These slips are of the same kind of paper as the MS. sheet and in a different handwriting. Some of these are pasted opposite passages marked in the margin, others have no such marks. The different kinds of markings are still more confusing. Sometimes a bold stroke in ink is drawn through the line from left to right; other passages are crossed out by a line slanting a little from the vertical; while still other passages are indicated by a line drawn like a square bracket in the margin. In some instances there are interlineations (*e. g.*, l. 1354). Again, there are a number of crosses in the margin, some like the letter "x," some like the "+" mark. Sometimes the cross is a blue pencil mark, sometimes it is in ink—and usually the two appear together as though some one had first gone over the play and called attention to certain passages by one sign, and another followed using his own mark to attract attention. At least three hands appear in the writing, besides the stage directions; that of the original copyist, that of the Master of the Revels, and a third. One of these was probably the author's, the third, Dr. Greg calls the scribe. There are also at least two shades of ink, both brown. Only a portion of these

<sup>2</sup>This article was written early in 1911, and "last summer," of course, refers to 1910.

distinguishing characteristics does the editor of the Malone Reprints call attention to. For the scholar, the fact that certain marginal marks have been made with a blue pencil, others with pen and ink, is of quite as much importance as the difference in handwritings.

The alterations and deletions seem to be of three origins, not always clearly differentiated. Without doubt, many of the changes were made by the author himself on his own initiative, for the avoidance of redundancy, or for other apparent reasons. Then there are certain passages marked which are clearly the work of the Master of the Revels, for has he not told us in his license on the back of the manuscript that he has indicated certain "reformations" to be made in the tragedy? And, finally, for the sake of coherency or to further carry out the will of Buc as indicated by his strictures there are corrections apparently by the author or scribe. Aside from the deletions made by the author in the first instance, the passages marked for omission are, in general, of three kinds: those reflecting in too strong terms on tyrant kings, those reflecting on the nobility, and expletives considered as oaths. The question is, "How much of this work of excision was the work of Buc, how much that of the author?" The editor of the Reprint, relying almost entirely on the color of the ink, and the handwriting, finds only two alterations which can with complete certainty be ascribed to Buc. These are in l. 1354, where "great men" becomes "some men;" and l. 2403, where "I am poisoned" has been substituted for "yo<sup>r</sup> kinges poisond." Two other changes have been ascribed to the Master "with reasonable certainty." The first occurs in the Tyrant's speech when he discovers the dead lady (ll. 1841-2). Addressing the body he says:

"hadst thou but ask't th' opynion of most ladies  
thowd'st neuer come to this!"

In the first line, "many" has been substituted for "most." The other instance (ll. 1424-6) is of a similar character. Govianus the deposed king, in attributing the suicide of the lady to her love of honour and virtue, says,

"twas a straunge trick of her, few of yo<sup>r</sup> ladies  
in ordinary will belieue it, they abhor it  
theile sooner kill them selues w<sup>th</sup> lust, than  
for it;"

There are several other examples of substitutions and deletions made in deference to folk of rank. In l. 422 "brazen" has been substituted for "courtier" in "a Courtiers face;" "woman" for "courtier" in l. 713, and 9½ lines immediately following (ll. 716-24), reflecting on princes and kings, have been marked for omission. A long speech by Govianus (ll. 754-784), the best in the whole play, is heavily marked for deletion. One line is especially marked. viz., "as you perhapps will saie yo<sup>r</sup> betters doe" (i. e., play the pander, the speech being addressed to the father of the lady). On these lines, with the others just mentioned, Mr. Greg risks only the comment "marked for omission," the inference being by the author or scribe. The length of the speech might, of course, account for the work having been done by the author; but then the line particularly marked seems significant. On the other hand, if it had been the work of the censor, it would seem that he would have stricken out the remainder of the speech which ends,

"But miserable notes that Conscience sings  
that cannot truly praye, for flatteringe Kinges."

In l. 1545 a concession has been made to knight-hood, and the editor admits, with a question mark however, that it may have been done by Buc. The line runs:

"thers many a good knightes daughter is in  
service,"

in which "mens" has been interlined for "knightes."

Although a half dozen expletives (to be considered in a moment) and two of the foregoing passages have been ascribed to Buc by the editor of the Malone Reprint, it is with a degree of timorousness that he does so. The difficulty which constantly confronted him in reaching definite conclusions respecting the origin of the numerous marks may be best judged from the following deleted couplet which closes a speech of the deposed king (ll. 2209-2210):

"Tyrant ile rvnne thee on a daungerous shelf,  
thoe I be forc't to flie this land myself."

These lines are marked out in ink. Commenting, Greg says, "Internal evidence would strongly recommend [the deletion to be the work of Buc,] but the ink appears to be the same as that of the substitution in the previous line, which is clearly not by Buc." It is this stumbling-block of the different shades of ink which appear in the ms. that makes the editor over-cautious in assigning the various marked passages. On the other hand, he takes no notice of the blue pencil crosses in the margin—an evidence quite as significant as that arising out of the shades of ink. I may add here that no one, so far as I am aware, has ever before called attention to these blue pencil crosses. It is only fair, however, to point out that the editor sees the indirect work of the censor even when tangible proof is wanting. Personally, I think there is little doubt that Buc was responsible for most of the passages marked for omission which were too pointed against kingship and the nobility. Some of the best speeches have been excised, as for example, that of Govianus to the Tyrant (ll. 2358-69), beginning,

"O thow sacrilidgious villaine  
thow thief of rest, robber of monuments," etc.

and the one at the end of the play (ll. 2429-31) where the Tyrant is called "Monster in synne."

When we come to the expletives ("life," "heart," etc.), the editor, still relying on the shades of ink, is scrupulously careful in his ascriptions. "Life" has been deleted ten times, five of which Greg places to the credit of the Master of the Revels; "heart" has been marked five times, three are given to Buc; "Bi'th masse" has been cut out once, not ascribed by the editor. Respecting these deletions of oaths he says: "On the whole it seems likely that most are due to the author, but in some cases it is legitimate to assume the influence, if not the actual work, of the censor. Particularly is this the case with the deletion of the expletives *heart* and *life*. In only a few instances does the ink appear dark enough to allow us to suppose the activity of Buc himself, but it is evident

that somebody took the hint and made a pretty thorough expurgation of the text." Notwithstanding this assertion, the manuscript and the Malone Reprint show that "life" was passed over three times (ll. 384, 630, 1383), "uds life" once (l. 2110), "mass" twice (ll. 246, 392), and "faith" or "yfaith" nine times (ll. 616, 1463, 1580, 1618, 1623, 1629, 1635, 1770, 2022). Thus, sixteen expletives were allowed, and sixteen were excised, so that, after all, the expurgation could not have been so very thorough. It may appear strange that any of these "oaths" should have been found objectionable; but it should be remembered that *The Second Maid's Tragedy* was written in the year of the King James Bible, and, besides, the most blasphemous of the Stuarts was likewise the most pious.

The editor's conclusions regarding the alterations and excisions have already been indicated. "For the majority of the corrections," he says in his preface to *The Second Maydens Tragedy*, "and probably the bulk of the deletions and omissions the author seems responsible, but there are obvious reasons for suspecting that in some cases at least he was acting under the inspiration of the censor. Glancing through the alterations and deletions in the text it is easy to imagine the hand of the official censor in more instances than a critical examination warrants." This is a perfectly safe position to maintain, but, on the other hand, it is none too sure a test to rely on the differences in the shades of ink employed in the ms., for these are often so slight as to defy detection. Furthermore, it does not follow, however likely, that all the corrections and deletions by the same hand were made at the same time and out of the same ink-well. And as for tracing the handwritings of the different persons responsible for the ms. as we have it, that test would break down to a considerable extent when it comes to an examination of the marked passages, for these are indicated by lines alone. I have already mentioned that the blue pencil marks are passed over by the editor without notice. It would seem a far safer basis for conjecture to assume that all the pencil marks are by the same hand than to depend on detect-

ing two slightly different shades of sepia. I do not wish to imply that the editor holds fast to the tests of handwriting and shades—he is anything but dogmatic. But these are practically the only tests applied and they do not leave us satisfied. The result is largely negative, or at best, with few exceptions, mere probability, whereas it would seem that there is a psychology back of all these marks and deletions to be found in the character of James I, and in the custom and practices of the Master of the Revels during his reign. We do know that James was strictly averse to profanity on the stage, and that he was particularly jealous of all political allusions that in any way reflected on kingship, which was not next to divinity, it was itself divine. In 1605 *Gowry* had been forbidden for political reasons, and the authors of *Eastward Ho!* got themselves into prison for certain flings at James and his carpet-bag Scotch knights. Following upon these incidents the authority of the Master of the Revels was greatly increased, and as the censor of the stage has always been the instrument of the throne, we may feel fairly confident that more of the deletions in *The Second Maid's Tragedy* were the direct work of Buc than the editor has ascribed to him. Except where the handwriting definitely proves the corrector to be other than the censor (as in the case of the excised redundant passages, the alterations made to preserve the coherence, and a few others) I am inclined to think that, in the first instance, Buc marked or deleted certain expletives and the more violent attacks on the Tyrant, as his master King James would have desired him to do. The ms. then went back to the author who possibly made additional alterations in keeping with those of the censor, and others to reestablish connections. If proofs for these conjectures are demanded, we should have to take refuge in the editor's stronghold.

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## FAUSTMISZELLEN

### I. *Angeraucht Papier* und einiges mehr, "Urfaust" 1. Scene.

Ich habe mir die oft besprochenen Worte immer in folgender Weise erklärt. In den Büchern bis oben an die Decke hin—also nicht nur in den unten, am nächsten zurhand stehenden und am meisten gebrauchten—stecken überall die Leseseichen, regelrechte Zackenreihen bildend: das und nichts anderes, nennt man *besteckt*. Es deutet darauf hin, welch ungeheure Büchermassen Faust schon bewältigt hat. Und dass diese Papierstreifen angeräuchert sind, zeigt, wie viele Jahre die Studien schon absorbiert haben: seine besten Jahre, wo er die Schönheiten der Natur und das Leben mit seinem heissen Pulsschlag hätte geniessen sollen, statt über den Schmökern zu brüten. Die Papierstreifen sind natürlich nur soweit angeräuchert als sie aus den Büchern heraussehen: Jeder Besucher alter Bibliotheken kennt Beispiele, wo diese Zettel, soweit sie im Buche stecken, ihre ursprüngliche Reinheit und Farbe unverändert behalten haben und darüber hinaus fast schwarz geworden sind.—Grammatisch steht der Deutung, die ich mir schon vor Jahren zurechtgelegt habe, und an der ich noch immer festhalte, nichts im Wege—auch wenn man sie, was nirgends so wenig Berechtigung als im *Urfaust* hat, mit strengen Augen ansieht. Prüfen wir sie im Zusammenhange des ganzen Abschnitts:

- 45 Weh! steck ich in dem Kerker noch  
Verfluchtes dumpfes Mauerloch  
Wo selbst das liebe Himmels Licht  
Trüb durch gemahlte Scheiben bricht.  
Beschränkt von all dem Bücherhauff
- 50 Den Würmer nagen, Staub bedekt  
Und bis ans hohe Gewölb hinauf  
Mit angeraucht Papier besteckt  
Mit Gläsern Büchsen rings bestellt  
Mit Instrumenten vollgepropft,
- 55 Uhrväter Hausrath drein gestopft,  
Das ist deine Welt, das heisst eine Welt!

Die Interpunktion ist so, wie wir sie aus dieser Periode der Literatur und Goethes kennen. Von der in den Drucken angebrachten haben wir grundsätzlich abzusehen: Goethe wusste ja selbst nicht mehr genau, wie er seine Verse konstruieren sollte.—Worauf bezieht sich also *Beschränkt* usw.?

Auf *Kerker* und *Mauerloch* oder auf *Himmels Licht*? Beide Beziehungen sind möglich, und es ist nicht einzusehen, wie man aus besser fundierten Gründen als rein subjektivem Gefühl eine davon vorziehen kann. Das *Himmels Licht* ist *beschränkt*, kann nicht das ganze Gemach erfüllen, weil die Repositorien, mit Büchern vollgestellt, die Schränke und Tische mit Gläsern, Büchsen und Instrumenten vollgepropft, und anderes Kram so viel Raum einnehmen, dass das Zimmer dunkel wird. Wäre diese Auffassung richtig, dann würde also das *Trüb* in den Versen 49–55 erklärt, und *gemahlte Scheiben* lediglich Ergänzung der Angabe *In einem hochgewölbten engen gothischen Zimmer* sein. An diesen Scheiben war ja doch auch nichts auszusetzen. Der Punkt vor *Beschränkt* hat natürlich geradesowenig zu sagen wie das Komma vor *Das ist deine Welt*.—Bezieht man dagegen *Beschränkt* auf *Kerker* und *Mauerloch*—wobei es einerlei ist, ob man *wo* an das erste oder zweite Wort anschliesst—dann liefern die Verse 49–55 einfach eine Beschreibung der Lokalität. Irrelevant ist die Unsicherheit aber für die Auffassung der Verse 49–52 in sich. Der erste Zusatz zu *Bücherhauff*, die Worte *Den Würmer nagen*, kann kaum als vollwertiger Relativsatz angesprochen werden: er ersetzt ein 'würmerbenagt' oder 'von Würmern benagt' nach Analogie des biblischen *Schätze, die Motten und Rost zerfressen*. Darum wird *Staub bedekt* schon mehr als Nominativ des Participiums und als ein Wort empfunden, wozu die Schreibung in zwei durchaus nicht im Widerspruch steht; und ihm parallel geht dann ein 'papierbesteckt,' nur wegen des hinzutretenden Adjektivs in *mit angeraucht Papier besteckt* auseinandergezogen.

Wem diese Erklärung nicht zusagt, der mag einfach *Staub bedekt* als noch voll vom Relativum *Den* abhängig ansehen, aber für den folgenden Vers ein Subjekt herausziehen: ein Vorgang, der ja doch in dem populären, naturwüchsigen, unentwickelten Stil, wie er der Epoche eigen war, durchaus nichts ungewöhnliches ist. Der Satz *Mit Gläsern, Büchsen rings bestellt*. . . geht dann wieder dem *Beschränkt*. . . parallel, die Parenthese umfasst also die Verse 50–52. Wie lose die Konstruktion in solchen Fällen wie diesem hier werden kann, dafür noch zwei Beispiele. Das eine aus dem vorhergehenden Abschnitt:

O sähest du voller Mondenschein  
Zum letzten mal auf meine Pein  
Den ich so manche Mitternacht  
An diesem Pult heran gewacht.  
Dann über Bücher und Papier  
Trübseelger Freund erschienst du mir.

Das andere aus dem *Trauergesang* nach Euphoriens Sturz:

Ach! zum Erdenglück geboren,  
Hoher Ahnen, grosser Kraft,  
Leider! früh dir selbst verloren,  
Jugendblüthe weggerafft.  
Scharfer Blick die Welt zu schauen,  
Mitsinn jedem Herzensdrang,  
Liebesgluth der besten Frauen  
Und ein eigenster Gesang.

Wenn es sich nicht um eine Bibliothek, sondern um ein Archiv handelte, wenn es 'Aktenhauf' statt *Bücherhauff* hiesse, dann hätte ich eine andere gute Erklärung parat. Der Inhalt von einzelnen Aktenfaszikeln oder von ganzen Aktenbündeln, wofern sie gelegt, nicht gestellt sind, wird noch heute, wie seit langem, in manchen Archiven dadurch kenntlich gemacht, dass man ihn auf Streifen oder Blätter Papiers schreibt und diese mit ihren oberen Teil zwischen die Akten steckt und mit dem beschriebenen Teil vorn heraushängen lässt. Wenn die Aktenstösse verschnürt sind, zieht man auch den Bindfaden durch das Papier. Ich habe mich selbst davon überzeugt, dass dies schon im achtzehnten Jahrhundert gebräuchlich gewesen ist. Man muss solche Archive in *hochgewölbten gotischen* Räumen gesehen haben, wo die Aktenbündel mit diesem Zettel gespickt, auf denen die Worte kaum noch zu lesen sind, bis oben an die Decke in den Regalen aufgespeichert liegen. Ich kenne sie gerade aus den Schlössern wetterauischer Reichsunmittelbarer, zu denen Goethe Beziehungen unterhalten hat. Es handelt sich da natürlich nicht nur um Handschriftliches, sondern auch um Gedrucktes, vor allem um die zahlreichen Broschüren in Rechtsstreitigkeiten—immer aber um Ungebundenes, das eben nur gelegt werden kann. Aber wie gesagt, Faust sitzt in einem Studierzimmer, nicht in einem Archive. In jenem gibt es wol einzelne Papierstösse, aber nicht ganze Reihen, die das Verbum *bestecken* voraussetzt. Denn von der Vorstellung, die wir nun einmal damit verbinden, und an der mich auch die paar—letz-

ten Endes übrigens doch gleichartigen—Beispiele Grimms (Wb 1, 1665) aus Hartmann von Aue, Schede und Grimmelshausen nicht irre machen, darf man nicht abgehen: Es ragt nicht nur der Gegenstand, mit dem ein Ding besteckt ist, aus dem letzteren heraus, wie der Merkzettel aus dem Buch oder das Inhaltsschild aus den Akten und Bündeln und diese damit oder an sich schon aus den Repositorien, sondern es liegt auch der Begriff einer Mehrheit der ragenden Gegenstände, selbst bis zu ihrer regelmässigen Verteilung hin—hier handelte es sich natürlich nur um diesen Eindruck—vor: Wenn das Buch besteckt ist, dann stecken mehrere, wenn der Bücherhaufe besteckt ist, zahlreiche Zettel darin.

Daran hält ja wol auch Minor (Goethes Faust 1, 38 ff.) fest: aber ganz und gar nicht kann ich mich mit dem Grundzug seiner Deutung befreunden. *Besteckt* soll sich schon wieder auf *Mauerloch* beziehen, also nur Vers 50 Parenthese sein, und unter dem Papier sollen *Handschriften, eigene und fremde* zu verstehen sein. Auf die Art, wie Minor das letztere an der Hand anderer Stellen plausibel zu machen versucht, lässt sich alles beweisen. Weil Herder 1769 im Journal seiner Reise, in ähnlicher Stimmung wie Faust die verlorenen Jahre beklagend, geschrieben hatte, er sei ein *Repositorium voll Papiere und Bücher geworden, das nur in die Studierstube gehöre*, so soll das *ganz in Übereinstimmung mit unserer Stelle* sein! Weil der Mond Fausten so oft über *Bücher und Papier* erschienen ist, weil Goethe in der Morphologie neben Präparaten der *Papiere*, seiner handschriftlichen Vorarbeiten, gedenkt, weil nachher im ersten Teil Faust eine alte, vom Vater ererbte, vor ihm daliegende *Rolle*—sei sie aus Papier oder Pergament—anspricht, die, seit er bei der Lampe arbeite, angeräuchert sei, und weil überall das Studierzimmer Lokalität ist: so müssen alle diese Papiere und Rollen mit unserm Papier, das *bis zur Decke hinauf* irgend etwas *besteckt*, gleichbedeutend sein? Und beweist der Hinweis auf Knebels Bericht, Goethe habe seine *Manuskripte*—nicht *Papiere*, um genau zu citieren: Deutsche Rundschau 1877, 519—aus *allen Winkeln seines Zimmers hervorgezogen*, beweist das etwa, dass sie überall zwischen den Büchern, wo ein freier Platz war, bis oben an die Decke hinauf gesteckt? Im Gegenteil: dass sie nicht, oder zu einem grossen Teil nicht, zwischen den

Büchern, sondern in Ecken, Kasten, Schubladen und sonst, wo man sie nicht erwartete, herumgelegt haben! Überhaupt sollte man sich hüten, des jungen Goethe freundlich-helles Studierzimmerchen, von dem wir zufällig dies und das wissen, zur Illustration von Fausts dumpfem hochgewölbtem gotischen Gemach herbeizuzerren. So etwas muss missglücken. Und wo bleibt die Ähnlichkeit zwischen den beiden Insassen, die man doch verlangen muss, ehe man auch nur drandenken kann, Vergleiche, welcher Art sie seien, zu ziehen? Vor allem aber fragt man: Da Faust, die dumpfe Enge seines Mauerlochs beseufzend und verfluchend, zuerst die in den Repositorien stehenden Bücherreihen erwähnt, warum wird nicht, wie es natürlich, schon von ihnen gesagt, dass sie bis oben ans Gewölbe reichen? Und dann, wie komisch der Gedanke: Überall hat Faust seinerzeit zwischen den Büchern, bis oben an die Decke hin, leere Stellen gelassen, und überall ist er nachher hingeklettert und hat Handschriften hingesteckt! Aus Eignem tut Minor hinzu, dass diese Handschriften *eigene und fremde* seien: dieser überflüssige Zusatz, offenbar darum erfunden, weil eines Menschen Handschriften nicht ausreichen, um so zahlreiche leere Räume an allen Wänden herum und bis zur Decke hinauf auszufüllen, ist nicht mal seiner Deutung günstig, denn indem er fremde hinzumischt, nimmt er den *Handschriften* einen sie wesentlich von den Büchern unterscheidenden Zug; Fausts eigne Handschriften allein wären etwas besonders zu nennendes gewesen, mit fremden Handschriften zusammen sind sie lediglich geschriebene Bücher. Auch macht Minor, indem er *jeden freien Platz zwischen den Büchern* mit den vermeintlichen Handschriften ausgestopft sieht, seiner eignen Beziehung von *besteckt* auf *Mauerloch* Konkurrenz.—Noch ein Satz zur Kennzeichnung dieser Art von Erklärungen: *die Handschriften, die nicht bloss im sechzehnten Jahrhundert, sondern auch in der Bibliothek des jungen Goethe ins Auge fielen, der . . . die Papiere aus allen Winkeln hervorzog*. Dass in der Bibliothek des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts Handschriften ins Auge fielen, ist ad hoc erdacht, und dass sie in Goethes *Bibliothek* nicht ins Auge fielen, ergibt sich grade aus dem Umstand, dass sie aus allen Winkeln erst hervorgezogen werden mussten.

Ich halte also daran fest: die Worte *bis ans*

*hohe Gewölb hinauf*. . . sind nicht dazu da, die Schilderung des Gemachs um einen weiteren äusseren Zug zu vermehren—wie könnte das auch durch diese Erwähnung von Handschriften geschehen?—sondern haben einen etwas tieferen Sinn, meinem Gefühl nach denjenigen, der in meiner eingangs mitgeteilten Deutung niedergelegt ist. Wenn mir hier, nach Minor S. 40, eingewendet werden sollte, dass die Papiere oben an der Decke noch stärker angeräuchert seien als unten—so etwas sieht wol Faust des Nachts genau oder denkt in diesem Augenblick daran?—und darum der Zug in dieser Form erwähnt werde, so frage ich, ebenfalls nach Minor, der ja doch einen so intimen Zusammenhang zwischen der *Rolle* und dem *Papier* annimmt: Steckt die angeräucherte Rolle oben unter der Decke oder liegt sie Fausten nahe zuhanden, vielleicht gar auf dem Pulte vor ihm?

*Nachwort.* Ich sehe eben aus einem, nebenbei gesagt grauenhaft stilisierten, Satz in R. M. Meyers Artikel *Angeraucht Papier*, Euphorion 3, 102, dass die oben vorgelegte Deutung schon von Düntzer und Schröer gefunden war. Umso besser: meine Begründung behält ihr Gewicht. Meyers eigne Deutung: *Der Bücherhauf des einsamen Gelehrten ist besteckt mit seinen eignen Papieren, denen inzwischen die Zeit den trügerischen Schein altertümlichen Werts verliehen hat*, wird wol nirgends Freunde gefunden haben. Das wäre ein merkwürdiger Wert. Wie kann im Ernste die Stelle aus der Italienischen Reise verglichen werden!

## II. Zu Goethe-Jahrbuch 32, 181.

Mit Recht ist der Zweck der kleinen Miszelle nur zaghaft in der Überschrift, *Zur Chronologie von Faust I*, 3776 f., angedeutet. Dass diese Chronologie der von massgebenden Faustforschern (Erich Schmidt, Urfaust<sup>o</sup> XII; Minor 1, 13) vertretenen Ansicht widerspräche; Goethe habe in den zehn ersten Weimarer Jahren nichts am Faust gearbeitet, schadete natürlich gar nichts: ich werde demnächst zeigen, dass in der Weimarer Zeit sogar sehr wichtige Parteen entstanden sind. Aber diese Parallele hier ist sehr bedenklich: Was ist denn eigentlich gleich? Die fünf Worte *Wie anders, als . . . Kopf . . . Herz!* Weiter nichts, und die paar Bemerkungen, die der Einsender zugibt, sind von Anfang bis Ende, von der *Geringschätzung* an, mit der der *Dichter(!)* auf seine *unentwickelte Jugend* zurücksehen soll,

bis zu der ins *Gegenteil umgekehrten Wirkung* ganz unklare Redensarten.

Dort wird sich ein welt- und herzenskundiger, geistig vollentwickelter Mann bei einem äusseren Anlass mit einem Male klar bewusst, wie mächtig sich Geist und Herz in dem Zeitraum von zehn Jahren, in denen der Jüngling zum Mann wird, entwickelt haben, aus dem traumhaft-dumpfen Zustand zum kräftig-freien Bewusstsein; und er gedenkt daran, was für innere Erfahrungen diese Entwicklung befruchtet haben. Hier drängt der böse Geist dem Kinde, das fast über Nacht zum Weibe geworden ist, den Vergleich zwischen dem Gestern und dem Heute auf: gestern noch fröhlich, kindlich-gläubig, unschuldig, heute in Schuld, Gewissensqual und wahnsinniger Angst, nach einem einzigen Fehltritt! Und wie kann man *Kopf* und *Herz* an den beiden Stellen miteinander vergleichen! *Mein armer Kopf | Ist mir verrückt | . . . Mein Herz ist schwer* hatte Gretchen ein paar Szenen vorher selbst gesagt.

Wo kommt man hin, wenn man auf ein paar äusserlich gleiche Worte chronologische Annahmen gründet! Es ist nur ein Glück, dass auf dem Titelblatt des *Werther* die Jahreszahl 1774 steht. Ich wollte mich sonst anheischig machen, zu 'beweisen,' dass zwei, nebenbeigesagt 80 Seiten von einander entfernt stehende Stellen, bei 191 Seiten Gesamtumfang, unbedingt im März 1776 entstanden sein müssten, und diesmal auf Grund von wirklichen Übereinstimmungen! Werther will in die Heimat, sich der *alten, glücklich verträumten Tage* zu erinnern (WA 19, 108). Das schreibt er auch in einem Briefe, wie Goethe an Charlotte. *Zu eben dem Thore will ich hinein gehn . . .* Und ein paar Tage später berichtet er dann: *An der grossen Linde . . . liess ich halten, stieg aus und hiess den Postillon fortfahren, um zu Fusse jede Erinnerung ganz neu, lebhaft, nach meinem Herzen zu kosten. Da stand ich nun unter der Linde, die ehemals, als Knabe, das Ziel und die Gränze meiner Spaziergänge gewesen. Wie anders! Damals sehnte ich mich in glücklicher Unwissenheit hinaus in die unbekannte Welt, wo ich für mein Herz so viel Nahrung, so vielen Genuss hoffte, meinen strebenden, sehnenden Busen auszufüllen und zu befriedigen. Jetzt komme ich zurück aus der weiten Welt o mein Freund, mit wie viel fehlgeschlagenen Hoffnungen, mit wie viel*

zerstörten Planen! . . . Ich erinnerte mich der Unruhe, der Thränen, der Dumpfheit des Sinnes, der Herzensangst, die ich in dem Loche ausgestanden hatte . . . Und stimmten nicht auch die Namen der Adressatin und der Heldin des Romans schön zusammen?—An der zweiten Stelle handelt es sich um eine Frau. Lotte fühlt die wütenden Küsse Werthers noch nach durchwachter Nacht auf ihren Lippen brennen. *Ihr sonst so rein und leicht fließendes Blut war in einer fieberhaften Empörung, tausenderlei Empfindungen zerrütteten das schöne Herz. War es das Feuer von Werthers Umarmungen, das sie in ihrem Busen fühlte? war es Unwille über seine Verwegenheit? war es eine unmuthige Vergleichung ihres gegenwärtigen Zustandes mit jenen Tagen ganz unbefangener freier Unschuld und sorglosen Zutrauens an sich selbst? Wie sollte sie ihrem Manne entgegen gehen?* (WA 19, 181).

Will man also absolut Parallelen finden, so können es nur die zwischen der zuletzt citierten Stelle und der Gretchenscene einerseits, anderseits zwischen der zuerst citierten und der Briefstelle sein: beide nebeneinander böten dann eine deutlich erkennbare Warnungstafel für allzu schnelle Fahrer dar.

### III. Zu MINOR, Goethes Faust 2, 229.

Es soll hier nicht über so oberflächliche und äusserliche Betrachtungen gerechnet werden, wie diese: *Weniger kann es auffallen, dass dort, wo die Grenzen der Zeiten ineinanderfließen und (!) der Faust des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts neben dem Nicolai des achtzehnten auftritt, auch Gretchen als Zukunftsbild in einer Situation erscheint, die hinter den Schluss der ganzen Gretchentragödie fällt.* Kunstgriffe dieser Art hätte Minor wirklich nicht nötig. Aber die ganze Stelle, wo dieser Satz erscheint, leidet an grosser Unklarheit. Es handelt sich um den Schluss des Paralipomenon 50 (WA 14, 310 f.). Da heisst es *Hochgerichtserscheinung*, dann folgt in zwei Strophen ein von einem Chor gesungenes Blutlied, dann weiter: *Gedrang—Sie ersteigen einen Baum—Reden des Volcks—Auf glühndem Boden—Nackt das Idol—Die Hände auf dem Rücken—Bedeckt nicht das Gesicht und nicht die Scham—Gesang—Der Kopf fällt ab—Das Blut springt und löscht das Feuer—Nacht—Rauschen—Geschwätz von Kielkröpfen—*

*Dadurch Faust erfährt.* Dazu bemerkt Minor, die Hände seien dem Idol auf den Rücken gebunden, wie einer armen Sünderin auf dem letzten Wege. Ob das bei denen geschah, weiss ich nicht: bei dieser kann es nicht geschehen sei. Wie sollte sonst das *Bedeckt nicht das Gesicht und nicht die Scham* zu erklären sein? Bedeckt kann nicht Participium sein, auch beim schnellsten Schreiben würde es geheissen haben 'Nicht bedeckt' oder 'Unbedeckt.' Und wenn es vorher heisst: *Nackt das Idol*, dann ist gar nicht einzusehen, warum dazu noch Ausführungsbestimmungen gegeben werden, wenn dem Mädchen die Hände auf den Rücken gebunden sind. Es liesse sich noch erklären, wenn allein die zweite der beiden Einzelheiten bekräftigen würde: 'nicht einmal die Scham.' Aber das Gesicht? Völlig klar wird die Sache durch folgende Deutung: Obgleich sie ganz nackt ist und die Hände frei hat, bedeckt die arme Sünderin dennoch nicht vor Scham ihr Gesicht und ihre Blösse, sondern geht frei und ungeniert dahin. Es ist gar keine Frage: Legt eine solche Delinquentin die Hände auf den Rücken, so ist das schon mehr Herausforderung, Schamlosigkeit. Aber die ist hier gänzlich ausgeschlossen: es bleibt also die, übrigens naheliegende, Annahme einer suggerierenden Wirkung der Situation, in der die Fesselung integrierender Bestandteil zu sein pflegte. In dieser Annahme wird man noch sicherer, wenn man sieht, wie Goethe weiterhin, in der Walpurgisnachtszene des ersten Teils 4185 sagt: *Sie schiebt sich langsam nur vom Ort, | Sie scheint mit geschloss'nen Füßen zu gehen.*—Als äusseres Zeichen der freien, sorglosen Lässigkeit erwartet man also nicht, dass die Hände auf den Rücken gelegt werden, sondern dass sie frei, ungezwungen herabhängen. Und dieser Zug findet sich in der Quelle, aus der ihn Goethe, wie ich ebenfalls an anderer Stelle zeigen werde, geschöpft hat. Wenn nun für das Wort *Kielkropf* eine Erklärung gegeben wird, die man in jedem Konversationslexicon fände, falls man nicht Bescheid wissen sollte, so nimmt sich das merkwürdig aus neben der Nichterklärung des Zugs vom *glühenden Boden*. Wo ist der Boden glühend? Nur dort, wo das Idol geht? Oder dort, wo es hingerichtet wird? Und warum glüht er dort? Was bedeutet das Löschen mit dem Blut?

Die merkwürdigste Deutung hat das *Rauschen* gefunden. Ausgerechnet nach dieser Hinrichtungsscene sollen wie beim Anstieg zum Brocken 3881 ff. rauschende Bäche—hätten sie nicht auch die ganze Zeit her gerauscht?—Erinnerungen *jener Himmelstage* in Faust wach machen! Da könnte man doch, vorab nach den letzten Versen des Blutlieds, noch eher an das Rauschen des Blutbaches denken, der noch nicht verströmt sei. Viel näher liegt doch folgende Deutung. In den Lüften singen gierige Geister das Blutlied (später werden sie von Mephistopheles eine *Hexenzunft* genannt), sie freuen sich auf das neue Blutopfer. Das Volk drängt sich herum, Zeugen der kommenden Scene zu sein. Faust und Mephisto ersteigen darum einen Baum, von dem aus sie besser sehen können. Das Volk bespricht sich erregt: wird dies kindlichfröhliche Geschöpf wirklich die ganze Härte des Gesetzes zu erdulden haben oder wird der letzte Augenblick ihre Begnadigung bringen? Aber da naht die Unglückliche schon; sie schämt sich nicht, obwol sie völlig nackt; mit eben der sorglosen Lässigkeit, die man an ihr kannte, schreitet sie zum Blutgerüste; wo sie geht, glüht der Boden; der Kopf fällt; das Blut löscht das Feuer; Finsternis bedeckt die Scene, denn nun schwirren und rauschen sie heran die scheusslichen Gestalten, die sich immer dichter herzugedrängt hatten, deren Gesang immer gieriger geworden war. In der ersten Strophe des Blutlieds war allgemein von der zauberischen Kraft heissen Menschenbluts gesprochen, in der zweiten von Fällen, wo es vergossen wird. Um des geilen Blicks einer Dirne willen—Marlowes Ende!—, oder in der Trunkenheit fährt die Hand jach zum Messer, und das Blut strömt. Aber Menschenblut wird nur durch Menschenblut gesühnt, Blutschuld fordert immer neue Opfer; *über des Erschlagenen Stätte schweben rächende Geister, die auf den rückkehrenden Mörder lauern* (Urfaust 82, 55): nie rieselt ein Blutquell allein. Was die weiteren Strophen, die zweimal ange deutet werden, gebracht hätten, mag man sich an der Hand andrer Beispiele ausdenken. Ich weise noch auf Bürgers *Wilden Jaeger* hin, von dem Goethe durch Bürger selbst und Boie wusste, ob er auch viel später erst fertig geworden ist.—Aus dem Geschwätz scheusslicher Fratzengestalten vernimmt Faust, dass das, was er da eben mit ange-

sehen hat, Abbild grauenvoller Wahrheit ist: Gretchen war in dem Augenblick hingerichtet worden.

Nur noch eins: Wenn die Deutung, die ich oben für die Worte *Nackt das Idol usw.* vorgeschlagen habe, richtig ist, dann weist dies Paralipomenon sehr weit zurück, in eine Zeit, wo die Gestalt Gretchens noch nicht die festen Züge angenommen hatte, die der Urfaust uns vorführt. Da ich anderseits einen genauen terminus post quem für die genannten Worte festlegen kann, so wird sich eine erneute Prüfung der Frage: war die Gretchentragödie bei Goethes Eintritt in Weimar im wesentlichen fertig? nicht umgehen lassen.

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## THE SOURCE OF GRESSET'S *MÉCHANT*

The source of Gresset's *Méchant* has been assigned to various plays. As soon as it was produced, Fréron pointed out the similarity between it and the *Médisant* by Destouches.<sup>1</sup> La Harpe, in an article evidently written before 1789, claims that the plot was copied from the *Flatteur* by J. B. Rousseau.<sup>2</sup> He calls attention to the fact that the characters designated by the titles of the two comedies both wish to prevent the marriage of a friend; and in both cases it is the valet, won over by a maid, who unmasks the traitor. Petit de Julleville adds the *Petit maître corrigé* by Marivaux to the list of sources,<sup>3</sup> while Lenient indicates *Tartufe* as the model of the character of Cléon if not the source of the plot.<sup>4</sup> Wogue says that Gresset did not go to the trouble of imagining his plots, but borrowed the action of his plays from Molière. He called the *Méchant* a traditional subject: the combatted love affair.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lenient, *la Comédie au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1888, vol. 1, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> La Harpe, *Lycée ou cours de littérature ancienne et moderne*, Paris, 1818. Vol. 10, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> Petit de Julleville, *le Théâtre en France*. Paris, 1901; p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Wogue, *J-B-L. Gresset*. Paris, 1892; p. 186.

The model of the character of Cléon was sought for among Gresset's contemporaries. Argenson says in his *Mémoires* (Dec. 21, 1747) that Cléon is a composite of Maurepas, the duc d'Ayen, and his own brother. The duc de Chaulnes, Forcalquier, and the duc de Choiseul have also been given the doubtful honor of having served as pattern.<sup>6</sup> It is quite possible that Gresset had one or more of these men in mind while he was writing his play. Also it is true that all of these plays mentioned show points of similarity, because none of them would have been written had not the *Tartufe* been an unfailing source of inspiration. However, the immediate source of Gresset's *Méchant* seems to be in still another play which also recalls Molière's comedy, namely, Congreve's *Double Dealer*. It may appear surprising to find the source of a French play in English Restoration comedy, which was itself so strongly influenced by French drama; yet in the case of Gresset our surprise is somewhat lessened if we remember the fact that his family was of English origin. "It is perhaps that origin," says Gazier, "which explains the English character of his first tragedy, *Edouard III*, and of his first comedy, *Sidney*." We may add that perhaps it helps to explain the English source of his *Méchant*, especially if it be remembered that he was a man of wide culture.

It is true that Gresset's knowledge and interest in English literature may not appear very extensive at first blush, if they are measured only by reference to English authors and things English in his works. He knew and admired Milton's works, for he mentions Milton in the same breath with Camoëns in his *Épître à ma muse*. He denies in the preface to *Edouard III* that the scene in which blood is shed on the stage is due to English influence.<sup>7</sup> No doubt he is sincere in making this statement; but it proves he was acquainted with English drama to some extent. In his play, *Sidney*, the scene is laid in England and he portrays a

character filled with a kind of *mal du siècle* and suicidal mania who may well be a forerunner of later romantic heroes. Thus Gresset was at least interested in the land of spleen; and he cried out against imitating English customs both in his *Réponse à Suard* and in the *Gazetin*. Therefore, while he does not make many references to English literature, he must have been in touch with it.

In what way, however, did he come in contact with Congreve's *Double Dealer*? He probably did not have access to a published translation, as this play does not appear to have been translated until 1775 by Peyron under the title *Le Fourbe*.<sup>8</sup> La Place included two of Congreve's plays in his *Théâtre anglais*, namely, *Love for Love* and the *Mourning Bride*. Of course, Gresset may have read the *Double Dealer* in the original. I have found no evidence as to whether he could read English or not. However that may be, one is struck by the coincidence that La Place was publishing these two plays of Congreve at the same time that Gresset seems to have been borrowing from the *Double Dealer*. The *Théâtre anglais* is dated 1745-1748. The date of the *Méchant* is 1747.<sup>9</sup> Also, Gresset was a constant frequenter of the hôtel de Chaulnes and must have met La Place there, since the latter was one of the intimate

<sup>6</sup> Cushing, *Pierre Le Tournour*, New York, 1908, p. 86, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> The date of the *Méchant* is unquestionably April 27, 1747; but through a misprint the date April 27, 1745 is often given. This would make the *Méchant* prior to *Sidney*, which was produced May 3, 1745; and that is out of the question. This misprint dates back at least to 1802, and it occurs in the following editions of the play which have come to my notice. *Edition Nicolle*. Paris, 1802. (The date is corrected in the reprint of 1821). *Répertoire du Théâtre Français* par Petitot. Paris, 1817. Vol. 14. *Chefs-d'oeuvre des auteurs comiques*. Firmin-Didot. Vol. 5. Also the mistake occurs in the following critical works. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1902; p. 657 and p. 1133. Lintilhac, *La Comédie au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1909, p. 293 and p. 485. Weiss, *Essais sur l'histoire de la littérature française*. Paris, 1891, p. 326. Gazier gives the correct date on page 508, but gives 1745 on page 512. (*Revue des cours et conférences*, 1910.)

<sup>8</sup> Wogue, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>9</sup> Herrenschiwand, *J-B-L. Gresset*, Murten, 1895, p. 182.

friends of M. and Mme. de Chaulnes.<sup>10</sup> Gresset was, therefore, in touch with a man who was extremely interested in Congreve; and the coincidence in dates takes on a new meaning. It is surely not too hazardous to conjecture that La Place may have brought the *Double Dealer* to Gresset's notice; and if Gresset could not read English, he may have explained the plot to him. He may only have aroused Gresset's interest in it; but at least we realize that Gresset could hardly escape knowing the play, and it is not quite so remarkable, under these circumstances, that he borrowed the plot of the *Méchant* from Congreve.

If we compare the casts of the two plays, we find the following correspondence between the *dramatis personae*. The *Double Dealer*, himself, is characterized by Congreve as "Maskwell, a Villain; pretended friend to Mellefont, gallant to Lady Touchwood, and in love with Cynthia." This character is the *Méchant* who, in turn, is a villain, pretended friend to Valère, gallant to Florise and in love with Chloé. Mellefont, "promised to and in love with Cynthia," is the counterpart of Valère, promised to and in love with Chloé, who corresponds to the English Cynthia. Lady Touchwood is at first in love with Mellefont in the *Double Dealer*, but she is afterward in love with Maskwell and becomes his coadjutress. This character is Gresset's Florise, who, though not in love with Valère at any time, is yet in love with Cléon and becomes his coadjutress in attempting to keep Chloé and Valère apart. Lord Touchwood and Sir Paul Plyant coalesce into the one character of Géronte. The degree of relationship is somewhat changed between Géronte and Chloé, he being her uncle, while in the *Double Dealer*, Sir Paul Plyant is Cynthia's father, and Touchwood is Mellefont's uncle. But as Touchwood first favors his nephew and then will hear no good of him, so Géronte first favors his young friend Valère, but becomes strongly prejudiced against him. Another point of similarity between these characters lies in the fact that Sir Paul Plyant, true to his name, is hen-pecked,

while Géronte, though not so ridiculous, weakens before Florise. (Act 1, sc. 1.) It cannot be said that Ariste has any prototype in the English comedy. He warns Valère against Cléon and this warning is delivered to Mellefont by Careless; but beyond that, the two have nothing in common. However, neither is of vital importance to the action. Lisette and Frontin are the stock soubrette and valet, inevitable in French comedy; and we need not look for their source in the English version. Of course, in Congreve's play there are other characters, but the main plot could be unfolded without them. Indeed, had the dramatist preserved the unity of action, practically none of them would have appeared.

Immediately after the curtain rises on the first act of the *Méchant*, we hear Lisette regret to Frontin that his master, Cléon, is preventing the marriage of Valère and Chloé in an underhanded way, while he pretends to favor it. This is the mainspring of the plots of both plays. Géronte informs Lisette that the marriage shall take place in spite of Florise, and that his fortune is promised to Chloé. Lisette replies that Florise will object, that she is in love with Cléon, and that she takes him as counsellor. The same situation arises in the *Double Dealer* with the exception that Lord Touchwood's money is promised to the young lover. On the other hand, Lady Touchwood takes Maskwell as counsellor, and is in love with him from the end of the first act.

In the second act of the *Méchant*, Cléon confesses that he is making love to both mother and daughter. He much prefers the daughter; and he believes it possible that Géronte may send Valère away, and that he may get the daughter and the money. In the *Double Dealer* (Act 5, sc. 1.), Lord Touchwood even goes so far as to say that he will make Maskwell his heir; and of course Maskwell always prefers Cynthia to Lady Touchwood and uses her merely as a foil. Florise becomes suspicious that Cléon is favoring Valère's marriage; but Cléon calms her and shows her how to put an end to the match. In the last scene of the third act of the English play, Lady Touchwood

<sup>10</sup> Wogue, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

is suspicious of Maskwell because he is betraying his friend; but Maskwell makes love to her and also shows her how to prevent the marriage of the two lovers.

In the third act of the *Méchant*, Ariste warns Valère against Cléon, just as Careless warns Mellefont against Maskwell in the first act of the *Double Dealer*. Letters arrive in which Cléon accuses himself, while Maskwell accuses himself verbally to his friends in order to allay suspicion. Both scenes produce the same effect. From the end of the third act when Valère finds himself desperately in love with Chloé, the situation is the same in both plays. In the next act, Cléon continues his double dealing by defending Ariste to Géronte. He tells Lisette of his love for Chloé, and draws an uncomplimentary picture of Florise, who overhears it while she is concealed in a cabinet. Maskwell, in the third act, says he is tired of Lady Touchwood; and Lord Touchwood informs his wife of this fact, being unaware of the true state of his wife's feelings. His eyes are opened to the real situation by the same dramatic trick of an overheard conversation. In the last act of the *Méchant*, the eyes of Florise are opened; but Géronte will believe nothing in favor of Valère or against Cléon, with whom he now has an understanding, until the French Double Dealer is unmasked. Lord Touchwood, in the same way, will believe nothing good of Mellefont and considers Maskwell his friend until the English Double Dealer is discredited. The two plays have entirely the same outcome.

The English comedy contains many scenes which do not advance the action, but which are merely introduced, according to Congreve's method, for the sake of humor. These scenes naturally do not occur in the French play, which observes the unity of action. The scene in the bed-room, which forms the climax of the *Double Dealer*, is also impossible on the French stage of the period. But the principal characters, the motives actuating them, the main plot, the cool double dealing of the two so-called villains are so strikingly similar that we must conclude that Gresset was consciously influenced

by Congreve to a very great extent. Surely the *Méchant* is the *Double Dealer* in French surroundings.

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#### THE DATE OF THE ENVOY TO BUKTON

The *Envoy to Bukton* is commonly dated about the end of the year 1396, on the assumption that the closing lines of the fourth stanza—

Experience shal thee teche, so may happe,  
That thee were lever to be take in Fryse  
Than eft to falle of wedding in the trappe—

refer to the expedition of William of Hainault, described by Froissart in the fourth book of the *Chronicles*.<sup>1</sup> So conclusive has this supposed evidence been regarded, that Professor Tatlock, in the latest discussion of the chronological relations of the poem, not only remarks that "the date of *Bukton* may be fixed with great exactness and certainty," but also declares that the date assigned by Professor Skeat "is absolutely and exactly established."<sup>2</sup> I do not wish categorically to assert that the date of *Bukton* is *not* the close of 1396; but I do desire to point out that considerable caution should still be exercised in drawing exact chronological conclusions from the reference to being "take in Fryse."

Professor Kittredge has already made it quite clear<sup>3</sup> that the *Envoy* as a whole must be interpreted in the light of certain literary conventions and may not be taken too seriously as a chapter in Chaucer's autobiography. To the illustrations which he has drawn from

<sup>1</sup> See Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 85, 558-59; Tatlock, *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (Chaucer Soc., 1907), p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> *Development and Chronology*, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, XXIV, No. 1 (Jan., 1909), pp. 14-15.

Deschamps still others might be added;<sup>4</sup> and there can be little doubt of the essentially conventional nature of the poem. Moreover, the stock character of the analogy between marriage and bondage in an enemy's country is obvious enough. The passage cited by Professor Kittredge<sup>5</sup> from Deschamps's *balade* No. 977<sup>6</sup> is a clear case in point:

J'ay demouré entre les Sarrasins,  
Esclave esté en pays de Surie.

Indeed this whole *balade* is uncommonly pertinent—even to its use of the figure of the trap:

Prince, homme n'est, ne si foul ne si saige,  
Se femme prant, qu'elle ne l'assouaige,  
Et qui ne soit par son fait entrapé.<sup>7</sup>

Yet, granting all this, Chaucer's reference to Fryse seems to be still so explicit as to warrant

<sup>4</sup> See especially the poetical epistle (*Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, VIII, 37-44) written (or purporting to be written) by two members of Deschamps's circle: Regnault d'Angennes (l. 75) and Robinet le Tirant (l. 77), and addressed to Messire Guillaume de Meleun on his wedding day (December 20, 1390). Chaucer's hesitancy in referring to marriage as "the cheyne of Sathanas" is not shared by Robinet:

J'enten par mariage enfer,  
Quant au corps, car homme de fer  
Y est ars, rostiz et brulez  
Et par male femme crulez,  
Comme paille mis au neant (ll. 103-107).

The "ful hard is to be bonde" is there too:

Et je vous moustreray comment  
Vous estes sers dolentement  
A femme, quant vous lui jurez  
Que jamais ne la changerez  
Ne pour pieur ne pour milleur.  
Helas! vez ci dure douleur,  
Et qui pis est, tele espousaille  
Est un droit gage de bataille  
Dont l'un des deux couvient mourir.  
Ains qu'om s'en puisse departir (ll. 123-132).

The list of "sorwes and woes," however, is too long to be given in full. For example:

S'il veult du dur, il a du moul;  
S'il veult des pois, il a du choul (ll. 153-54).  
S'il parle bas, sa femme huye;  
S'il rit, lors sa femme plourra (ll. 190-91)—and so on.

<sup>5</sup> In the article referred to, p. 15, col. 1, near foot.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. v, 217.

<sup>7</sup> Ll. 31-33.

the conclusion that he is giving to a familiar commonplace a fresh turn, on the suggestion of a particular historical event.

But what if the reference to Fryse be itself a commonplace? There are two passages—one quite recently made accessible, the other long in print—which indicate that Friesland and the Frieslanders enjoyed in fourteenth century literature a certain proverbial notoriety. In Froissart's *La Prison Amoureuse* occur the following lines:

. . . les ors villains de Frise,  
Es quels n'a point de gentillece,  
D'onneur, de bien, ne de noblece,  
Et vivent ensi comme bestes.  
Tant ont lourdes et sotes testes!<sup>8</sup>

Even more striking is a passage from Machaut, in which a return from Friesland and its "ors villains" is described in no uncertain terms:

Douceur, charité ne confort  
Ne truis en homme de l'église;  
N'i a celui qui me confort,  
Ne[s] que se j'estoie de Frise  
Venus tous nus en ma chemise,  
Querans mon pain de jour en jour.<sup>9</sup>

What could more aptly describe (one might ask) the condition in which (on the current assumption) one of William of Hainault's men might be supposed to have returned from the expedition of 1396? Yet Machaut was dead nearly twenty years before that expedition took place, and Froissart's lines antedated it by just a quarter of a century. Since, then, the characteristics of the Frisians implied in the phrase of the *Envoy* had been the subject of remark in verse almost from the time when Chaucer himself began to write, it is scarcely safe to assert that the lines in the *Envoy* contain a necessary reference to the particular events of 1396.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ll. 825-29, Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Scheler, I, 239. The date of *La Prison Amoureuse* is 1371. See ll. 2252-53 (I, 288).

<sup>9</sup> Machaut, *Poésies lyriques*, ed. Chichmaref, I, 234 (cclxi).

<sup>10</sup> Watriquet de Couvin's "une oe de Frise" (*Oeuvres*, p. 308, *Fastrasie*, l. 382) looks like something of the same sort as is indicated in the other passages. There

But after giving this necessary caution its due weight, it still seems probable that the line *was* suggested by the expedition of William of Hainault. Only, instead of declaring with Professor Tatlock that "the poem cannot have been written before October, 1396,"<sup>11</sup> I should put it precisely the other way, and say that the poem very probably *was* written before October, 1396. In other words, it was the *preparations* for the expedition which gave the allusion pertinence, whereas the *outcome* of the expedition, in point of fact, left it with little relevance. A brief consideration of the facts, I think, will make this clear.

In 1395 Henry of Hungary sent to the King of France an embassy, informing him of the threat of the Great Turk to invade Henry's realm, as well as of his boast that he would go to Rome and make his horse eat oats on the high altar of St. Peter's. The embassy was commissioned to secure the aid of France.<sup>12</sup> As a result, John of Burgoyne was placed at the head of a body of a thousand knights and squires, which was to come to the aid of Hungary—and later (as we know) to meet disaster at Nicopolis.

Now it happened that John of Burgoyne was married to the daughter of Duke Albert of Bavaria, Earl of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland,<sup>13</sup> and that news of the expedition came to William of Hainault, Albert's son. William thereupon urged his father to let him join his brother-in-law's forces. Albert, however, had his own plans, which included the conquest of

seems, moreover, to be some indication that Frise was regarded as more or less of a jumping-off place:

Si n'ot plus bele *jusqu'en Frise*  
Fors la bele Leryopé

(Robert of Blois, ed. Ulrich, II, 18);

N'est pas dous tex maus  
*Jusqu'en Frise*

N'a si fort justice

(Gillebert de Bernville, in Dinaux, *Trouvères*, II, 194).

<sup>11</sup> P. 211. Skeat says (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, 85) "during or just after the expedition."

<sup>12</sup> Froissart, *Chronicles*, Vol. II, chap. cciii. I am using Lord Berners's translation (in the *Tudor Translations*), as I have not at present access to the original.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

Friesland, and William's warlike energy was skillfully diverted from Hungary and the Turk to his own stubborn inheritance in the North. But such an expedition likewise demanded aid. Accordingly, ambassadors were sent to England to get men of arms and archers, and especially to induce the Earl of Derby to join his cousin's forces.<sup>14</sup> John of Gaunt, however, declined to give his consent, and the Earl of Derby remained at home. The king, on the other hand, gathered together in the Thames a number of vessels for William's aid, to sail to Enkhuysen in Holland. It is therefore clear that the contemplated expedition into Friesland was well known in England for months before the actual start was made.

But we can go farther still. For from the reasons urged by the Duke of Guelderland to John of Gaunt against the Earl of Derby's participation in the expedition it is easy to see how the enterprise was regarded: "He [the Duke of Guelderland] answered and sayd, that it was a parylous voyage, and that Frese was a countrey nat lyghtly to be wonne; sayenge, howe in tymes past there had been dyvers erles of Holande and Heynalte that have claymed their right there, and gone thyder to have put them in subjectyon, but they have always loste their lyves there, *affyrmyng* howe the *Fresons* are people without honour, and have no mercy; they prayse nor love no lorde in the worlde, they be so proude; and also their country is stronge," etc.<sup>15</sup> Even that, however, is not all. For Froissart rehearses with the utmost explicitness the general apprehension which the expedition aroused: "Nowe whyle this assemble was thus made in Haynalte, it were to be demaunded if the ladyes and gentlewomen and other were joyouse of this journey. We oughte to say naye, for than they sawe their fathers, their bretherne, their uncles, their husbandes, and their lovers and frendes departe to that peryllous warre: *for some of them knewe well howe that in tyme paste the Haynowayes wente with their lorde into Frese, and never retourned agayne*; wherfore they feared leste it shulde

<sup>14</sup> Chap. ccix.

<sup>15</sup> Chap. ccix.

hap so than to these as it dyd on their predecessours."<sup>16</sup> That is to say, it was the fate of earlier expeditions which disturbed, at this particular juncture of affairs, the minds of those who were interested in *this* expedition, and an allusion to being "take in Fryse," which might have been made at any time during the previous decade or so, would undoubtedly have peculiar pertinence at just this time:

But it would *not* have had the same pertinence, if indeed it would have had any, after the expedition itself. For by William of Hainault's campaign the old order was decidedly reversed. Even the Frieslanders themselves had understood the situation better. Juye Jouer, their leader, called by some "the great Fresone" from his enormous height, began his address to his men as follows: "O, ye noble and free Fresons, knowe for trouthe there is no chaunce but may tourne. Though by your valyantnesse ye have or this tyme disconfyted the Henowayes, the Hallanders, and the Zelanders, knowe for trouthe, that suche as come now upon you, are people more experte in the warre thanne they were before, and beleve verily, they shall do otherwise than their predecessours dyde; they wyll not gyve it up, they wyll menteyne their dedes."<sup>17</sup> And his forebodings were justified by the event. It was precisely William of Hainault's expedition which went far to lay the fear of being "take in Fryse" which had haunted during the previous decades the minds of all who had to do with Friesland. And Chaucer's line, pertinent at any time during these previous decades, but peculiarly relevant during the year preceding August, 1396, would have had little or no point at any time *after* the expedition.

Finally, the one *certainty* in the case is the fact that the *Envoy* followed the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*.<sup>18</sup> If the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* was written during 1393 or early in 1394, as I have recently shown reason to believe,<sup>19</sup> then the

*Envoy* must be dated after the middle or end of 1393. If further the Robert Bukton whose wife is mentioned in a grant of March 14, 1397<sup>20</sup> is the Bukton of the *Envoy*, then the *Envoy* belongs somewhere between the middle of 1393 and the beginning of 1397. If the facts which I have just pointed out have any weight, the line about the danger of being "take in Fryse" might have been written at any time within these limits. It is quite possible, I should say even probable, that it was the expedition of August and September, 1396, which suggested the allusion. But in that case it was the state of mind which accompanied the *preparations* for the expedition, rather than the outcome of the campaign itself, which gave the allusion point. Even on the orthodox assumption, then, the poem should be placed *before* rather than *after* August, 1396.

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#### THE USE OF THE FRENCH PAST DEFINITE IN *SI*-CLAUSES

The use of the French past definite in *si*-clauses seems scarcely touched upon in treatises on French Grammar. In looking through more than forty such works in English, French and German, including Brunot, Darmesteter, Meyer-Lübke, Tobler and many others, I have found only four references to the subject. E. Etienne, in his *Essai de grammaire de l'ancien français*, p. 298, among a list of conditions in which "la chose est considérée comme non douteuse," gives one example of the p. def. Professor E. C. Armstrong, *Syntax of the French Verb*, under the heading: "*Si* clauses equivalent to declarative statements," says: "In them, the verb may be in the past definite, the future, the conditional, or their compounds.<sup>1</sup> None of them can be

<sup>16</sup> Chap. cxi.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> The Wyf of Bathe I pray you that ye rede

Of this matere that we have on honde (ll. 29-30).

<sup>19</sup> *Modern Philology*, VIII, 327 ff.

<sup>20</sup> See Tatlock, 211, n. Professor Tatlock's identification, however, does not seem to me to be convincing.

<sup>1</sup> I have not noted any instances of the past anterior.

used in other *si* clauses." Mätzner, in his *Frz. Gram.*, p. 343, ed. of 1885, says: "Im Bedingungssatze steht das Perfektum definitum, wenn ohne Entscheidung ein Faktum gesetzt wird. . . . Dabei kann sich die Voraussetzung der Wahrheit der Tatsache stattfinden." Professor J. A. Harrison, in his *French Syntax*, based on Mätzner, has the same statement, p. 146. This statement is the only one that I have found that recognizes that the *p. def.* is used in conditional clauses in cases of both fact and doubt. (It is never used in contrary-to-fact clauses, so far as I have noticed.) In view of the scarcity of the material available on this subject and of the few examples given, it may be worth while to cite other examples and to attempt to draw some deductions from them.

I have made no search in Old French, but the construction existed. Etienne gives one example, and H. Johanssen, *Der Ausdruck des Concessivverhältnisses im Altfrz.*, p. 54, gives 8. In all of these, the verb of the *si*-clause states a concessive fact. In modern French, if we leave out of consideration the still fairly common expression *S'il en fut (jamais)*, the first and most obvious point in regard to this construction is that it is rare. In several years' reading, of tolerably various character, I have noted only 68 instances, gathered, among other authors, from Rabelais, Monluc, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Pascal, Bossuet, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Töpffer, Hugo, Sainte-Beuve, France and Rostand. To these should be added 1 from Mätzner, and 5 kindly furnished me by Professor E. C. Armstrong. Of this total of 74 cases, 4 are from the 16th century, 20 from the 17th, 11 from the 18th, 29 from the 19th, and 10 from the 20th; of the last 39, 24 are before 1860 and 15 after 1860.

So far as an inference is justifiable from this limited number of cases, it would appear that, in modern French, the construction is relatively commonest in the seventeenth century, and that it has become much more rare in the nineteenth and twentieth.<sup>2</sup> This last conclusion is strengthened by the negative evi-

dence that one may read many thousands of pages of contemporary French without meeting a single instance. In conditional clauses, as in other uses, the *p. def.* has been largely supplanted by the past indefinite and the imperfect,—generally in cases of fact, almost always in cases of doubt.

The use of the *p. def.* in the latter case seems always to have been rare, which doubtless accounts for the fact that this use has been almost uniformly ignored by grammars. I have found altogether only ten cases, less than one-seventh of the total number, which are given here:

"Sa [Julie's] faute, si c'en fut une, n'a servi qu'à déployer sa force et son courage." Rousseau, *Nouvelle Héloïse*, 5<sup>e</sup> Partie, Lettre 2 (1761).—"Si jamais la vanité fit quelque heureux sur la terre, à coup sûr cet heureux-là n'était qu'un sot." *Ib.*, 5<sup>e</sup> Partie, Lettre 3, note q.—"Mais si aux glaces de l'âge vous avez laissé s'unir l'égoïsme . . . ; si de tout temps vous sûtes calculer le présent pour l'avenir; . . . alors vous blâmez celui qui renonce à un héritage." Töpffer, *L'Héritage*, iv (1839).—"Si cet acte fut commis pour éviter l'effusion du sang, . . . il faut le plaindre. S'il fut toléré par ambition personnelle, il faut le flétrir." Lamartine (Mätzner).—"Si l'on eut cette idée, les royalistes avaient intérêt à la prévenir." Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, p. 107 of Wright's *Extraits* (1847-1853).—"Ce qui est certain, c'est que s'il le put, il y assista." Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, i, p. 506 (1840).—"M. de Pontchâteau . . . se sera exagéré le tort (si même il en eut) du bon Fontaine." *Ib.*, ii, 244, note 2.—"Puissances de l'ombre . . . si, vous attendant chez moi après le chant du coq, vous me vîtes alors glisser sur la pointe des pieds dans la cité des livres, vous ne vous écriâtes certainement pas" etc. France, *Sylvestre Bonnard*, p. 234, Holt ed. (1881).—"Il ne me paraît pas possible qu'on puisse avoir l'esprit tout à fait commun, si l'on fut élevé sur les quais de Paris." France, *le Livre de mon ami*, p. 79, Holt ed. (1885).—"S'il y eut réellement une loi, elle fut donc portée, ou tout au moins renouvelée, par la démocratie." Croiset, *Hist. de la littérature grecque*, T. iii, p. 393 (1899).

It will be noted that the earliest of these cases is of 1761, and that only three of them are of the last sixty years.

In two instances the condition has mixed tenses, once the *p. def.* and the past indefinite

<sup>2</sup> The 19th century cases quoted represent much more reading than those of the preceding three centuries combined. 15 of the 29 cases are from two authors.

(quoted above), once the p. def. and the imperfect: "S'il [Mithridates] avait l'art de solliciter les peuples . . . il éprouvait à son tour des perfidies de la part de ses capitaines . . . ; enfin s'il eut affaire à des généraux romains malhabiles, on envoya contre lui, en divers temps, Sylla, Lucullus et Pompée." Montesquieu, *Grandeur et décadence des Romains*, ch. vii. (1734).—In fourteen instances the verb of the *si*-clause is modified by *jamais*, in ten by other temporal adverbs.—The conclusions show much variety as to tense, mood and construction; they are more often in the p. def. (more than one-third of all cases) than in any other tense.<sup>3</sup>

While wider reading would doubtless modify the above deductions in some particulars, two conclusions seem reasonably safe; that the construction is rare and increasingly so; and that the cases of fact are much more numerous than the cases of doubt.

Appended are some additional examples:

"Si je fis ice, si est felunie es meies mains." *Psaut. d'Ox.*, 7, 3 (12th cent., quoted in Etienne, *loc. cit.*).—"Et sè ele fu en paine de l'entrer, encor fu ele en forceur de l'isgir." *Aucassin et Nicolette*, xvi, 22 (12th cent.).—"Se li rois en fu lies, puis en ot marrement." Renand de Montauban, 45, 24.—"Je jure devant toy, [Dieu]—ainsi me soys tu favorable, si jamais à luy [Picrochole] desplaisir, ne à ses gens dommaige, ne en ses terres je feis pillerie; mais, bien au contraire, je l'ay secouru de gens, d'argent," etc. Rabelais, Livre 1, *Gargantua*, ch. 28 (1535).—Luy sans parole dire Entr'ouvrit doucement un delicat sourire, . . . et promptement je meure, Si ce ris delicat ne m'attendrit le coeur, Me faisant oublier la colere et la peur. R. Belleau, *Première journée de la Bergerie* (1565).—Par ces vers j'en prens acte affin que l'avenir De moy, par ta [Rapin's] vertu, se puisse souvenir; Et que ceste memoire à jamais s'entretienne, Que ma Muse imparfaite eut en honneur la tienne; Et que si j'eus l'esprit d'ignorance abatu, Je l'euz au moins si bon, que j'aimay ta vertu. Régnier, *Satire ix* (1608).—Alcippe: "Continue, et fais bien l'ignorante." Clarice: "Si je le vis jamais, et si je le connoi!" Corneille, *le Menteur*, 498-499 (1643-1644).—

<sup>3</sup> Since the above was written I have noted the following Old French example:

Desor le pont en a .j. encontré,  
Tel li dona qu'il l'abat el fossé;  
Se il ot soif, boire pot a plenté.

(*Aymeri de Narbonne*, 925-927.)

Mais si elle eut de la joie de régner sur une grande nation, c'est parce qu'elle pouvait contenter le désir immense, qui sans cesse la sollicitait à faire du bien. Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de Henriette-Marie de France*, 4 pp. from beginning (1669).—Vénus: "Mon fils, si j'eus jamais sur toi quelque crédit, Et si jamais je te fus chère, . . . Emploie, emploie ici l'effort de ta puissance." Molière, *Psyché*, Prologue (1671).—Mais tous ils confessaient que si jamais les Dieux Ne mirent sur le trône un roi plus glorieux, Également comblé de leurs faveurs secrètes, Jamais père ne fut plus heureux que vous l'êtes. Racine, *Iphigénie*, 355-358, (1674).—S'il eut beaucoup de bonne volonté, j'eus aussi pour lui une très forte attache. Boileau, *le Lutrin*, Avis au lecteur (1683 and 1701).—Angélique (disguised as man): "Si jamais je vous fus cher, Madame, il est temps de vous déclarer." Dancourt, *la Folle Enchère*, sc. xxii (1690).—Car s'il n'y eut jamais amour tel que le vôtre, il est impossible aussi d'être aimé plus tendrement que vous l'êtes. Prévost, *Manon Lescaut*, T. ii, p. 123, ed. of 1745 (1731).—Si jamais il y eut quelqu'un d'étonné, ce furent les gens qui entendirent ces mots. Voltaire, *Zadig*, ch. vi (1747).—Tout ce qui dépend de ma volonté fut pour mon devoir. Si le coeur, qui n'en dépend pas, fut pour vous, ce fut mon tourment et non pas mon crime. Rousseau, *la Nouvelle Héloïse*, Livre vi, 12 (1761).—Si, vainqueurs de Toulon, vous présageâtes l'immortelle campagne de 93, vos victoires actuelles en présagent une plus belle encore. Bonaparte, *Proclamation à l'armée d'Italie* (1796).—Dieu lui-même, en douant ce regard de candeur, S'il y mit plus de flamme, y mit plus de pudeur. Hugo, *Marion de Lorme*, A. v, sc. iii (1829).—A Marathon, . . . les Athéniens . . . s'ils arrêterent l'armée barbare, ne purent l'empêcher de s'embarquer. France, *Mannequin d'osier* (1897, p. 63 of Dike's *Mon-sieur Bergeret*).—Cyrano: "Si quelquefois je fus éloquent . . ." Roxanne: "Vous le fûtes!" Rostand, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, A. iii, sc. vi (1897).—Même si elle ne fut pas ce qu'elle aurait dû être, vous devriez la bénir et la remercier, cette jeunesse. Lavedan, *Le bon temps*, p. 355 (1906).—Si'ils n'en obtinrent pas la suppression, ils le réduisirent à l'effacement. Lavis, *Histoire de France*, ix, i, p. 18 (1910).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> I owe to one of my graduate students, Mr. Edward Cullom, several of the 17th century quotations in this article and to Professor Armstrong several instances of the p. def. construction later than any I had noted.

TWO DEBTS OF SCOTT TO *LE MORTE D'ARTHUR*

There are two passages in *Ivanhoe* which seem to be founded on two incidents related in *Le Morte D'Arthur*. It is, of course, well known that Scott was widely read in the literature of chivalry. He was an ardent admirer of *Le Morte D'Arthur*, as appears from two letters to Southey in 1807,<sup>1</sup> and even meditated an edition of the book, a project which he dropped on learning of Southey's like intention. In the earlier of the two letters which I have mentioned, Scott says that he possessed the 1637<sup>2</sup> edition of the romance.

The first passage in *Ivanhoe* which seems derived from Malory's romance is a part of the tournament incident.<sup>3</sup> The Ninth Book of *Le Morte D'Arthur*, chapter twenty-six to chapter thirty-five,<sup>4</sup> contains what are apparently the sources of many of the details connected with certain of the participants and their conduct in Scott's tournament of Ashby de la Zouche. In chapter twenty-six Sir Tristram of Lyonesse is on his way to the Castle of Maidens where a tournament has been proclaimed by King Carados of Scotland and the King of North Wales. There is some jousting before the tournament begins and in it Sir Tristram takes part. In chapter thirty he provides himself with a black shield "with none other remembraunce therin," and so equipped takes part in the tourney. He is successful in his tilting and is adjudged the winner of the day under the title of "the Knyght with the black sheld," for although some are certain that he is Sir Tristram and some merely suspect his identity, yet no one absolutely penetrates his disguise and makes him known. Sir Tristram has allied himself with the weaker party—that opposing King Arthur's and Sir Launcelot's,

"where the most noble knyghts of the world ben."<sup>5</sup> It should be noticed, too, that he withdraws secretly from the field at the end of each day. The prize for the last day's jousting is awarded to Sir Launcelot, who resigns it to Sir Tristram. The latter, who has left the field, cannot be found, however.

In Scott's novel Sir Wilfred of Ivanhoe is leading one of the parties on the second day of the tournament at Ashby. The opposing party, that of Prince John's followers, is perhaps the stronger. During the early part of the jousting King Richard, who has just returned from his Austrian prison, and who, disguised, is taking part in the tournament, keeps near the edge of the lists. His accouterments and even his horse are black. At the moment when Sir Wilfred is in great danger of being overthrown by Front-de-Boeuf and Sir Athelstone of Coningsburgh Richard comes to the rescue, beats down the assailants, and then retires. Soon afterward Prince John ends the tournament by casting down his truncheon. The prize for the day is given to the party of Ivanhoe and the individual honors to Richard. He is nowhere to be found, however, when the honors are to be given and some of the spectators report his having retired from the lists into a near-by wood.

Some points of resemblance are plainly visible in comparing the synopses given in the preceding paragraphs. Others must be got from the reading and the comparing of the two incidents which I have considered. The points falling to the former class are as follows: the use of plain black armor by the King and Sir Tristram as a disguise; each one's attaching himself to what is apparently the weaker party; each one's retiring privately from the field at the end of the day's fighting and allowing the prize to go to another. The two men are given descriptive nicknames which are somewhat similar—The Knight with the Black Shield and Le Noir Faineant. It is suspected that the unknown knight in Malory's tournament is Sir Tristram; Richard is not recognized or even suspected. Sir Wilfred, who is also unknown, is, however, in the course of the first day's jousting, suspected of being Coeur de Lion. Indeed, the

<sup>1</sup> November, 1807; December 15, 1807. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, by John Gibson Lockhart. Edinburgh, 1862. Vol. III, pp. 31, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Probably 1634, as there is no mention of a 1637 edition.

<sup>3</sup> Chapters VIII, IX, X, XI, XIII. (The last chapter mentioned contains most of the material for my comparison.) The Border Edition, London and New York, 1906.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Morte D'Arthur*, by Syr Thomas Malory . . . Edited by H. Oskar Sommer, Ph. D. London, 1889, pp. 378-396.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter xxxi.

deeds of Sir Tristram at the Castle of Maidens seem to a certain extent to be divided between Ivanhoe and the King.

The second incident to which I wish to call attention is found in chapter forty-four of *Ivanhoe*, and the passage which it calls to mind in *Le Morte D'Arthur* is chapter six, book eighteen. Queen Guenevere is to be burned for "treason"—the poisoning of Sir Patrise at a feast—unless some knight will do battle for her against her accuser, Sir Mador de la Porte, and overcome him. Sir Launcelot, her usual champion, has been banished from court so that Sir Bors takes the Queen's part with the provision that he withdraw if a better knight come to take his place. The court assembles in the meadows near Westminster. The stake is ready and the two knights, Bors and Mador, withdraw to the opposite ends of the lists. At this point a knight in strange armor appears and volunteers to defend the Queen. Sir Bors withdraws in his favor, and the new champion and Sir Mador fight, with the result that the latter is badly wounded and forced to yield and to retract the charges which he has made against Guenevere. The stranger proves to be Sir Launcelot, who has taken this opportunity of righting himself at court.

In *Ivanhoe* the Jewess, Rebecca, has been condemned to death by fire for sorcery, in a court of Knights Templars. The Templars are assembled in the tiltyard at Templestowe. The stake and faggots are ready. Rebecca's accuser, Sir Brian de Bois-Guilbert, is waiting fully armed to prove his charges on anyone who may champion the young woman's cause. Just as her guilt is about to be declared established because of the absence of any defender, Sir Wilfred appears to do battle as Rebecca's champion. After some parleying the two knights charge each other. Very luckily for the nearly-disabled Ivanhoe, Sir Brian dies of some sort of stroke before the combat has really begun. As a result, the Jewess is freed, as the charge of sorcery is considered disproved.

These passages are, it is true, not alike to a remarkable degree, yet the germ of Scott's can be seen, it seems plain, in the chapter of *Le Morte D'Arthur* which has been summarized. The method of punishment, the lack of a defender and the scarcity of friends, the opportune arrival of a champion, and the outcome of the combat,—

these all point toward a relation between the two incidents. The ease with which Ivanhoe obtains his victory is due to the exigencies of Scott's story, of course, and is, therefore, an unimportant variation. Taking it and the other differences between the stories in both of the cases which I have cited, and considering them together with the parallels which have been brought out, one can, I believe, hardly escape admitting the existence of a certain relationship between those particular parts of *Ivanhoe* and of *Le Morte D'Arthur*.

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#### NOTE SUR LE POUR ET LE CONTRE DE VOLTAIRE

*Le Pour et le Contre*<sup>1</sup> est le titre donné en 1775 au poème intitulé jusqu'à cette date *Épître à Uranie*,<sup>2</sup> "argumentation rigoureuse contre la religion révélée"<sup>3</sup> que Voltaire conclut par l'apologie de la "religion naturelle."—Il ne semble pas que l'*Épître à Uranie* ait été imprimée avant 1738,<sup>4</sup> mais il est hors de doute qu'elle a été composée au plus tard en 1731<sup>5</sup> et qu'elle courut à Paris en 1732.<sup>6</sup>

On identifie d'ordinaire l'*Épître à Uranie* avec une *Épître à Julie* qui serait perdue, mais que Voltaire aurait lue à Jean-Baptiste Rousseau en septembre 1722, lorsqu'il le rencontra à Bruxelles.<sup>7</sup>—Quelles preuves a-t-on de l'ex-

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, éd. Moland, ix, pp. 358-362.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, p. 358, n.; cf. Georges Bengesco, *Voltaire, Bibliographie de ses œuvres*, Paris, 1882-1885, I, pp. 160-161.

<sup>3</sup> G. Lanson, *Voltaire*<sup>2</sup> (les Grands Écrivains Français), Paris, 1910, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> G. Bengesco, *l. l.*; v. pourtant G. Desnoiresterres, *La Jeunesse de Voltaire*,<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1871, pp. 459-460.

<sup>5</sup> *Œuv. Volt.*, xxxiii, p. 215 (lettre à Thieriot, du 30 juin 1731).

<sup>6</sup> *Œuv. Volt.*, ix, p. 358, n.; G. Bengesco, *l. l.*; cf. Desnoiresterres, *l. l.*

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*—M. Lanson, *l. l.*, a douté de cette identification: "il n'est pas sûr qu'il (Voltaire) écrivit ainsi en 1722," mais déjà il "pensait ainsi."

istence d'une *Épître à Julie*? La *Correspondance* de Voltaire n'y fait aucune allusion<sup>8</sup> et la lettre écrite par Rousseau le 20 septembre 1722 à M. Boutet le fils<sup>9</sup> exprime simplement le charme qu'il trouva à passer onze jours presque sans quitter Voltaire et à admirer sa *Ligue*. C'est seulement dans la lettre de Rousseau à M. N \* \* \*, du 22 mai 1736,<sup>10</sup> qu'il est fait mention de cette *Épître à Julie* "marquée au coin de l'impiété la plus noire": cette lettre étant postérieure au scandale que l'*Épître à Uranie* causa en 1732<sup>11</sup> et Voltaire étant alors en guerre ouverte avec Rousseau, la contradiction flagrante entre les deux récits de la rencontre à Bruxelles permet d'estimer que Rousseau a pu dénaturer en 1736 la vérité de 1722 et prêter à Voltaire une "impiété" précoce.<sup>12</sup>

S'il n'y a pas de preuves extérieures certaines en faveur de l'existence d'une *Épître à Julie* en 1722, on peut, ce semble, discerner que la philosophie de l'*Épître à Uranie* n'est exposée par Voltaire qu'à partir de 1728 au plus tôt. En effet, on lit dans l'*Épître à Uranie* que Dieu "demande compte à cent peuples divers" de l'"erreur d'un premier père:"

<sup>8</sup> *Œuv.*, xxxiii, p. 73, n. 2 (lettre à Thieriot, de La Haye, 2 octobre 1722): Moland voit une allusion possible à l'*Épître à Uranie* dans ce passage: "Je viens d'achever un ouvrage d'un autre genre, que je vous montrerai à mon retour, et dont je ne peux vous rien dire à présent"; l'indication est beaucoup trop vague, à mon sens;—de même, p. 75, n. 1: "Ne dites de mes vers à personne" (lettre à Thieriot, de La Haye, 8 octobre 1722) (l'éditeur ne remarque pas que Voltaire, si l'on en croit sa lettre du 2 octobre, n'a pas envoyé ses vers à Thieriot).

<sup>9</sup> *Œuvres de J. B. Rousseau*, Paris, Lefèvre, 1820, v, pp. 44-46.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. n. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Sur la guerre entre Voltaire et Rousseau, v. *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, ix, pp. 562 sqq.—La lettre de 1736 est mensongère sur d'autres points: cf. Desnoiresterres, p. 235.—Rousseau indique (même lettre, p. 212) que Voltaire a converti les blasphèmes de l'*Épître à Julie* en blasphèmes moins horribles dans l'*Épître à Uranie*: il suffit de comparer certains passages de la *Henriade* (p. ex., *Œuvres*, viii, p. 116) aux passages correspondants de la *Ligue* (*id.*, p. 130) pour voir que ce n'est pas là l'ordinaire progression de l'impiété voltairienne.

Il punit au fond des enfers  
L'ignorance invincible où lui-même il les plonge,  
Lui qui veut éclairer et sauver l'univers!

Amérique, vastes contrées,  
Peuples que Dieu fit naître aux portes du soleil,  
Vous, nations hyperborées,  
Que l'erreur entretient dans un si long sommeil,  
Serez-vous pour jamais à sa fureur livrées  
Pour n'avoir pas su qu'autrefois,  
Dans un autre hémisphère, au fond de la Syrie,  
Le fils d'un charpentier, enfanté par Marie,  
Renié par Céphas, expira sur la croix?

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· · · · ·  
· · · · ·  
Songe que du Très-Haut la sagesse éternelle  
A gravé de sa main dans le fond de ton cœur  
La religion naturelle;  
Crois que de ton esprit la naïve candeur  
Ne sera point l'objet de sa haine immortelle;  
Crois que devant son trône, en tout temps, en tous lieux,

Le cœur du juste est précieux;  
Crois qu'un bonze modeste, un dervis charitable,  
Trouvent plutôt grâce à ses yeux  
Qu'un janséniste impitoyable  
Ou qu'un pontife ambitieux.<sup>13</sup>

—D'autre part, on trouve les mêmes idées, le même développement et souvent les mêmes expressions dans la *Henriade*:<sup>14</sup> auprès de Dieu, "juge incorruptible," la Mort conduit les habitants de ce triste univers, Chinois, Persans, et

Les pâles habitants de ces froides contrées  
Qu'assiègent de glaçons les mers hyperborées;  
Ceux qui de l'Amérique habitent les forêts,  
De l'erreur invincible innombrables sujets.  
Le dervis étonné, d'une vue inquiète,  
A la droite de Dieu cherche en vain son prophète.  
Le bonze, avec des yeux sombres et pénitents,  
Y vient vanter en vain ses vœux et ses tourments.

· · · · ·  
· · · · ·  
"Quelle est, disait Henri, s'interrogeant lui-même,  
Quelle est de Dieu sur eux la justice suprême?  
Ce Dieu les punit-il d'avoir fermé leurs yeux  
Aux clartés que lui-même il plaça si loin d'eux?"

Pourrait-il les juger, tel qu'un injuste mattre,  
Sur la loi des chrétiens, qu'ils n'avaient pu connaître?  
Non. Dieu nous a créés, Dieu nous veut sauver tous:  
Partout il nous instruit, partout il parle à nous;

<sup>13</sup> *Œuv.*, ix, pp. 360-362.

<sup>14</sup> Chant vii: *Œuv.*, viii, pp. 171-172.

*Il grave en tous les cœurs la loi de la nature,  
Seule à jamais la même, et seule toujours pure.  
Sur cette loi, sans doute, il juge les païens,  
Et si leur cœur fut juste, ils ont été chrétiens."*

Il me paraît vraisemblable que ces deux passages représentent deux états de pensée contemporains.<sup>15</sup> Or, ce texte de la *Henriade* n'apparaît que dans l'édition de 1730. L'édition de 1728 ignore la mention de l'Amérique et des nations hyperborées, la loi de la nature "gravée par Dieu dans les cœurs," le "cœur juste";<sup>16</sup> dans la *Ligue*, de 1723, Dieu sépareit seulement l'innocent du coupable: nulle allusion n'était faite à la diversité des religions ni à la loi de nature.<sup>17</sup>

Peut-on croire, dès lors, que Voltaire ait écrit en 1722 une *Épître à Julie* où il aurait exprimé (avec une gravité absente de son œuvre jusqu'au jour où il revient d'Angleterre) des idées qu'on voit s'affirmer chez lui après 1728 seulement? Je croirais plutôt que l'*Épître à Julie* est une invention de J. B. Rousseau.

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*La Phonétique Castillane.*<sup>1</sup> Traité de phonétique descriptive et comparative par MOLTON AVERY COLTON. Paris, 1909. 8vo., 199 pp.

We have here, for the second time in four years, a work on Spanish phonetics by an American teacher. Both books are written in French, but in other respects they differ widely. Josselyn, in his *Études de Phonétique Espagnole* (1907), attempted to discover some of the elements common to the pronunciations of Andalusia, New

Castile, Old Castile, Leon, and Asturia, without, however, professing to write a complete treatise on the subject. Mr. Colton, on the other hand, confines himself to Old and New Castile, taking as his territory the country east and west of and along the railway line of Palencia, Valladolid, Madrid, and has written the most extensive study of Spanish phonetics so far published. Moreover, being a disciple of Paul Passy, Mr. Colton does not, like Mr. Josselyn, employ the experimental method. And, finally, the author of the present work bases his study on popular speech, while his predecessor chose the speech of the educated class. Mr. Colton states that "there is little difference between literary pronunciation and popular pronunciation, if in the two cases conversation be taken as the basis of observation" (p. 9). It is true that in Spain the difference between the speech of the common people and that of the "gente ilustrada" is much less marked than it is in France or in Germany, but it is hardly safe to assume that it is negligible. In consideration of all these elements, it is not surprising that the conclusions of the two authors often differ.

That the author is a novice, as he tells us himself (p. 5 and p. 81), may account for the freedom with which he criticizes the opinions of Baist (p. 81 and p. 179) and Jespersen (p. 190), the sharp attacks on the theories of Rousselot (p. 5), Vianna (p. 81) and Storm (p. 160), and the savage onslaughts on Araujo and Josselyn throughout the book. This is the one regrettable feature about a work which is, in other respects, deserving of high praise, for Mr. Colton is well informed in phonetic literature, he has an acute ear, he is a keen observer, his book contains many original ideas, and his discovery of metaphony in Castilian is, to say the least, noteworthy. He has the courage of his convictions, and whether one agrees with him or not, one can not help admiring his thoroughgoing honesty.

The author combats from first to last the doctrine that there are only five vowels in Castilian. This is his *cheval de bataille*. Without it, his book would be reduced by one-half. There must be more than five vowels, or else all of his theory of metaphony and much of what he says on vowel quantity will have to be abandoned. It is not surprising, therefore, that the last sentence in the

<sup>15</sup> Il n'est pas impossible que le texte de l'*Épître*, plus agressif, à ce qu'il semble, soit un peu postérieur au texte de la *Henriade*.

<sup>16</sup> *Œuv.*, VIII, pp. 191-192.—N'ayant à ma disposition aucune des éditions données par Voltaire, je m'en rapporte à l'édition de Moland.

<sup>17</sup> *Id.*, p. 191.

<sup>1</sup> This book, in spite of the date on the title page, appeared in 1911. On sale with George W. Jones, 194 Main street, Annapolis, Md.

book is : "Y a-t-il donc lieu de s'étonner que le castillan ait aussi plus de cinq voyelles ?"

Here, then, are the vowels that he sets down for Castilian (the order in parenthesis is, for the oral vowels, from close to open): two vowels represented in ordinary orthography by *a* (*α*, *a*); four by *o* (*o*, *oʔ*, *o*, *ɔ*); two by *u* (*u*, *ʊ*); four by *e* (*e*, *eʔ*, *ɛ*, *ε*); two by *i* (*i*, *ɪ*); three "abnormal vowels" (*φ*, *œ*, *ʋ*); and six nasal vowels (*ɔ̃*, *ũ*, *ẽ*, *ĩ*, *ã*); twenty-three in all, or seven more than Passy finds for French. To one acquainted with French and with Castilian this result is certainly surprising, especially when we remember that Araujo, Vianna, and Josselyn agree that, setting aside shades of difference due to individual idiosyncrasies and to the influence of dialect, there are only five vowels in Spanish. Baist found seven vowels, but remarks that since open *e* and close *e* assonate, as also open *o* and close *o*, the distance between the open and the close vowel in each case could not be very great. To the first three Mr. Colton gives battle royal, while Baist is patronizingly quoted with partial approval.

There can be no question that more than five vowels may be heard in Castilian speech, but this fact is unimportant as long as it is not shown that the variations from certain norms appear regularly. This the author attempts to do, but he acknowledges that his lines of demarcation between vowels are "souvent arbitraires," for, he goes on to say, "il existe à peu près toutes les nuances d'un extrême à l'autre de ce qu'on a bien voulu appeler une voyelle, c'est-à-dire de *c* à *ε* et de *o* à *ɔ* etc." (p. 61). For him, moreover, "la voyelle type n'existe pas" (p. 101), yet he berates Araujo for choosing the French word *et* as indicating the type of Castilian *e*, "parce que ce n'est pas l'*e* fermé qui est le type du castillan, c'est-à-dire le plus commun" (p. 70), and on p. 24, he mentions "deux nuances de la variété *a*." Moreover, indefinite statements like the following occur: "[On dit] *kanto tanto*, mais *tanto kanto*, cependant, même dans ce cas, l'*a* peut résister à l'accent totalement ou en partie" (p. 29); and "Par l'influence de l'accent, tout *u* peut devenir *u*" (p. 37), not "devient *u*," but "peut devenir *u*," without further explanation. In spite of the existence of two *a*'s, corresponding to, tho not the same as, the two French *a*'s, he acknowledges

that the Castilians "n'arrivent pas à faire la distinction en français entre *a* et *a* comme dans *pâle*, *patte*" (p. 154). The explanation given on p. 152 does not explain, since it is applicable to other linguistic groups as well, and does not make clear why an Anglo-American does not have the same difficulty. And, finally, the statement that there are six *regular* (our italics) nasal vowels in Castilian (p. 45) rouses one to vigorous protest.

In connection with this discussion, the following question is perhaps pertinent: Would a Castilian whose vowel system was confined to the five typical vowels of Castilian, *i. e.*, the most commonly recurring pronunciations of *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, excite any further comment than that he spoke "muy claro"?

It would be unjust to dismiss Mr. Colton's presentation of Castilian vowels without acknowledging that he has made many valuable additions to our knowledge of those vowels; that in emphasizing the instability of Castilian pronunciation he has opened up a new field; that altho many of his statements will arouse protest, he has raised questions which, in the future, it will not be possible to ignore.

One of these questions is the subject of metaphony, for which Mr. Colton also uses the expression "vowel harmony" (*harmonie vocalique*). The word *metaphony*, in its French form *métaphonie*, was first used in 1893 by Victor Henry in the French edition of his Grammar of English and German, and given its English form the following year in the English edition of the same book. Henry used the word to designate the phenomenon usually called *umlaut*, not being satisfied with the word *mutation*, which seemed to him too vague. Mr. Colton applies the word to phenomena which are in principle the same as *umlaut*, but are much less marked than phenomena hitherto classified under this name.

We shall attempt to state the four laws of metaphony which are explained on pp. 50-56.

1. When an open syllable containing *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* is followed by a syllable containing *a* (not *α*), the vowel of the first syllable will be close, *i. e.*, *e* will be pronounced as close *e*, *i* as close *i*, and so on. Ex. *manteca* = *mante*: *ka*; *mina* = *mi*: *na*; *poca* = *po*: *ka*; *una* = *u*: *na*.

2. When an open syllable containing *i*, *u* is fol-

lowed by a syllable containing *o* (i. e., close *o*), the vowel of the first syllable will be close. Ex. *fino* = *fi·no*; *uno* = *u·no*.

3. When an open syllable containing *e*, *o* is followed by a syllable containing *o* (i. e. close *o*), the vowel of the first syllable will be close or approximately so. Ex. *eco* = *e·ko* or *eɾko*; *bobo* = *bo·vo*; while *todo* = *tɔ·ðo* (see below).

4. When any syllable containing *a* is followed by a syllable containing *o*, the vowel of the first syllable will be close. Ex. *cabo* = *ka·vo*; *campo* = *kampo*.

It is impossible to go into details. Suffice it to say that the author considers the first law "presque absolue"; the second "presque aussi absolue"; in the case of the third, "l'influence métaphonique est moins forte," and hence such exceptions as *todo*; and concerning the fourth law, he remarks that "elle n'est pas de taille à lutter contre un accent fort de groupe ou de phrase."

When we observe that all the examples given in the discussion on metaphony, with one exception (*dijéramos*, p. 52), are paroxytones, and when we remember that the author finds all final *a*'s and all final *o*'s to be close, we notice that these four laws of metaphony can be summed up into the statement that final *a* and final *o* tend to make the vowel of the penultimate syllable close. Since the final vowels of Spanish are *a*, *o*, and *e*, one naturally asks why *e* does not exert metaphonic influence. This question the author attempts to answer (p. 60), but his explanation is obscure.

The chapter on consonants offers a number of shrewd observations, such as the remarks on *d*, on *m* and *n*, on *r*. The explanation of the fall of *d* in the ending *-ado* (p. 139) is particularly good. The presentation of the fricatives, too, is worthy of mention. The description of the stages in the weakening of a consonant (p. 132) is excellent. On the other hand, one is surprised to see *s* dismiss in thirteen lines. What the author says is correct, but when one remembers that this consonant is one of the shibboleths by which a foreigner is most easily detected, one certainly expects a more detailed description than the remark: "La consonne *s* a une articulation assez éloignée des dents en castillan" (p. 124). The author does not seem to have heard of the doubts that have been expressed concerning the nature of Spanish

*ch*, but takes for granted that it is a compound sound, made up of *t* and the sound represented by English *sh*.<sup>2</sup> These omissions do not, however, detract seriously from the generally high character of this chapter.

The discussion of the quantity of vowels and consonants is perhaps the most valuable contribution of this book. There are exaggerations, but Mr. Colton is unquestionably right in insisting that the old theory about Castilian vowel quantity must be discarded. There are long vowels in Castilian, and some of them, as the author remarks, are extremely long. In the same chapter are found the remarks on diphthongization, which are not only very illuminating, but carry conviction as well. That Castilian is on the eve of breaking up some of its present vowels into diphthongs seems almost demonstrated, after one has read Mr. Colton's observations.

In conclusion, it may not be out of place to suggest some improvements for a second edition. The arrangement of the book would be greatly improved by numbering the paragraphs and by inserting definite cross-references. Such references as "plus loin," "déjà," "ci-dessus," "ci-dessous," "à la suite" are very unsatisfactory. Examples should be set off by different type. The number of examples should be increased. There are many paragraphs without examples, and others for which the examples are to be found elsewhere (pp. 31, 32, 35, 38, 44, 46, etc.). The omission of phonetic texts is a serious drawback. Besides detached words, one might surely expect at least some sentences in phonetic transcription, but we have been able to find only five (pp. 90, 136, 141, 187, 187), and of these the longest consists of only six words (p. 136).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. in this connection an article by Winifred Scripture on the sounds "ch" and "j," in the October number of the *Popular Science Monthly* of 1911. See also Roudet's *Eléments de phonétique*, Paris, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> The following misprints and omissions should be noted: P. 38, l. 18, "ouverte" should be changed to "fermée"; p. 58, l. 11, insert "haute" after "position"; p. 122, l. 12, "influence"; p. 134, l. 9, "langue"; p. 137, l. 32, "Araujo"; p. 176, l. 35, insert "en" before "est."

*Studien zur Germanischen Sagengeschichte* von Dr. FRIEDRICH PANZER. I. *Beowulf*. München, Beck, 1910.

The reader of this imposing volume may well feel himself rewarded for his pains. Here, for the first time, he will find a careful enumeration and analysis of the various *märchen* related to *Beowulf*, followed by a discussion of the significance of such an analysis for the origin and development of the epic. The need for an investigation like this has long been recognized. That it was undertaken by Dr. Panzer is fortunate, since he has already devoted much time to the study of the relations between popular story and epic, particularly in connection with the Middle High German *Gudrun*.<sup>1</sup> Although his general critical method is very much the same as in that study, he here exhibits far more caution. The earlier essay failed to meet with universal approval, in so far as it attempted to establish a connection between the "*Goldner-märchen*" on the one hand, and the *Hilde-Gudrun* saga and various other medieval narratives on the other,—hypotheses largely, if not wholly, original with the author himself. The present volume, however, serves in large measure to support the suggestions of earlier scholars, rather than to advance new or original theories. Its general effect is in no wise revolutionary. But the belated Müllenhoffian will find little comfort in the book. Apart from its main thesis, it deals, not the first, but one of the severest blows to the "mythological" theory, and to the derivation of the framework of the poem from the much-discussed *Beowa* of the charters and genealogies.

For the basic tale underlying the epic, Dr. Panzer retains the name "Bear's Son," already used by French and German scholars. Although the hero is not by any means always of animal parentage, he is always endowed with supernatural powers, which this title may serve to indicate. The main part of the typical *märchen* is as follows:—The hero engages in a desperate fight with one or more demonic

beings, whom he has sought out in a subterranean dwelling. As a result of this combat he frees several damsels kept in confinement by the monsters, and restores them to the upper world, but is himself compelled to remain in the demon realm, having been betrayed by faithless companions. At length he finds means to return in disguise, and after punishing the traitors, he marries the most beautiful of the rescued ladies.—This story is introduced in various ways, which may be grouped into three classes. In the first of these (Introductory formula A), which tells of the hero's youth and his association with doughty companions, a demon against whom the hero alone can prevail makes an attack upon him and his band of followers in a lonely house, but ultimately escapes to the lower world. Thither he is followed by the hero,—and then the main part of the tale begins. The second formula (B) tells little of the hero's boyhood, but begins with the adventure against the demon, who, after a hard contest with the youngest of a family of royal princes, escapes, and is pursued into his lair. Formula C deals with the ladies whom the hero is later to meet in the subterranean realm. They had been carried off by a demon, whom the champion first meets in a lonely house in the woods. Here again others are of no avail, the hero alone successfully resists the monster. *Beowulf* represents the main story, preceded by Formula B.

More than half the book is devoted to a careful discussion of the different forms of this *märchen*. The titles of two hundred and two books containing stories of this type are listed and numbered, and as each episode in the narrative is discussed, reference is made to these books by means of the numerals which respectively designate them. This is no doubt the only feasible method; to give even a short outline of each tale would require a separate volume, and a bulky one at that, while the later synthesis of all these analyses would be far more difficult. There is a great deal in the early part of the book that may be safely omitted, even by the careful reader, although his attention can hardly fail to be arrested by the striking resemblances to *Beowulf*. Such a section as that

<sup>1</sup> *Hilde-Gudrun*, Halle, 1901.

entitled "The Demon in the House in the Woods" (pp. 74-95) is interesting reading. Striking, too, is the wide distribution and variety of the material. The author concludes (p. 245) that the *märchen*, not only in its elements, but in its structure, may ultimately be traced back to the Indo-Iranian period, and he believes that it is not a degenerate form of myth, but that the development has rather been in the reverse direction.

The general reader is advised to take the *märchen*-analysis for granted, and to begin with the second division of the book (pp. 249 ff.). Here the direct bearing of the preceding discussion upon *Beowulf* becomes evident. The author does not believe merely that the epic and the *märchen* have certain motives in common, but rather that the story of *Beowulf's* fight with Grendel is really the fairy-tale of Bear's Son "altered by the art of the scop into heroic saga." To this has been added the Fight with the Dragon, an independent popular story (*volks-sage*). In the *märchen*, the female monster, though a well-known figure, and the mother of the male demon, never journeys to the upper world for revenge upon her son's adversary. In an earlier form of the story, *Beowulf* must have followed the tracks of the wounded Grendel into the lower world, and there met and overcome the mother. The old theory that the second adventure is an imitation of the first, or an insertion by an interpolator, which was pretty generally disbelieved even before the appearance of Panzer's book, is contradicted by all the evidence from popular stories (p. 278). The fight with the dragon represents the fusion of two separate types, the "Thor-type," in which the hero defends land and people, and the "Fafnir-type," in which he is chiefly concerned with the winning of treasure (p. 309). As for the issue between Sievers and Olrik, Panzer regards the narrative of Frotho's dragon-fight as a late invention, but believes that it incorporates details of an old Danish song ultimately identical with the version in *Beowulf* (p. 313). The union of the two elements of the *Beowulf*-story, "*märchen und volkssage*," took place possibly in Gautland but surely also in Denmark.

The sagas of *Grettir* and of *Orm Storolfsson* are in themselves independent, according to Panzer's view, but they show the application of the Bear's Son or Doughty-Hans *märchen* to historical personages, and their literary form was influenced by the literary form of the saga of *Beowulf*. The *märchen* has often got into literary shape in Iceland without being affected by *Beowulf*, as in the stories of Grim Helguson, Asmund Flagðagæfa, and other heroes (p. 390). Panzer's discussions of the sagas of *Grettir* and of *Orm Storolfsson* and of *Böðvar Bjarki* are all important and interesting, and marked, on the whole, by sound reasoning. We can here notice only the last of these. Panzer takes sharp issue with Olrik's contention that no connection really exists between the *Bjarki*-story and the *Beowulf*-story. Jónsson and Heusler had already dissented, and in 1909 the present writer published a reëxamination of the whole question, concluding that the *Beowulf*-story (not necessarily in its form in the Anglo-Saxon epic) had certainly exercised an influence upon the late *Hrólfs-saga*.<sup>2</sup> This discussion was evidently not accessible to Dr. Panzer. He believes the two stories identical at bottom, but is far from being dogmatic about the relationships and development of the different forms of the material. "I am not of the opinion," he says, "that I have made everything in the preceding discussion appear probable. I shall have to bear it as best I may, if people reckon some of these combinations among those exercises of the intellect which appear as tiresome to the reader as they were agreeable to their originator." The simplest solution of the problem would seem to be that we have to do with late influence of the *Beowulf*-story upon the *Hrólfs-saga* alone, but the exact truth about this complicated question may never, perhaps, be determined. It should always be remembered, in considering the relations between *Beowulf* and this later Scandinavian material, that we are dealing, in all probability, not with the Anglo-

<sup>2</sup> "Some Disputed Questions in *Beowulf*-Criticism," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xxiv, 220 ff.

Saxon *Beowulf*, but with a form of the story which had developed and was circulating independently in the North.

The results of the whole study are summed up in the closing chapter (pp. 389-404). Dr. Panzer thinks that *Beowulf* may very likely have been an historical personage, distinguished for his strength and bravery, a man who perhaps actually accomplished a swimming-feat similar, except for the epic elaboration, to that mentioned in the poem in connection with Hygelac's defeat. It would have been easy to transfer to such a man the exploits properly belonging to Bear's Son. *Beowulf* is perhaps the name actually borne by this historical character. The transformation of the fairy-tale into the more elaborate heroic story with the champion *Beowulf* as its central figure probably took place in Scandinavian territory. The Scandinavian origin of the Grendel saga is particularly strengthened by the identity of the *Beowulf* and Bjarki stories (that is, if Panzer's hypotheses are to be accepted). One or perhaps more than one Danish poem on *Beowulf* came to England, and there, not through mere translation, but by free reworking, which nevertheless left the main outlines of the story unchanged, the epic came into existence. The chapter closes with a general attack on the well-known theory that the protagonist was earlier the "divine hero" *Beowa*,—an hypothesis closely connected with the idea that the substratum of the story lies in mythical conceptions. Both of these strongholds of the earlier criticism are vigorously assaulted in Panzer's book. But he is hardly so much of a pioneer in calling attention to the real weakness of these doctrines as his statements sometimes imply.<sup>3</sup> From the time of the appearance of Müllenhoff's revised *Untersuchungen* in 1889,

down to the present day, there has been a certain amount of critical dissent, although it is perfectly true that it has made little headway against the commonly accepted view. In June, 1909, the present writer published an extended criticism of the *Beowa*-hypothesis in particular and of the mythical theory in general.<sup>4</sup> The time has surely come when those who write about the sources of *Beowulf* should consider whether they will blindly subscribe to the precepts of the school of Müllenhoff, which recent research in other fields than philology has done so much to discredit, or whether they will make up their minds independently, on the basis of the evidence, giving due attention to the arguments of the opposition. It is getting to be increasingly difficult to effect a compromise between these old dogmas and the results of modern research, as Brandl's contribution to the revised edition of Paul's *Grundriss* sufficiently shows. Such a study as Panzer's, coming not from the outside world, but from the heart of Germany itself, may well give the inheritors of the Müllenhoffian tradition food for thought.

There will be, no doubt, a considerable amount of unfavorable comment upon the way in which the main thesis of the book is worked out. No two men would classify and analyze in just the same way the large body of *märchen* which in some form or other present analogies to *Beowulf*. But that a very real, important, and intimate connection does exist between this material and the epic few will be so hardy as to deny. The great difficulty comes in establishing the precise connection between the two, in deciding how far it is safe to let ingenuity carry us. In the closing paragraph of his book Dr. Panzer promises a second volume showing the dependence of the Sigurd-story upon the tale of Bear's-Son. The attempt has already been made to show a common origin for the stories of Sigurd and of *Beowulf*,<sup>5</sup> as well as for other narratives not generally associated with them. But there is danger in hatching too much medieval literature of a single egg,

<sup>3</sup> Compare, for example, Panzer's words, p. 395, "Denn darin ist die bisherige Forschung einig, dass nicht *Beowulf*, sondern der anglische Stammesheros *Beaw* (a) oder *Beow* (a) der eigentliche und ursprüngliche Träger der Sage war, die erst nachträglich von ihm auf den Gauten *Beowulf* übertragen wurde," and Sarrazin's query (*Englische Studien* XVI, 72) "Warum und wozu die künstliche und unwahrscheinliche hypothese eines urangelsächsischen *Beowamylthus*?", as well as his accompanying argument.

<sup>4</sup> *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Sarrazin, *Beowulf-Studien*, Berlin, 1888, p. 53.

and it is to be hoped that Dr. Panzer will exercise a pretty rigid control in deriving other legends from his group of *märchen*. Too much flexibility in the application of his formula will result in hopeless confusion. This was felt to be one of the chief faults with the author's earlier studies in the *Gudrun*.<sup>6</sup> In the present volume he has stretched his *märchen* a little, to say the least, to make it fit the Bjarki-story, although in general there is little suggestion of special pleading. Further and possibly less judicious applications of the theory might alienate belief from his relatively cautious operations with *Beowulf*.

On the whole, this may stand, not only as one of the most ambitious books on *Beowulf* that have appeared for many years, but also as one of the most important. Disregarding details, and looking at the work as a whole, one can only speak with hearty appreciation of its scholarship, and of the care and labor which have gone to its making.

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*La Chastelaine de Vergi*. Poème du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Edité par GASTON RAYNAUD. Paris, Champion, 1910. 12mo., viii + 31 pp.

*François Villon. Œuvres*. Editées par un ancien archiviste. Avec un index des noms propres. Paris, Champion, 1911. 12mo., xvi + 123 pp.

These two attractive volumes are the first of a new series of medieval texts recently started under the general editorship of Professor Mario Roques. The aim is not primarily to edit unpublished texts (although this may occasionally be the case) but to bring within the easy reach of students all the truly essential works of French and Provençal literature of the Middle Ages. This seems to cover more ground than the general title of the collection, *Les Classiques français du moyen âge*, would lead us to expect; but we are asked to take the words "classiques" in a wide sense. It is not necessary that these editions should be provided

with full introductions and complete glossaries; but they must offer a thoroughly reliable text, sufficient references for further study, they must be of very moderate price, and finally they have to appear in close enough succession to provide in a few years a rather complete working library of medieval texts. Such is the program set forth by Prof. Roques, and we have no doubt that it will appeal to every student of medieval French literature. Let us state at once that the *Chastelaine de Vergi* costs eighty centimes and Villon, two francs, and that further the following texts have appeared or are due to appear in 1912: *Courtois d'Arras* (Faral), *La Vie de Saint Alexis* (reprint, Gaston Paris), Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires* (Kohler), *Le Garçon et l'Aveugle* (Roques), Colin Muset, *Chansons* (Bédier), Adam de la Halle, *Le jeu de la Feuillée* (Langlois), Peire Vidal, *Œuvres* (Anglade), *Le Coronement Looïs* (Langlois), *Chansons satiriques et bachiques* (Jeanroy), *Aspremont* (Brandin), *Aucassin et Nicolette* (Roques), Bérout, *Le Roman de Tristan* (Muret).

M. Gaston Raynaud, who in 1892 had printed the *Chastelaine de Vergi* in *Romania*, XXI, pp. 165-193, gives us a new edition of this charming thirteenth-century romance. It is not a mere reprint, but the text of 1892 has been revised and improved. The edition is based on MS. BN fr. 837 occasionally corrected with the help of eight other MSS. of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, including one which was unknown to M. Raynaud in 1892. The rejected variants of C., as well as the most interesting variants of the other MSS., are given in the Introduction. The author of the *Chastelaine* writes in a clear, graceful, flowing style, the editor has taken great care with the punctuation: the result is that one reads this poem with more ease and enjoyment than almost any other of the same century. The only passage that seems a little intricate is contained in lines 815-819: the construction is not clear and probably one of the lines calls for correction. —*par Amors*, line 262, ought to be *par amors*. —According to the general scheme of the series the glossary gives only the words that are not of common occurrence; perhaps *faire regret* ought to have been added: in line 735 it seems to mean *faire honte*. —In *Romania* M. Raynaud had proposed to identify the characters of

<sup>6</sup> Cf. review by Symons, *Literaturblatt* XXIII, 321.

the romance with certain real people of the thirteenth century: scholars as a rule have shown little sympathy with this attempt, and I note that M. Raynaud is now half inclined to give it up himself. At least he writes: "ce roman dont l'héroïne a *peut-être* réellement vécu à la cour de Hugues IV, duc de Bourgogne . . ." It would seem as if we had to look for the sources of our poem elsewhere than in contemporary life. Why not in literary tradition? There is a curious similarity between the subject matter of the *Chastelaine* and the plot on which are based three well known Breton "lais": *Lanval*, *Guingamor* and *Graelent*; only there is no supernatural element in the thirteenth century romance and the end is a tragic one. This similarity was pointed out years ago by Ahlström, in his *Studier i den fornfranska lais-litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, pp. 69-71, and I do not know whether his suggestion has been taken up and discussed by any one: it certainly deserves consideration.

All students of Villon will be under great obligation to the "ancien archiviste" who is responsible for the second volume of the series. Good as were some of the preceding editions, this last one is a distinct improvement on any that has yet appeared.—In the Introduction the editor briefly relates the facts of Villon's life, says a few words concerning the four fifteenth century MSS. and the 1489 print on which any edition must necessarily be based, gives a critical list of the chief publications on Villon, and finally indicates the principles according to which he prints his own edition. He places first *Les Lais* (1456), then *Le Testament* (1461 or 1462) and finally, in chronological order, the *Poésies diverses* (about 1457-1464) which comprise 16 pieces, mostly ballades, chief among which is the famous *Épithaphe* which the poet wrote when he expected to be hanged. He definitely rejects the *Ballade des pauvres housseurs* printed by Longnon as one of three poems of doubtful authenticity. The second was *Le dit de la naissance Marie d'Orleans*, which in the new edition is attributed to Villon and contrary to former practice is reprinted in conformity with the MS., that is with the *Double ballade* inserted in the middle of it. This order is surely the right one, for only so does the signature *Vostre povre escolier François* come where it should, that is, in the last line. The third doubtful piece, *Ballade contre les mesdisans de la France*, appears now also among Villon's genuine poems. Nobody will find fault with the editor for having decided to omit altogether the *Ballades de jargon*.

As a basis for his text, the editor took, of course, the Longnon edition of 1892, supplemented, quite naturally too, by the article of *Romania*, where G. Paris proposed many correc-

tions which have been universally accepted. But he did not rest there. A number of corrections made by G. Paris had been but a return to the tradition of the MSS., and our editor, realizing that many a good reading might be yet brought out of the mass of unused variants, submitted all the MSS. to a new and careful study. This has enabled him to improve the accepted text in many places. To quote one example: lines 1664-5 of *Testament* read in the Longnon and the Schneegans editions:

Une leçon de mon escolle  
Leur *lairay*, qui ne dure guere.

A F I have *liray* instead of *lairay*: and that they are right is shown by lines 1667 and 1684. Our editor introduced this excellent reading into his text. Other examples of corrections are to be found in L. 174, T. 424, 472, 936, 960, 1185, 1220, 1573, 1612, etc. Some of these changes are obviously right, some a little more doubtful: I question whether it was expedient to introduce *o* (= avec) in nine places where *all* the sources agree in reading *ou* or *et*; one would like to know if the reading *Helaine o luy*, T 1499 (the only line in Longnon that has *o*) is absolutely reliable. But, on the whole, there is no doubt but that Villon's text has gained much through this thorough revision. It should be noted that in some places the editor rightly retained a reading of Longnon to which G. Paris had taken exception (see the very interesting note on T, line 1).

The editor has shown the most scrupulous care in the punctuation; indeed there is hardly any page that does not show abundant proof of the thoroughness with which he has carried out this part of his task. (As a single instance, see T, verse lvi.—There should be a comma after L 172, T 1130 and possibly an interrogation mark after T 949.) As a result it is no exaggeration to say that, thanks to this new editor, it has become very much easier to read Villon than it ever was before. Nevertheless, many difficulties are yet awaiting their solution.

The text of the Works is followed by a list of the most significant variants. Along with them are inserted a few references to Latin or French authors alluded to by Villon. Some, I think, had not been given before (see note to T, lines 601-3).—Then come an Index of proper names and a Glossary of difficult words. I note that many references in the Glossary are inaccurate. The Index is claimed to be absolutely complete; it even contains names that appear only in the Variants, and it gives all passages in which the names are used. To MARCHANT (Perrenet) should be added T 764, to MARCHANT (Ythier) T 1024. For RAGUIER (Jacques) T 1058-59 read 1038-39, for Robert T 570 read 750. The explanations

are not as full as those given in Longnon's Index, which was such a novel and useful feature of the 1892 edition, but they contain all that is necessary to a better understanding of Villon's allusions. The Index of the present edition has, of course, profited by the results of later criticism or of the editor's own investigation; see DESPERANCE, GONTHIER, HAREMBURGIS, MARTHE, TRUMEL-LIERES, VICTOR (Saint), etc.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

### *King Lear* AND *A Yorkshire Tragedy*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—There is a parallel between an incident in the pseudo-Shakespearean *Yorkshire Tragedy* and another near the close of the third act of *King Lear* which may possibly be of significance in connection with the disputed question of the date of the latter play. In each case a faithful servant attempts to prevent his master from committing an atrocious crime, and in each case, after a physical struggle on the stage, the servant is overcome.

In *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, there enters, as the husband is stabbing his wife, "a lusty servant," and the following dialogue ensues:—

- "Ser. Oh Sir, what deeds are these?  
Hus. Base slaue, my vassail:  
Comst thou between my fury to question me?  
Ser. Were you the Deuil, I would hold you, sir.  
Hus. Hould me? presumption! Ile vndoe thee  
for't.  
Ser. Sbloud, you haue vndone vs all, sir.  
Hus. Tug at thy master!  
Ser. Tug at a Monster.  
Hus. Haue I no power? shall my slaue fetter me?  
Ser. Nay, then, the Deuil wrastles, I am throwne.  
Hus. Oh, villane, now Ile tug thee, now Ile teare  
thee," etc.  
(Sc. v. ll. 36 ff. *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, p. 258.)

All readers will remember the similar episode in *King Lear* where Cornwall's first servant vainly interposes at the blinding of Gloucester:

- "1. Serv. Hold your hand, my Lord!  
I haue serued you ever since I was a  
child;  
But better service haue I never done you  
Than now to bid you hold.  
Regan. How now, you dog!  
1. Serv. If you did wear a beard upon your chin,  
I'd shake it on this quarrel. What do  
you mean?

- Corn. My villain! (*They draw and fight.*)  
1. Serv. Nay, then, come on, and take the chance  
of anger.  
Regan. Give me thy sword. A peasant stand  
up thus?  
(*Takes a sword, and runs at him behind.*)  
1. Serv. Oh, I am slain," etc.  
(III, vii, ll. 72 ff.)

There is no question here of verbal identity, nor is there any striking likeness in the working out of the details. No sane critic would dream of attributing the lines quoted from *A Yorkshire Tragedy* to the pen of Shakespeare. Yet the general resemblance between the two passages is sufficiently clear, and since no mention of the servant occurs in Shakespeare's source for this part of *Lear* (Sidney's *Arcadia*), it is quite possible that the idea was suggested to the poet by the other play, where the unknown author is apparently merely staging an actual incident of the Yorkshire murders.

*A Yorkshire Tragedy* can be pretty exactly dated. The crimes upon which the play is based occurred April 23, 1605, and Calverley, the criminal, was executed on the fifth of the following August. During this interval at least two prose accounts of the atrocities were licensed in London. The uncertainty in which the play leaves us concerning Calverley's precise fate—an uncertainty quite at variance with the sensational completeness usual in the murder plays of the time—gives reason for the assumption that *A Yorkshire Tragedy* was written before the details of Calverley's trial and execution had yet reached London.

That Shakespeare was well acquainted with *A Yorkshire Tragedy* is perfectly certain, apart from the possibility that he may have had a scant share in its composition, from the fact that it was acted by his company. If, therefore, any importance can be attached to the parallel I have pointed out, it will be reasonable to conclude that Shakespeare took over a hint for a scene of the unfinished *Lear*, during the early summer of 1605, from the ephemeral piece which his company were then performing and which certain internal and external evidence suggests that it was Shakespeare's duty to oversee. This would support the theories of those critics who regard the year 1604 as too early for *Lear* and who prefer to assign the completion and staging of the play to the latter half of 1605 or to 1606.

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A FURTHER PARALLEL TO THE "CORONES TWO"  
OF THE *Second Nun's Tale*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—It is of course unnecessary to add anything to strengthen Professor Lowes' explanation (in the *Pub. M. L. A.* for June) of the significance of the "corones two" given to Cecilia and to Valerian. But the following lines from Lydgate's poem, usually called, from its refrain, *As a Midsummer Rose*, furnish a parallel completer in some ways and closer in time to Chaucer's "garland wrought of rose and lillie" than do Professor Lowes' references to Jacobus de Voragine. Lydgate has just referred to the golden crowns "made in the heavenly stage," of the ten thousand martyrs of the Theban legion at "Rodomus ryver." He goes back then, with true Lydgatian aberrancy, to the earthly crowns of martyrs:

109 "Laurear of martirs, foundid on holynes,  
White was maade reede there triumphs to  
disclose;  
The white lillye was pere chaast clennes,  
Theire bloody sufferance was no somer rose!

It was the rose of the bloody felde,  
Rose of Iherico that grue in Bedlem,  
The fyve rosis portraid in the shelde,  
Splaid in be baner at Iherusalem."

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Ave IN RHYME IN THIBAUT AND IN DANTE

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the *Divine Comedy* Dante thrice uses the word *Ave* in rhyme:—

Giurato si saria ch' ei dicesse: *Ave*,  
Purg. x. 40.

Così parlammi, e poi cominciò: *Ave*,  
*Maria*, cantando; e cantando vanio,  
Par. iii. 121-122.

Dissemi: Da quel dì che fu detto *Ave*,  
Par. xvi. 34.

*Ave* in rhyme, with *Maria* standing as the first word of the next line, appears also in the *chanson* of Thibaut de Champagne, *Dou très dous nom à la Vierge Marie*,<sup>1</sup> in the close of the poem, as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Chansons de Thibault IV* (ed. P. Tarbé), Reims, 1851, pp. 121-122.

Or li prions merci per sa bonté:  
Au dous salus, qui se comence *Ave*  
*Maria*, Diex nous gart de meschance!

Dante was familiar with the poetry of Thibaut.<sup>2</sup> Very possibly acquaintance with this passage suggested the *Ave | Maria* of *Par. iii. 121-122*,—perhaps also the use of *Ave* in rhyme in the other two instances.

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LITERARY PARALLELS

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Apropos of Spenser and Milton in the eighteenth century, I note two interesting borrowings, one in Collins's *Ode to Evening*, and one in Richardson's *Pamela*. Everyone who reads the former recognizes in the last two verses of the stanza

"Now air is hushed, save where the weak-eyed bat  
With short, shrill shriek flits by on leathern wing;  
Or where the beetle winds  
His small but sullen horn."

an echo of *Lycidas*. I do not remember that any one has called attention to the parallel between the second verse and a line in the *Faerie Queene*. In Book I, v, 33, we read:

"[They] come to fiery flood of Phlegeton,  
Whereas the damned ghosts in torments fry,  
And with sharp shrilling shrieks, doe bootlesse cry,  
Cursing high Jove, the which them thithers sent."

An echo of *Comus*, unimportant but not devoid of interest, occurs in *Pamela*, letter xxxii: "About eight at night we entered the courtyard of this handsome, large, old, and lonely mansion, that looks made for solitude and mischief, as I thought, by its appearance, with all its brown nodding horrors of lofty elms and pines about it." The passage is unusual, for *Pamela* does not, as a rule, waste her ink in describing the outdoor world. Is it impossible that Richardson, as he wrote, recalled Milton's lines,

"Their way  
Lies through the perplexed paths of this drear wood,  
The nodding horror of whose shady brows  
Threats the forlorn and wandering passenger."  
(*Comus*, 36 f.)

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<sup>2</sup> *De vulgari eloquentia*, i. 9; ii. 5 and 6.

## BRIEF MENTION

Professor Uno Lindelöf, of Helsingfors, is an English scholar of acknowledged merit, and any history of the language that he might write would be expected to take high rank. His *Grunddragen* has now been translated into English, and the title of the book, *Elements of the History of the English Language* (University of Washington Publications in English, vol. 1), joined with the name of so eminent a scholar will attract attention. It is to be regretted that reasonable expectations will encounter a considerable degree of disappointment. The treatise, of 128 pages, consists of (1) chapters on English as an Indo-European language; (2) Old-English (a rather complete restatement of the grammar of sounds and inflection); (3) the influence of foreign languages (some of the most instructive paragraphs are to be found here); and (4) the development of English since the year 1100 (the complex material of this portion of the subject has not been handled with particular success). It is useful and altogether commendable to treat these subjects in an elementary textbook, but the difficulty of doing this as it should be done has perhaps not been sufficiently considered by Professor Lindelöf. At all events, Professor Münsterberg has supplied a pertinent expression: "The great scholar, who has tried his power in scores of special investigations, may try, at the height of his work, to connect his thoughts about the whole field into one system, and to translate it into the simple terms of a book for beginners. That is the sort of textbook which helps the world: nothing is more difficult and more noble; every line written therein stands for pages" (*Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1906, p. 624). Professor Lindelöf has not succeeded in constructing a uniformly adequate exposition of his subject. His knowledge is full and his purpose is good, but he has not always thought out his facts with reference to those "simple terms" that "help the world" of inexpert readers. At times he indulges in a sort of journalistic superficiality, which contrasts strangely with statements that are masterfully clear and fittingly complete. A strongly sustained view of what the elements of a subject are should have saved the author from being in some cases elementary in the weakest sense of that word, and in other cases so technical as to baffle the comprehension of any reader that is not to some extent a specialist. *Elements* do not mean half-truths, but whole truths reduced to simple terms. Incompleteness that is detrimental to the satisfactory use of the book will be discovered, for example, in the author's references to the 'wave-theory' (pp. 25, 30, etc.); and to Grimm's Law; and in his disappointing way of

fulfilling a promise concerning Verner's Law (pp. 50, 57). Such unexplained declarations as "The literary monuments of the transitional period are especially interesting" must evoke the rational query, Why? And a structural defect is conspicuously exposed by an unwelcome but often repeated "space forbids" or "of this we cannot speak here." Undeniably, in such a sketch Professor Lindelöf could not fail to contribute many valuable observations; and it is pleasant to find that (contrary to strict propriety, perhaps) his scholarly enthusiasm is occasionally warmed even into sentiment; but, judged most generously, the book cannot be said to supply a definite want. The translator, Dr. Robert M. Garrett, should have bestowed more pains upon his task. His paragraphs suggest the process of dependent transference rather than that of idiomatic translation. There are easily avoided lapses into professional cant: "stuff-words" and "form-words" (p. 65) are ugly words; and such a sentence as, "Here English stands in sharp contrast to OHG., whose perhaps most peculiar characteristic is" etc. (p. 46), represents a variety of grammatical accuracy that cannot make amends for an offence against the translator's good taste. Slight corrections like the following would give relief at a large number of places: "We take as our basis, as do [as is done in] philological works in general, a hypothetical West Germanic sound-stage, found [system of sounds, deduced, or inferred] by comparison" etc. (p. 42, note).

*Albricias, señores, que vos trayo buen mandado!* The appearance of the two remaining volumes of R. Menéndez Pidal's *Cantar de Mio Cid*<sup>1</sup> marks the completion of one of the most important scientific undertakings in the field of Spanish literature. In anticipation of a detailed review of the work it seems desirable to mention at least the scope of so monumental a work. Volume I (1908) contained the *Gramática*. Volume II, which is devoted to the *Vocabulario*, is a treatise of nearly five hundred pages, exhaustive as to words and word-forms, comparative in relation to medieval Spanish, and, at times, even encyclopedic in character. The volume contains not only numerous illustrations bearing on the arms, accoutrements, etc., but also two plates; namely, a genealogy of the Vanigómez family and a map of Spain at the end of the eleventh century, designed especially to illustrate history and geography in their relation to the *Cantar de Mio Cid*. Volume III contains both an "edición paleográfica" and an "edición crítica" of the poem.

<sup>1</sup> *Cantar de Mio Cid*. Texto, Gramática, y Vocabulario. Vols. II and III. Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1911. 8vo., pp. 421-904 and 905-1182.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXVII.

BALTIMORE, MARCH, 1912.

No. 3.

## CHARLES FONTAINE'S *FONTAINE D'AMOUR* AND SANNAZARO

For readers of anthologies, the name of Charles Fontaine evokes memories of beautiful lines to his little son, while for closer students of French literature he is the whilom supposed author of the *Quintil Horatien*, stout champion of Marot in his quarrel with Sagon, participant too in a more interesting controversy, that namely concerned with the nature of love, to which the most notable contribution was Heroet's masterpiece, *La parfaite amyé*. Here Fontaine stood upon the side of the angels and in his *Contr'amyé de Court* struck a blow for the "platonists." All these things Mr. Richard Laurin Hawkins discusses with convincing erudition in his recent dissertation, *The Life and Works of Maistre Charles Fontaine Parisien*,<sup>1</sup> deposited in the Library of Harvard University, but, to the loss of all students of the period involved, as yet unpublished.

At one period of his life,—Mr. Hawkins places it about 1540,<sup>2</sup>—Fontaine, in hopes of preferment from Renée de France, betook himself, by a somewhat circuitous way, to Ferrara, attaching himself to a mysterious "belliqueur" whose business was with some body of troops despatched by Francis I to Italy. His route led him to Turin and thence by way of the Po to Venice, with stops at Pavia, Cremona and Mantua. From Venice he travelled to Ferrara, whence, failing to obtain hoped-for patronage from its Duchess, he proceeded to Vercelli and Milan, and so returned by way of Turin to Lyons.<sup>3</sup>

It is certain that whatever service he may have seen under his "belliqueur" was not to Fon-

taine's liking, for in a volume published some years later he thus expresses himself to a friend<sup>4</sup>:

*A Maistre Pierre Saliat.*

Iay laissé le pais de guerre  
Scays tu pourquoy bon amy Pierre?  
Point ne veulx mourir pour le Roy  
Je ne veulx mourir que pour moy.

A joyous *Adieu à Thurin*<sup>5</sup> conveys the same impression:

Or à dieu Jean, or à dieu Pierre  
Je men voys me chauffer chez moy,  
Au cueur de France et en la Terre  
Qui est sans guerre et sans esmoy.<sup>6</sup>

The volume containing these lines has a curious interest of its own. The tone of its first half at least is set by verses merely light or actually gross. This is a surprising development in a poet who had already proved himself a loyal defender of women by replying in 1537 to Papillon's attack on the motives of the fair sex, *Le Triumphe et la Victoire d'argent contre Cupido*,<sup>7</sup> who was shortly to become one of the champions of the "platonistic" view of love through his *Contr'amyé de Court*, of 1541,<sup>8</sup> and who was to show himself such once more in his *Ruisseaux de Fontaine*<sup>9</sup> of 1555. Fontaine even adds to the surprise by making it abundantly clear to the reader that his fall from grace is of malice prepense:

<sup>4</sup> *La Fontaine d'Amour Contenant Elegies, Epistres & Epigrammes*. A Lyon, par Jean de Tournes, 1545 (Brit. Mus. 1073), p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>6</sup> Fontaine's allusions to an actual campaign, which would seem to point with some likelihood to 1542, are puzzling in view of the internal evidence which led Mr. Hawkins to conjecture 1540.

<sup>7</sup> *Le Triumphe & La Victoire d'argent contre Cupido n'aguières vaincu dedans Paris*. Lyons, Fr. Juste MDXXXVII. Fol. Bij, v<sup>o</sup>. *Response faicte a l'encontre d'un petit livre intitulé le Triumphe, etc.*

<sup>8</sup> Paris, Saulnier.

<sup>9</sup> Lyons, Payan.

<sup>1</sup> 1907. H. U. 90, 746.

<sup>2</sup> i. e., he gives this as the date of Fontaine's arrival in Ferrara and as approximately that of his subsequent marriage at Lyons. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 138, 322.

<sup>3</sup> Hawkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-131.

*Au Lecteur.*<sup>10</sup>

Estre ne veulx en mesme liure spirituel et terrien,  
 Puis lamour puis la vertu suivre,  
 Brouillant le mal avec le bien, etc.

His female readers he warns with an espièglerie which it would be hard to match :

*L'autheur aux Dames.*<sup>11</sup>

Gardez vous de toucher ce liure  
 Mes Dames, il parle damours !  
 Cest aux Hommes que ie le liure  
 Que lon tient plus constans tousiours.  
 Laissez le aller vers eulx son cours,  
 À eulx & non à vous est deu.  
 Mais vous le lirez nuictz & iours  
 Puis que ie vous lay defendu.

Finally, arranging in two "books" at the end of the volume his more innocent verses, Fontaine thus invites the ladies' attention to them :

*Aux Dames.*<sup>12</sup>

Les epigrammes qui sensuyent  
 Vous pouuez lire hardiement  
 Car le train des premiers ne suyent  
 Ilz sonnent plus modestement.  
 Lisez, oyez assurément  
 O mes Dames, il ny ha rien  
 De chatouilleux. Mais voirement  
 Vous ne les lirez pas si bien.

If the deliberate nature of Fontaine's choice of subject needs further proof, it may be found in his quotation and translation of the famous dicta of Catullus, Ovid, Martial, on the licence of poets, concluding with Hadrian's epitaph on the poet Voconius, "Lascivus versu, mente pudicus eras."<sup>13</sup> The poet draws further justification from the very nature of an epigram :

Les epigrammes ont licence  
 Et de poindre & de chatouiller.  
 L'epigramme est mal acoustré  
 S'il ne poingt, etc.<sup>14</sup>

Mr. Hawkins explains the paradox of the appearance of such a volume as the *Fontaine d'Amour*, between the *Response* and *Contr'Amie* on the one hand, and the *Ruisseau de Fontaine* on the other, by supposing its light verses an

ebullition of the poet's youth, composed at some period previous to Fontaine's Italian journey.<sup>15</sup> The intention, obvious in Fontaine's treatment of light subjects, however, points rather to the deliberate essay of the seasoned poet in a given *genre*, —perhaps, also, as I have suggested elsewhere,<sup>16</sup> to ironic reflection on his friend Scève, of whose *Delie*, published shortly before his own volume,<sup>17</sup> he says :

Tes vers sont beaux & bien luysants,  
 Graves & pleins de maïesté,  
 Mais par leur haulteur moins plaisants  
 Car certes, la difficulté  
 Le grand plaisir en a osté.  
 Brief ilz ne quierent un Lecteur,  
 Mais la commune autorité  
 Dist qu'ilz requierent un Docteur.

Moreover, the poet indicates that light gallantry was not his earliest attitude, and suggests, at least once, that his first homage to the "platonie" ideal was already in the past.

*De Samye.*<sup>18</sup>

Je ne veulx plus mes yeulx repaistre  
 A contempler la beaulté d'ame,  
 Car quand voy ma maïstresse & Dame  
 Je voy tout ce qui en peut estre.

That certain at least of the poems in question were composed during or after Fontaine's Italian journey, not before it, is also indicated by four unacknowledged translations from Latin poems of Sannazaro included in the *Fontaine d'Amour*. Now at the time of Fontaine's Italian travels in 1539 or 1540 Sannazaro's vogue in France was scarcely begun. The *Arcadia* was not translated until 1544,<sup>19</sup> and actual evidence of earlier literary influence of Sannazaro in France consists, so far as is known,<sup>20</sup> in the debt of Marguerite of Navarre to the *Salices* for her *Fable du faux*

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>16</sup> *Charles de Sainte Marthe*, p. 311, note 4.

<sup>17</sup> Lyons, 1544.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* (ed. of 1545), p. 116.

<sup>19</sup> By J. Martin, Paris, Vascosan.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Fr. Torraca, *GP Imitatori stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro*. Rome, 1882 (2nd ed.), pp. 31, 32, 66. The suggestion in Professor Torraca's phrase "Ma già erano conosciute in Francia le altre composizioni (other i. e. than the *Arcadia*) italiane e latine del Sannazaro; già s'era cominciato a imitarlo" (*op. cit.*, p. 30) is hardly borne out.

<sup>10</sup> *La Fontaine d'amour*, p. 101.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [2]. <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 8 et seq.

<sup>14</sup> *Au Lecteur*, *op. cit.*, ed. Paris, Marnef, 1546. Fol. iv. v<sup>o</sup>.

cüyder, of Marot to the *Arcadia* for his eclogue on the death of Louise of Savoy, and, perhaps, in Saint Gelais' famous translation<sup>21</sup> of the sonnet *Simile a questi smisurati monti*. As early as 1527 Robert Estienne had indeed published, and Gryphe before 1540 twice printed, the *De partu Virginis*,<sup>22</sup> but this, compared to the number of Italian editions, is insignificant. In Italy Sannazaro was at this period almost a god. By 1540 the *Arcadia* had been through some nineteen more or less imperfect editions<sup>23</sup> culminating in the admirable Aldine of 1535. As for the Latin poems, some dozen editions, the *De partu Virginis* appearing with few exceptions as the title-piece, had also preceded an excellent Aldine of the same date with a preface by Paulus Manutius.<sup>24</sup> The language the latter permitted himself about the poet is a fair indication of the light in which Italians viewed Sannazaro: "Eorum autem, quos in hoc genere praestantes cognovimus, sine controversia primum locum obtinuit vir eximius, et omni laude cumulatus, Jacobus Sannazarius cuius ingenii monumenta nulla umquam annorum oblivione delebuntur, nulla vetustate peribunt."

When, then, we meet with a young poet who, some years after a notable journey to Italy, publishes, in a volume full of Italian reminiscences, four unavowed translations from the great and popular Italian poet, it is not a rash conclusion that these poems at least are not to be counted among youthful efforts pressed into service to make or fill a collection, but are rather the fruit of recent Italian impressions, although, of course, this cannot be regarded as conclusively proved. Fontaine's borrowings, embedded in the midst of the "light" pieces, share their gaiety at least, and it is a tempting presumption that some of the poems are, like these borrowings, of maturer com-

position than is allowed them by Mr. Hawkins. Fontaine does, however, refer in his preface<sup>25</sup> to the contents of his volume as "aucuns esbatz et passetemps de ma petite Muse en sa jeunesse," and a man of thirty must speak very loosely to permit himself such reference to his production at twenty-five or twenty-six. On the whole, the probability emerges that, while gathering together all he could lay hands on of the "esbats et passe-temps" of his youthful muse, Fontaine approved their gay subjects as offering fruitful exercise for his maturer powers and mingled with them verses on the same lines more recently composed.

The pilfered poems in question are not mentioned by Professor Torraca in his interesting work *Gl' imitatori stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro*.<sup>26</sup> That author, parading the enormous thefts from the Neapolitan singer committed by sixteenth century French poets, mentions none so early as Fontaine's volume except the debts of Marot and Saint-Gelais mentioned above. Three of these poems, one a mere variant, are concerned with "Catin," no less for Fontaine than for Marot a fitting name for the subject of a playful muse:

*De Catin.*<sup>27</sup>

Catin se plaint, Catin se deult  
Quelle ne voit tous mes escriptz !  
Et dit, ie veulx que me les liures,  
Puis quand ientends ses plaintz & cris,  
Je suis content s'elle me veult  
Donner ses lebures pour mes liures.

*De Catin.*<sup>28</sup>

Ainsi comme Catin se mire  
En peignant son beau chef doré  
Le soleil vient droit dessus luyre  
Et ha si beau chef adoré.

*Autre.*<sup>29</sup>

Par un matin Catin se mire  
En peignant son beau chef doré  
Mais le soleil ses rays retire  
De dueil quil ha & de grand ire,  
De veoir un chef si bien paré.

The first of these epigrams amplifies Sannazaro's introduction to the pun which is actually happier in French than in Latin:

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* Fol. Aij r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> *Fontaine d'Amour*, p. 108-9.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>26</sup> *Cit. supra*.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>21</sup> Its date is uncertain.

<sup>22</sup> *i. e.*, in 1535 and 1538. Cf., for these editions as well as for that of Robt. Etienne and for yet a third edition by Gryphe of 1540, Giuseppe Morpurgo, *La poesia religiosa di J. S.* Ancona, 1909, p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> This includes editions *cit.* Morpurgo (*loc. cit.*), not in Brunet, *i. e.* 1526 (absque typogr. nomine); 1531 Venice, B, Stephonius; 1538 Venice, Melchiorre Sessa.

<sup>24</sup> *Jacobi Sannazarrii opera omnia latine scripta nuper edita, Aldus MDXXXV, non sine privilegio.* Fol. Aij v<sup>o</sup>. *Paulus Manutius Aldi F. Antonio Carloni illustri Allifarum principis.*

*De Galla.*<sup>30</sup>

Omnes quos scripsi versus vult Galla videre,  
Mittam ego, pro libris si mihi labra dabit.

Of the other two, based, as is obvious, on a single epigram, the second most closely approaches Sannazaro's treatment :

*De Thelesinae crinibus.*<sup>31</sup>

Dum nequit flavos auro Thelesina Capillos ;  
Contraxit radios Phoebus, & erubuit.  
Mox haec ad superos. en auro iungitur aurum :  
Hoc est mortales, hoc superare Deos.

The fourth poem borrowed from Sannazaro contains a conceit conspicuous even amid Renaissance verse for outrageous exaggeration. Indeed, two centuries later, Johnson in his *Life of Cowley* quoted the original as an example of "that confusion of images [which] may entertain for a moment, but being unnatural (it) soon grows wearisome." "Cowley delighted in it," he continues, "as much as if he had invented it ; but, not to mention the ancients, he might have found it full-blown in modern Italy, thus Sannazaro :

Aspice quam variis dstringar Lesbia curis.  
Uror, & heu ! nostro manat ab igne liquor ;  
Sum Nilus sumque aetna simul ; restringite flammās  
O lacrimae, aut lacrimas ebibe flamma meas." <sup>32</sup>

The reference to Aetna seems to have suited Fontaine who warns one lady of his love that passion may consume them both : "D'un mesme feu plus grand que cil d'Ethna." <sup>33</sup> But he did not stop here ; he "commandeered" the entire theme and, enlarging as usual upon the brevity of his original, he renders it thus :

*De Amour qui faict feu & eau.*<sup>34</sup>

Je m'esbahy quen eau ne suis fondu  
Qui nay iamais les pources ioues seiches ;  
Plus mesbahy qu'amour ne ma rendu  
Tout conuerti en cendres & flammeschés,  
Aussi aisé comme petites mesches.

<sup>30</sup> *Elegiarum libri tres et totidem epigrammaton nuper emissi.* MDXXXV, fol. 39 r<sup>o</sup> (Lib. 1) in *Jacobi Sannazarii opera omnia lotine scripta nuper edita.* Aldus MDXXXV. (Brit. Mus. 687. A. 6.)

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 52 v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> *Lives of the Poets.* (Bohn's Standard Library), Vol. 1, p. 48.

<sup>33</sup> *Ad Vesbiam.* *Loc. cit.*, p. 43 (Lib. 1) the substitution of *Lesbia* for *Vesbia* is not Johnson's only variation from the original : for *flammas* read *flammas* ; line 4, omit *aut*.

<sup>34</sup> *Fontaine d'Amour*, p. 99.

Je suis le Nil, & suis le mont Etna.

Etna, pourtant quau monde tel feu na ;

Le Nil, pourtant que ie fondz tout en pleurs.

Feu, boy ces pleurs qu'amour me resigna,

Pleurs restraingnez ce feu & ces chaleurs.

Whether or no these pilferings of Fontaine's may be taken as a guide to the date of composition of the entire volume containing them, they give at least interesting evidence of his personal method of procedure when bettering Du Bellay's famous counsel by taking from modern no less than from classic Latin "La chair, les oz, les nerfz, et le sang."

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# A NEW TEXT OF THE OFFICIUM STELLAE<sup>1</sup>

The published texts of the Officium Stella may be listed as follows<sup>2</sup>:

(1) The text from Limoges printed from an unidentified manuscript by E. Martène, *Tractatus de Antiqua Ecclesiae Disciplina*, Lugduni, 1706, p. 114, and from Martène by H. A. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, Vol. 1, Lipsiae, 1847, pp. 128-129, and by E. DuMéril, *Les Origines Latines du Théâtre Moderne*, Paris, 1849, pp. 151-153.

(2) The text from Besançon printed from an unidentified manuscript by H. Crombach, *Primitiae Gentium seu Historia SS. Trium Regum*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1654, pp. 732-734, and from Crombach by H. Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 142-145.

(3) Vienna, Hofbibliothek, ms. 941, printed by Du Méril, p. 151, n. 1, from Denis, *Codices Manuscripti Theologici*, Vol. 1, col. 3049.

<sup>1</sup>This text was communicated to me by my friend and teacher, Reverend Henry Marriott Bannister, of Rome, to whom I owe thanks for innumerable kindnesses. In the present instance, Mr. Bannister has sent me both his own transcription and a handsome photograph of the manuscript page ; but he should not be held responsible for the text below, which represents my own reading of the manuscript in photograph.

<sup>2</sup>The best study of the *Officium Stellae* is, of course, that of H. Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, Leipzig, 1905. My list of published texts contains some additions and corrections to that of Anz, pp. 9-11.

(4) The texts from the Cathedral of Rouen :

(a) Rouen, Bibl. de la Ville, ms. 384 (*olim* Y. 110) saec. xiv, fol. 38<sup>v</sup>-39<sup>r</sup>, printed by A. Gasté, *Les Drames Liturgiques de la Cathédrale de Rouen*, Evreux, 1893, pp. 49-52.

(b) Rouen, Bibl. de la Ville, ms. 382 (Y. 108) saec. xv, fol. 35<sup>v</sup>-36<sup>r</sup>, unpublished except in inadequate foot-notes to Gasté's text from ms. 384 (*olim* Y. 110).

(c) Rouen, Bibl. de la Ville, ms. 222 (*olim* 561) saec. xiii, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>, a fragment printed by K. Young in *Modern Philology*, Vol. vi (1908), p. 212.

(d) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 1213, saec. xv, pp. 34-35, printed by K. Young in *Modern Philology*, Vol. vi (1908), pp. 220-221.

(e) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 904, saec. xiii, fol. 28<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>, by E. de Coussemaker, *Les Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Âge*, Rennes, 1860, pp. 242-249.

The manuscripts cited under (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e) provide substantially the same text.<sup>3</sup>

(5) The texts from the Cathedral of Nevers :

(a) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 9449 saec. xi, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>, printed by L. Delisle in *Romania*, Vol. iv (1875), pp. 2-3.

(b) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. nouvelle acquisition lat. 1235 saec. xii, fol. 198<sup>r</sup>-199<sup>v</sup>, printed by L. Delisle in *Romania*, Vol. iv (1875), pp. 3-6.

(6) Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, ms. 1708 (*olim* 1308) saec. xi, fol. 81<sup>v</sup>, printed by K. Young in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. xxiv (1909), pp. 296-297. Concerning the possible association of this text with Nevers, see *id.*, p. 295.

(7) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 1152 saec. xi, verso of the fly-leaf at the end of the codex, a fragment printed in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. xxxiv (1873), pp. 657-658.<sup>4</sup>

(8) Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 6264<sup>a</sup> saec. xi, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, printed by Du Méril, pp. 156-162 ; K. Weinhold, *Weihnachtspiele und -Lieder*

*aus Süddeutschland und Schlesien*, Wien, 1875, pp. 56-61 ; Anz, pp. 154-158. The text comes from Freising.

(9) Madrid, Royal Library, ms. 289 (*olim* C. 153) saec. xii, fol. 107<sup>v</sup>-110<sup>r</sup>, printed by K. Young in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. xxiv (1909), pp. 325-329. The text probably comes from Sicily.

(10) Orléans, Bibl. de la Ville, ms. 201 (*olim* 178) saec. xiii, pp. 205-214, printed by Du Méril, pp. 162-171 ; Coussemaker, pp. 143-165.<sup>5</sup> The text comes from Fleury.

(11) London, British Museum, Additional ms. 23922, saec. xii-xiii, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>, printed by C. Lange in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Vol. xxxii, pp. 413-415. The text probably comes from Strassburg.

(12) Brussels, Library of the Bollandists, ms. (sine numero) saec. xii, fol. 179<sup>v</sup>-180<sup>v</sup>, printed by C. Cahier and A. Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature*, Vol. i, Paris, 1847, pp. 258-260.<sup>6</sup> The text comes from the monastery of Bilsen.

(13) Montpellier, Bibl. de la Faculté de Médecine, ms. H. 304, saec. xii, fol. 41<sup>v</sup>-42<sup>v</sup>, printed by K. Young in *Modern Philology*, Vol. vi (1908), pp. 208-211. For a discussion of the association of this text with Rouen, see *id.*, pp. 203-206. This text differs in substantial details from the Rouen texts enumerated above under (4).

(14) Einsiedeln, ms. 366 saec. xi-xii, p. 54, printed in *Pilger*, Vol. viii (1849), pp. 401-403, and by Anz, pp. 152-153. The text comes from Einsiedeln.

(15) Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 16819, saec. xi,

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the Rouen texts published, from uncertain sources, by Le Prévost, Du Cange, Martène, Du Méril, and Davidson, see *Modern Philology*, Vol. vi (1908), pp. 225-227.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Bannister informs me that the manuscript is a psalter of the Corbie school, and that the fragment in question, dating from about the year 1000, is provided with neums of the Metz school.

<sup>5</sup> The text is printed also by T. Wright, *Early Mysteries and other Latin Poems of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, London, 1838, pp. 23-28. A modern French translation of this text is given by P. Piolin, *Le Théâtre Chrétien dans le Maine*, Mamers, 1892, pp. 21-32. E. K. Chambers (*The Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, Vol. ii, p. 49) and Anz (*op. cit.*, p. 10) seem to have wrongly inferred that Piolin's modern French text rests upon some independent, unknown document.

<sup>6</sup> Through the great kindness of Monsieur Gustave Cohen, of Paris, I am acquainted with this text through a transcription and photographs of the manuscript. The text of Cahier and Martin is very defective, as will appear when we have a definitive text from the hand of Monsieur Cohen.

fol. 49<sup>r</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>, printed by K. A. M. Hartmann, *Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, Bautzen, 1879, pp. 43-46. The text comes from Compiègne.

(16) Laon, Bibl. de la Ville, ms. 263, saec. xiii, fol. 149<sup>r</sup>-151<sup>r</sup>, printed by U. Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'Église Cathédrale de Laon*, Paris, 1897, pp. 389-394. The text comes from the Cathedral of Laon.

(17) Rome, Vatican, ms. Vaticano latino 8552, saec. xi, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, printed below.

Ms. Vaticano latino 8552 contains a Latin version of the Antiquities and Jewish Wars of Josephus, written in a hand of the twelfth century. Folio 1<sup>v</sup> bears in its two columns and in its margins the text printed below, written in a hand of the eleventh century and furnished with musical notation in the form of neums of the school of Metz. As a result of the substantial deterioration of the vellum of folio 1, considerable passages of the text below are entirely illegible. Such passages are enclosed in brackets.

### [OFFICIUM STELLAE]

[Fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, col. 1] Stella <sup>7</sup> fulgore nimio [rutilat],  
[Que] reg[em] reg[um] natum monstrat,  
Quem uenturum olim prophetie signauerant.

\*            \*            \*            \*<sup>8</sup>

H[ERODES]:

Regem quem queritis, natum esse quo signo didicistis? Si illum regnare creditis, dicite nob[is].

aurum            thus            mirram

<sup>9</sup> MAGI: MELCHUS, CASPAR, FADIZARDA:

<sup>7</sup> Preceded, at the top of the column, by a line or two of text that can no longer be read.

<sup>8</sup> Although the text in the manuscript shows no break, the lacuna in the sense is obvious. For the text to be supplied here, see below.

<sup>9</sup> In the manuscript this line appears as follows: *Magi* is written in large capitals; above *Magi* are written, in small capitals, *Melchus Caspar Fadizarda*; above these 3 names are written *aurum thus mirram*, as here indicated. Concerning the three proper names, see K. A. M. Hartmann, *Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, Bautzen, 1879, pp. 51-86; Baist, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. iv (1880), pp. 451-455; R. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Vol. 1, Madrid, 1908, p. 25.

Illum natum esse didicimus, in oriente stella prenunciante, hunc regnare fatentes, cum mysticis muneribus de terra longinqua adorare uenimus.

HERODES:

O uos scribe, interrogati dicite si quid de hoc puero scriptum uideretis in libro.

SCRIBE:

Vidimus, Domine, in prophetarum lineis nasci Christum in Betleem, ciuitate Dauid, Isaia sic uaticinante:

CHORUS:

[B]ethleem, non es minima.

REX:

Ite & de puero diligenter inuestigate  
Et, inuento, redeunt mihi renunciate.

<sup>10</sup> MAGI: MELCHUS, CASPAR, FADIZARDA:

Eamus ergo & inquiramus eum, offerentes ei munera: aurum, thus, & mirram. Ecce stella in oriente preuisa iterum praecedit nos lucida.

OBSTETRICES:

Qui sunt hii, qui stella duce nos adeunt inaudita ferunt?

MAGI:

[N]os sumus, quos cernitis, reges Tharsis & Arabum & Saba, dona ferentes Cristo regi nato Domino, quem stelladeducente adorare uenimus.

OBSTETRICES:

Ecce puer adest quem queritis; iam prope rate & adorate, quia ipse est redemptio uestra.

MAGI:

Salue, Rex seculorum! Suscipe nunc aurum, regis signum; [col. 2] tolle thus, tu uere Deus; mir[ram signum] sepulture.

ANGELUS IN SOMNIS:

Impleta sunt omnia que propheticae dicta sunt. Ite, uiam remeantes aliam, ne delatores tanti regis puniendi sitis.

<sup>10</sup> *Magi* is written in large capitals, and above it, in small capitals, the three proper names.

GLA . . . OR <sup>11</sup>:

Decerne, Domine, uindicari iram tuam, nam  
uiri Chaldaici [ius] sum tuum transgressi forte  
[in regionem] suam reuersi sunt [per aliam  
u]iam.

H[ERODES]:

Bethlem ne . . . , ice cautus M . . . ns iugu-  
lum quo caedas puer[um].

Te Deum.

Up to this point the text in the manuscript occupies continuously the first column and part of the second. Near the beginning of the text occurs an obvious lacuna in the sense, marked in my text by asterisks. At this point it may have been intended to supply the following passage, written with approximate continuity down the right margin of the page and in the lower part of the second column:

[Ante uenire] iube [quo possim singula scire  
Qui sunt,] cur ueniant, quo nos rumore re-  
quirant.

NUNTIUS AD M[AGOS]:

Regia [uos] manda[ta] uocant; [non segn]  
iter [ite].

. . . Salue, prin[ceps Iudeorum]!

REX:

Que sit causa uie, qui[uos uel unde uenitis],  
Dic[ite nobis].

MAGI:

Rex est causa uie, reges sumus [ex] Arabitis,  
Huc uenientes.<sup>14</sup>

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## THE "FAITHLESS WIFE" MOTIF IN OLD NORSE LITERATURE

In the February number of *Modern Language Notes*, 1911, A. LeRoy Andrews was able to cite a second indubitable instance<sup>1</sup> of the "Faithless Wife" motif; namely, an episode in the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*. The first instance is that found in the *Hálfs saga* and pointed out by Bugge as early as 1862. These two examples do not, I believe, exhaust the occurrence of the motif in Old Norse.

Saxo has the following account of some of Starkað's exploits<sup>2</sup>: "A champion of great repute, named Wisin,<sup>3</sup> settled and dwelt upon a rock in Russia named Ana-fial, and harried both neighboring and distant provinces with all kinds of outrage. This man used to blunt the edge of every weapon by merely looking at it. He was made so bold in consequence, by having lost all fear of wounds, that he used to carry off the wives of distinguished men and drag them to outrage before the eyes of their husbands. Starkað was roused by the tale of this villainy, and went to Russia to destroy the criminal; thinking nothing too hard to overcome, he challenged Wisin, attacked him, made even his tricks useless to him, and slew him. For Starkað covered his blade with a very fine skin, that it might not meet the eye of the sorcerer . . ." <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to see how P. E. Müller, *Det kgl. danske videnskabselskabs afhandlingar*, 1824, 2, 123, and G. Lange, *Untersuchungen*, 1832, p. 170, could count Saxo's story of Jermorik's flight with Gunno, Holder 276, among Walthari stories.

<sup>2</sup> Book vi, Holder, p. 187. I cite from Elton's translation, *Folk-Lore Society*, 1893, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> Folio Vellum f'g't B; *wiciūū*; synopsis of Krantz(k): *itisimus*.

<sup>4</sup> I note, in passing, that the stratagem of covering one's sword with a film (or clouts, Saxo, H., book xii, 244), to prevent its being blunted by sorcery is a common occurrence; cf. Saxo, H., *ibid.* 223, 219, vi, 119; *Vatsdala-saga*, chap. 29; *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, I, p. 160 f. (Orm Ungersvend og Bermer Rise.) On this subject see Maurer, *Bekchrungr*, II, 119, and his introduction to the *Gull-póris saga*, p. 25.—This measure of prevention recalls *Hálfs saga*, chap. xii: *Ván er, at drjúpi / vax af sózum*. The explanation thus afforded for this line is more satisfying than either of the two hitherto suggested. Bugge (*Norrøne Skrifter af Sagnhistorisk Indhold*, Kria, 1864, p. 44) suggests that the swords melt like wax in the conflagration; Munch (*Det Norske Folks Historie*, I, i, 304)

<sup>11</sup> I am quite unable satisfactorily to read or interpret this rubric. One would desire the word *Armiger*. The letters seem to read, faintly: Gla or & te or, which would suggest the following improbable expansion: Gloria, Oratio, et Te [Deum]. Oratio.

<sup>12</sup> In the upper margin over column two occur, no doubt, several illegible words.

<sup>13</sup> At this point the text shifts to the lower part of column two, beginning with several illegible words.

<sup>14</sup> Followed by a considerable blank space at the bottom of column two.

Both the Göngu-Hrólfr episode and Saxo's account contain the essential features of the motif of "the helpless husband, perforce an eye-witness to his wife's infidelity"; the latter, to be sure, in an attenuated and vague manner.

We are next told, in the same paragraph, that Starkað "finding that he was too mighty for any hard fate to overcome him, went to the country of Poland, and conquered in a duel a champion whom our countrymen name Wasce; but the Teutons, arranging the letters differently, call him Wilzce." In conjunction with the hint of a motif of the "Faithless Wife," given a few lines above, this is sufficient evidence that Saxo was acquainted, in a fashion, with the so-called Slavic continuation (with elements of the Salomon and Markolf story) of the Walthari legend as we know it, e. g., from Boguphali *chronicon Poloniarum*<sup>5</sup>: 'Walgerzs (= Walther) besiegt Wislaw den schönen, herrn von Wislicz, und legt ihn in seiner burg gefangen. Mit diesem entspinnt Helgunda einen liebeshandel'—follows the Faithless Wife story.<sup>6</sup>

Saxo is precise here: "—*athleta quem nostri (i. e., the Scandinavians) Wasce, Teutones vero diverso literarum schemate Wilzce nominant.*" This information agrees with Notker: *Welitabi, die in Germania sizzent, die wir Wilze heizen.*, and Einhardus: *Sclavi, qui nostri consuetudine Wilzi, proprie vero, id est sua locutione, Welatabi dicuntur.* The learned Zeuss<sup>7</sup> notes that *Wasce (hinn vaski)* is an exact translation of slav. *ljutyj* 'grausam, grimmig, hart.' This accords well with the warlike reputation of the mortal enemies of the Teutonic Order as recorded by Helmold<sup>8</sup>: *A fortitudine Wilzi sive Lutici appellantur. Ljuticzi* (Ptolemy's Οὐελαί, Ælfred's

*Vylte*) is the Slavic form of the name of the Lithuanians.<sup>9</sup>

While not presuming for a moment to doubt that Wasce really translates the Slavic *ljutyj*, it may not be amiss to set forth a further possibility. Saxo (flourishing during the latter part of the twelfth century) may have heard from Low German merchants of Valtari af Vaskasteini (O. H. G. *Walthari fona Wascóm*), as did the compiler of the *Þiðrekssaga*. Certainly the story was told throughout W. Germanic territory from the most ancient times (the Ags. *Waldere* dating from the beginning of the eighth century). Furthermore, Saxo may have understood the hero's title—as lord of Aquitaine<sup>10</sup>—to be his epithet (inn vaski, 'the Valiant') and mixed him up with his opponent Wislav (or Wilzke). This was all the easier since the Polish version—with which the name argues him to have been familiar—retains Walther's other attribute of *Manufortis*,<sup>11</sup> calling him *Walgerzs Udaty* (the Bold). As to Wisin, Saxo is not above spinning out the same motif twice.<sup>12</sup> Wilzce, or Wislav the Beautiful, lord of Wislicz, would then function as the heros eponymos of the Lithuanians, much as Vilcinus (of the *Þiðrekssaga*) for the Vilcinamenn.<sup>13</sup>

As to the episode in the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, cited by Andrews, it seems to retain some features of other versions of the Salman and Morolf legend.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Zeuss, l. c. 679, note. I am indebted to Professor Eduard Prokosch, of the University of Wisconsin, for the following note on the identification of the two names: "Etymological connection of *Wilzi* and *Lutizi* is not possible; however, a popular etymology may have existed in Northern Germany, connecting *Wilze* with German *wild* (compare names like *Wiltaburg*, Zeuss l. c.), and thus establishing an apparent identity in meaning between the two names."

<sup>10</sup> *Wascónolant* (as A. is called among historians of the eighth and ninth centuries) = *Gascoigne*. On the ancient confusion of the Wasgenstein with *Wascónolant*, see Grimm and Schmeller, l. c. 113.

<sup>11</sup> As Ekkehardus, iv, calls him. *Mon. Germ.* II, 117.—*Wiga ellenróf, Waldere B.* 11.—Cf. also Procosii, *Chronicon Slavosarmatorum*, Varsoviae, 1827, p. 128: Walgerus Starzon de Panigord Wdaly id est udatny alio dictus vocabulo. Quoted by Antoniewicz, *Afda.*, 1888, p. 247.

<sup>12</sup> Has his settling—"upon a rock in Russia named Anafial" anything to do with Walther's defence by the Wasgenstein?

<sup>13</sup> *Dipl. Norv.* v, 1, No. 26 (1294) there occurs also one *Wylkyn de Bremis, civis Lubicensis*.

thinks that the wax was used to keep the swords from rusting. Like the Niflungs before their fatal journey to Húnaland, the Hálsrekkr have been duly forewarned of impending calamity by the ominous dreams of Innsteinn, and come to the feast prepared to the best of their ability against the sorcery of their treacherous host. Cf. also Hrólf kraki's *Uppsalafor*, Andrews, l. c., p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> I quote from the synopsis given in Grimm and Schmeller's *Lateinische Gedichte des xten und xiten Jahrhunderts*, 1838, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> See Vogt, *Salman und Morolf*, Halle, 1880, p. lxviii ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 655, note.

<sup>8</sup> (Twelfth cent.), *Chronica Slavorum*, *Mon. Germ. Hist.* xxi, 13.

Möndull's approaches are at first repelled by the wife of Björn. The dwarf then has recourse to magic which acts as love-potion and *óminnisveig*, incidentally making her *mjök bólgin* and *blá sem hel*.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, in the German *Salman and Morolf* epics, Queen Salme is abducted by the help of a *zouberwurze*, which she is induced to put into her mouth. It causes her to appear as if dead. If this *zouberwurze* does not change Salme's appearance (str. 125, *ir vil liehte varwe / was dannoch unverwandelót*), the one used by Morolf in a ruse to recapture her, is more effective (str. 618, *Ein wurze leit er in den munt, / dá von er sich zurbláte / als er were ungesund*). Furthermore, by tying up his feet, in *eines schemelers wise*<sup>15</sup> (str. 622), he still more resembles Möndull, who is described as *lúva-xinn ok miðdigr*, and, in his true shape, also as *svartr ok ljótr*.<sup>16</sup>

"Da von dieser fabel im norden sonst keine spuren sich finden, ist es schwer zu sagen, auf welchem wege der sagaverfasser sie kennen gelernt haben sollte. Sicher ist, dass keine überlieferte form als seine unmittelbare quelle gelten kann. Diese nordische fassung zeigt im gegenteil . . . eine überraschende ursprünglichkeit."<sup>17</sup> That is undoubtedly the impression one receives from the vigorous story of Hjörleif's revenge. Yet there is one point at which the critical wedge may be set in. Of all other accounts known to us at present, those in Slavic folksong<sup>18</sup> on the whole show the greatest resemblance to our story, having in common with it both the trapping of the returning husband in a chest, and the hanging by him of the seducer *á galgan þann, er hann hafði honum*

*atlet*.<sup>19</sup> In one particular, however, the two versions markedly diverge. The Russian tradition—also the Polish Walthari story—has the offending wife hanged alongside of her seducer; in the *Hálfssaga*, however, the unfaithful wife *Æsa* is taken back to Norway where a *ping* is called and the people doom her to be drowned in a moor. But why no swift retribution by Hjörleif himself, when the Unwritten Law even now, and how much more then,<sup>20</sup> would have condoned the deed?—I suspect a connection with the two German poems, in both of which the guilty wife is first brought home by Morolf (brother of the husband) and only then bled to death in a bath.<sup>21</sup>

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## CRINESIUS ON FRENCH PRONUNCIATION

In listing the grammarians who have concerned themselves with French pronunciation since the Renaissance, Thurot<sup>1</sup> omits Christophorus Crinesius, who devotes to this subject thirteen pages of his *Discursus de Confusione linguarum*,<sup>2</sup> a book intended to prove the descent of all other languages from Hebrew. Although these pages contain little original information, Thurot would doubtless have cited them along with the productions of Cotgrave, Van der Aa, and Spalt, had he known of their existence. The author, a Bohemian orientalist of distinction, who lived from 1584 to 1629, tells us that, when twenty years old, he was very eager to learn French and studied for two months with Abraham de la Faye, son of the theologian, Antoine de la Faye. Perceiving that pronunciation is the most difficult part of this language, he devoted to it his special study and now publishes its rules, every point of

<sup>14</sup> Very likely a "displaced" motif.

<sup>15</sup> When thus in the shape of a cripple, Morolf also turns his eyes awry: *die ougen in dem houbte / want er vaste neben sich*. Möndull is *utaneygðr mjök*, which hap. leg. lexicographers plausibly enough place with *úteygðr* 'goggle-eyed' (Aasen, *uteygd* "som har fremstaaende øine"). But may it not also mean 'squint-eyed,' of the 'wall-eyed' variety? Cf. the curse of the witch Busla (Buslubæn) str. 4: *Svó skal ek þjarma / þér at brjósti / . . . at augu þín / úthverf snúizt* ('that your eyes will start from their right position'), *Bosasaga*, ed. Jiriczek, p. 16. However, it may seem fanciful to press this parallel.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also the description of the misshapen clown Morolf in the Spruchgedicht (Von der Hagen und Büsching, *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, S. und M., p. 62). The *Volksbuch* (l. c. xiv), exaggerates still more.

<sup>17</sup> Andrews, l. c. p. 76.

<sup>18</sup> See Vogt, l. c. xlii.

<sup>19</sup> *Hálfss.*, chap. viii.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Keyser, *Norges Stats- og Retsforfatning i Middelalderen* (*Efterladte Skrifter*, II, 375).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Vogt, l. c. lxiii.

<sup>1</sup> *De la Prononciation française*, Paris, 1881-1883.

<sup>2</sup> Nuremberg, 1629, pp. 87-100.

which, he says, is established by the judgment of learned Frenchmen. He must, indeed, have been acquainted with his teacher's *Institutiones gallicae*,<sup>3</sup> though he did not follow it closely, with Henri Estienne's *Hypomneses*,<sup>4</sup> and especially with Beza's *De Francicae linguae recta pronuntiatione*.<sup>5</sup> Based more largely on these books than on direct observation, his rules represent a period of the language some years earlier than 1629.

After a few remarks on the general peculiarities of French, he gives a detailed discussion of the various letters, adding in some cases to the testimony of the earlier authorities whom Thurot cites. Beza<sup>6</sup> refers to a varying pronunciation of *b* before certain consonants; Crinesius follows him, but he extends the rule to *b* before *l*, *r*, and *t*, giving as examples *obligation* and *oublier*, in which the *b* is pronounced with a "mollissimo et tenuissimo sono, ita ut vix audiri queat." To the cases in which other writers declare *l* to be silent, Crinesius adds that in which it follows *ei* and precedes *x* or *t*, but he gives no examples. He appears to be the first to state that the *s* of *gister* and the *h* of *dix-huit* are silent and that the *h* of *Hollande* is aspirate.<sup>7</sup> He cites *paon* to illustrate the silence of *a* before *o*, although earlier grammarians give it the modern pronunciation.<sup>8</sup>

Despite his cautioning Germans against confusing voiceless with voiced consonants, *p* with *b*, *t* with *d*, *f* with *v*, he is unable himself to

distinguish *j* from *z* and gives *manscher* as the pronunciation of *manger*. Nasalization means to him the addition of a slightly softened *n* to the preceding vowel. He notes that *i* retains its vocalic sound before feminine (mute) *e* and that *l mouillé* is pronounced as if it formed a diphthong with the following vowel. Finally, to explain cases in which it is hard to distinguish consonantal from vocalic *u*, he observes that the second of two *u*'s in contact and initial *u* before *r* are nearly always consonantal.

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#### IN DEFENSE OF "E. K."

In *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1909, Mr. J. M. Royster, writing on *Spenser's Archaism and Cicero*, censures E. K. for seeking to justify Spenser's archaisms by taking a passage of Cicero's *De Oratore* from its context, and thereby misinterpreting it. A careful examination of E. K.'s own context, however, shows that he is not guilty in this regard and suggests that Mr. Royster himself has fallen into the sin which he charges upon E. K.

The passage which Mr. Royster takes to be E. K.'s authority is in the *De Oratore*, and is cited by the former from Watson's translation. In this passage, Cicero, formulating rules for oratory, speaks of the "nobleness of the diction" of the ancients, but cautions the orator not to make "use of such of their words as our modern mode of speaking does not admit, unless sometimes for the sake of ornament, and but sparingly." To avoid ambiguity, the orator should, he declares, identifying himself for the time with the orator, adopt, as a rule, words in common use; but even he may "adorn his speech by an antique word such as usage will tolerate"; whereas to "poetical license" archaic words "are allowed more freely than to ours (the oratorical); yet a poetical word gives occasional dignity also to oratory . . . from which, if properly introduced, a speech assumes

<sup>3</sup> Jena, 1613. For marked differences in the two works, compare the rules given in each for *i*, *h*, and *q*.

<sup>4</sup> 1582. Crinesius seems to have derived from Estienne his rule for pronouncing the last *s* in a series of words, each of which ends in that letter.

<sup>5</sup> Geneva, 1584. The imitation is frequent and obvious, particularly in the case of silent letters. When Beza, p. 69, gives *cœur* as an example of the silence of *u* before *eu*, Crinesius follows him blindly, not realizing that his own modern spelling, *cœur*, has destroyed the value of the example.

<sup>6</sup> P. 72.

<sup>7</sup> Thurot, II, 407 and 409, gives Duez (1639) as the first author to mention the *h* of *Hollande*; Martin (1632), as the first to mention that of *dix-huit*.

<sup>8</sup> Thurot, II, 540; with Crinesius's pronunciation of *paon* may be compared the modern pronunciation of *taon*, noted by Du Val as early as 1604.

an air of greater grandeur." Clearly, therefore, in spite of cautions against over-use, Cicero was laying down rules for the orator, not for the poet; moreover, although he allowed some use of archaisms even to the orator, he was ready to grant distinctly more to the poet, and fully recognized the advantage to be gained by either from some use of the older and statelier or more picturesque words.

Turning to E. K., one easily sees that in his introductory epistle, prefixed to the *Shepherd's Calendar*, he was on the defensive for his new poet's vocabulary, for Spenser's device in fitting "straunge" and "auncient" words to the "rusticall rudenesse of shepherds," instead of adopting the more polished and artificial diction which had become a part of the literary tradition of the pastoral. He justifies this departure from pastoral custom by the argument that the unusual words are, after all, English, and that the same or similar ones have been used by well known English writers of earlier times, "excellent authors and most famous poetes . . . whose tunes were still ringing in his [Spenser's] eares." Moreover, E. K. notes, English writers are not alone in their use of obsolete words, for among the ancients, Livy and Sallust both have been found "to affect antiquitie"; and further although he recognizes an opposite view as expressed by Valla, one of the editors of Livy, he declares further: "I am of the opinion and eke the best learned are of the lyke, that these auncient, solemne wordes are a great ornament, both in the one and in the other." The mention of Cicero, referred to by Mr. Royster, follows next: "or if my memorie fayle not, Tulle, in that book wherein he endeavoreth to set forth the paterne of a perfect oratour, sayth that oftentimes an auncient word maketh the style seme grave and, as it were, reverend." This casual reference to Cicero is only one among three involving the classical writers, and the argument from their usage is only one of the many which E. K. presents in defense of Spenser's archaisms. Moreover, and this is the main point, E. K. no sooner concludes his reference to Cicero, but he launches upon injunc-

tions which would have done Cicero full credit in their caution against over-use of the obsolete: . . . "Yet neither everywhere must old words be stuffed in, or the common dialect and manner of speaking so corrupted thereby, that as in old buildings it seme disorderly and ruinous." His final argument for archaisms connects itself with the one just preceding it, by showing that the "rough and harsh termes," when used in moderation, furnish a very proper artistic contrast to "the brightnesse of brave and glorious words" which should chiefly prevail.

It is evident, then, that E. K. does not depend chiefly upon Cicero to excuse Spenser's use of archaisms, but defends them as, on the one hand, both justifiable in themselves and contributory to a proper artistic effect; and, on the other, by the practice of classical writers of different types, as well as by earlier English authors. Moreover, his reference to Cicero's views is by no means emphatic, and is half discounted by his own expression "if my memorie fayle not." Lastly, his own attitude towards the use of archaisms seems as far as Cicero's from a general or indiscriminate sanction of the archaising tendency. E. K. is by no means a model in critical method, and it is easy to convict him elsewhere of a dozen inaccuracies or mistaken emphases; but his method is at its best here, and his line of argument may almost be called faultless.

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## A TYPE OF ELLIPSIS IN OLD NORSE<sup>1</sup>

By ellipsis is meant the failure to supply a word or phrase which is required by the grammatical sense of the sentence in question. The general

<sup>1</sup> BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dansk-Norskens Syntax i historisk fremstilling af Hjalmar Falk og Alf Torp*, Kristiania, 1900, § 164. Grimm, Jacob, *Deutsche Grammatik* IV (Neuer Abdruck, Gütersloh, 1898, p. 154 ff.). *Norroen Syntax* af M. Nygaard, Kristiania, 1906, § 9-33.

principle of ellipsis is the same in all languages, namely: those elements in the sentence may be omitted which can be most readily supplied from the context, those elements, on the other hand, cannot be omitted which cannot readily be supplied from the context or without which the sense of the passage is rendered unclear. Whether a word or phrase may be omitted depends, therefore, as to how readily it can be supplied from the context.

In Old Norse, ellipsis is a very important phase of syntax since it was used in that language much more extensively and occurred under much more varied conditions than in any other of the older Germanic dialects. The general question of ellipsis in Old Norse has been treated most fully by M. Nygaard in his *Norroen Syntax*<sup>2</sup> (Kristiania, 1906). Not enough, by any means, has been written concerning the syntax of the older Germanic dialects and for this reason Herr Nygaard's book is all the more welcome to students of Germanic philology. The examples which the author gives to illustrate the principles of Old Norse syntax have been carefully collected from a wide range of Old Norse literature. The articles devoted to ellipsis extend from § 9-33, with numerous examples illustrating this phenomenon in its most essential phases. *Falk and Torp*, § 164, (cf. Bibliography) have also treated this question in a very thorough and scientific manner, with special reference to the later development of ellipsis in the history of the Danish and Norwegian languages. Nygaard's treatment of the same question shows no improvement over *Falk and Torp*, except that in Nygaard a greater number of examples and references to their sources are given.

There is perhaps one type of ellipsis which both works ought to have analysed and illustrated, especially Nygaard who confines himself entirely to Old Norse syntax. This particular phase of ellipsis occurred to the writer while reading the selection entitled, "*Der Zweikampf auf Samsö*"<sup>3</sup> (Hervarar Saga ok Heiðreks Konungs, Chapter III) in Holthausen's *Isländisches Lesebuch* (Wei-

mar, 1896). The passage occurs on p. 17, ll. 12-13, and reads as follows:

þykkjumk ek ok makligri mína bön att þiggja en berserkir þessir.

No note is given in Holthausen's reader to render the passage clear to the student or to explain the nature of the ellipsis, although special explanation is certainly required here. Even if Holthausen had had access to the articles on ellipsis in Nygaard's *Norroen Syntax*, no category could have been found which exactly covers the example in question. An analysis of the passage with a view to the principles of ellipsis is, therefore, necessary.

In this passage, Hjalmar, the brave, is addressing the king. In return for the many services which he has rendered the king he demands the hand of the king's daughter in marriage. He says: "for these services I beg you to give me your daughter in marriage; I think also it is more fitting for you to accept my request than theirs (viz. the requests of *these berserks*, Arngrim's sons),"

þykkjumk ek ok makligri mína bön att þiggja en berserkir þessir.

If this sentence were rendered in its full form without ellipsis, it would read something as follows:

þykkjumk ek ok (sc. vera) makligri (sc. þér) mína bön att þiggja en berserkir þessir (sc. þykkjask mér or þykkjumk<sup>4</sup> sína<sup>5</sup> bön att þiggja).

There may be some doubt in the mind of the student of Old Norse as to the propriety of the omission of the whole infinitive phrase *sína bön þiggja* which occurs in the second clause, especially since the personal construction with *þykkja* is foreign to the modern Germanic dialects. In order to understand the ellipsis the construction involved must be understood. Therefore, an analysis of the construction of the sentence is necessary.

The personal construction after *þykkja* is used here in accordance with the general rule, Nygaard, 218, a:

"In general the subject of the infinitive becomes the subject of *þykkja*, the infinitive being used as a mere complement of the verb."

<sup>2</sup> This work is written in Norwegian and primarily for Scandinavian students of Old Norse.

<sup>3</sup> Sophus Bugge, *Norroene Skrifter*, Kristiania, 1873, p. 203 ff., 302 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Nygaard, § 153, a.

<sup>5</sup> *Falk and Torp*, § 83.

The complementary infinitive *vera* is omitted because it is so readily understood from the context. No verb is so often omitted as the substantive verb *to be* (*vera*), because it is so often necessarily implied in the context and therefore does not need to be grammatically expressed.<sup>6</sup>—*Makligri* is a predicate adjective, nominative masculine singular, agreeing with *ek* subject of *þykkjumk*.—*bér*, dative of the second personal pronoun singular, dependent upon the adjective *makligri* (Nygaard § 103, a), is omitted, inasmuch as the speaker is addressing the king directly and therefore no ambiguity can arise as to whom reference is made.—*Mína bøn att þiggja* is a complementary infinitive phrase likewise dependent<sup>7</sup> upon the adjective *makligri*. (Nygaard, § 209, b.)—*En* (*than*), is a coördinating conjunction, which requires the construction following it to be the same as that which precedes it; hence the personal construction with *þykkja* which follows.—*Berserkir þessir* is subject of the verb *þykkjumk* (Nygaard, § 153, a) understood from the first clause.

*Sína bøn att þiggja* is a complementary infinitive phrase dependent upon the comparative adjective *makligri* understood<sup>8</sup> from the first clause (cf. *mína bøn att þiggja*). But the adjective *mína* in the first clause referring to the subject *ek* would in the second (if expressed) be changed to *sína*<sup>9</sup> in order to refer to the new subject *berserkir þessir*. The noun *bøn* in the first clause may also be changed to the plural form (*sínar bönir*) in the second, in order to refer to the individual requests on the part of the plural subject (*berserkir þessir*); or since this request (*viz.*, the hand of the king's daughter) is identical on the part of all, the singular form *bøn* may be retained.

In the original sentence :

þykkjumk ek ok makligri mína bøn att þiggja en berserkir þessir,

the infinitive phrase (*sína bøn att þiggja*) under-

stood in the second clause has not been expressed. This is, of course, due to the fact that the omitted infinitive phrase is necessarily understood from the first clause, even though the omitted infinitive phrase requires different predicate modifiers from those which the expressed infinitive in the first clause requires. For this type of ellipsis in Old Norse no category has been provided by either Nygaard or *Falk and Torp*. Nygaard, § 20, treats the ellipsis of the infinitive as object (*som objekt*) of a finite verb, whereas the ellipsis in question concerns an infinitive dependent upon an adjective (*makligri*, Nygaard, 209, b). Nygaard, § 33, a, and *Falk and Torp*, 164, 6, treat the ellipsis of the infinitive after modal auxiliaries. *Falk and Torp*, 164, 5, treat an infinitive which would appear (if expressed) in the ellipsis as a finite verb.

Nygaard might have made provision for the type of ellipsis under discussion by formulating a sub-category under § 20, which reads as follows :

“An action which should be expressed by an infinitive or by a whole clause may be omitted as object of the verb, when this action is mentioned shortly before or is understood from the context (eller forstaaes ud af, hvad er sagt).”

*siðan talaði hon langt ok snjalt, en er hon hætti, þa svöruðu margir* (Hkr. 516, 7).

Cf. *en er hon hætti* (sc. *att tala*).

This category would exactly cover the type of ellipsis in question, if applied to infinitives dependent upon predicate adjectives as well as to those used as object of the verb. A sub-category might, therefore, be formulated, with the sentence under discussion as an example to illustrate it.

§ 20, a. An infinitive phrase dependent upon a predicate adjective (cf. § 209, b) may likewise be omitted, when this action is mentioned shortly before or is understood from the context.

þykkjumk ek ok makligri mína bøn att þiggja en berserkir þessir. (Hervar. S. C. III.)

Cf. *en berserkir þessir* (sc. *sína bøn att þiggja*).

Furthermore, a note in Holthausen's Reader referring to the personal construction used after *þykkja* (Nygaard, § 218, a) would certainly not be out of place in connection with the sentence quoted from “*Der Kampf auf Samsö*.” The personal construction with *þykkja* and a dependent

<sup>6</sup> *Falk and Torp*, § 164, 5, 6. Grimm, p. 154. Nygaard, 33, c. 89, d. Anm.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *svá mjúkr og léttir var honum þegar fótrinn bæði at riða ok renna* (Hom. 168, 6).

<sup>8</sup> Adjectives in the comparative degree are never repeated after the conjunction introducing the second clause. Cf. English, ‘I am more fitted than they (sc. are fitted).’

<sup>9</sup> *Falk and Torp*, § 83.

infinitive is so far removed from the impersonal construction employed in the modern Germanic languages that the conditions of ellipsis in such a case require special explanation. A reference might, therefore, be given to the principles of ellipsis in connection with infinitive phrases and clauses (Nygaard, § 20), although, as we have seen, this reference does not exactly cover the case in question.

It is interesting to note that the modern descendant of *þykka* may still be used as a personal verb in the Modern Swedish *tycka* but even here an infinitive phrase after *tycka* must be used in the impersonal not the personal construction:

Jag tycker att *det är* (or) jag tycker *det vara* skickligare att antaga min bön än deras.

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#### SPAN. *ZARANDA*; PORT. *CIRANDA*

Two separate attempts have been made to connect Sp. *zaranda*, Pg. *ciranda*, "sieve," with a Latin radical. The acceptance of Storm's etymon *cernenda*<sup>1</sup> would require, as Storm recognizes, the assumption of a number of semantic and phonetic changes. Each of these changes is more or less possible, but taken together they require stronger evidence of their actual occurrence than Storm adduces; there can be little doubt that Meyer-Lübke (*Romanisches etymologisches Wb.*, § 1832) is right in rejecting Storm's hypothesis.

Simonet<sup>2</sup> connects the word with a strange form *cernida*, given by Papias in the sense of "sieve," and cited in Du Cange, s. v. *cernida*, from several later mediaeval texts. This word occurs in the following gloss, copied by Scaliger from an undetermined manuscript: *Cernida lignum super quod ducitur tarantatura*.<sup>3</sup> As the editors of the *The-saurus linguae latinae*, s. v. *cerniculum*, regard this obscure word as an error for *\*cerniela*, it

hardly offers a secure basis for an etymological hypothesis.

Simonet regards *cernida* not as a Popular Latin etymon of *zaranda*, but as a Latin word changed in the mouth of the Arabs to *sarand*, a form found in a work of the lexicographer Ibn Sida, a Spanish Arab (1007-1066),<sup>4</sup> as well as in the vocabulary published by Schiaparelli<sup>5</sup> (attributed by Simonet to the celebrated Raymond Martin), dating from the second half of the thirteenth century,<sup>6</sup> and in Pedro de Alcalá (1505).<sup>7</sup> This word is evidently the immediate source of the Spanish *zaranda*, as Simonet (*l. l.*) and Eguílaz y Yanguas<sup>8</sup> recognize.<sup>9</sup> Eguílaz y Yanguas, in a rather confused note on the subject, follows Dozy<sup>10</sup> in suggesting that the word is Persian in origin. This view Dozy adopted from Lane. In trying to explain the passage of Ibn Sida already referred to, which speaks of "Wheat sifted with a thing resembling a *sarand*," Lane adds in brackets "or *sirind*, which is a Persian word, here app. meaning a kind of net." It is clear that Lane, not knowing the exact meaning of the word, conjecturally connects it with a Persian word for which Vullers<sup>11</sup> lists, among other meanings, the sense "laqueus praedae capiendae"; this meaning is more clearly defined by Steingass<sup>12</sup> as "a noose for catching prey by the foot, a lasso." Neither Vullers, Steingass, nor Johnson<sup>13</sup> give either the form *sarand* or the sense of "sieve" for the word in question, and no facts supporting Lane's view are known to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University, the distinguished Persian scholar, who kindly looked into the matter at my request.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lane, s. v. *ṣubrah*, and Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. I (Weimar, 1898), pp. 308-9.

<sup>5</sup> *Vocabulista in arabico* (Florence, 1871).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. clxii ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Lagarde (Göttingen, 1883), pp. 164b.

<sup>8</sup> *Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas de origen oriental* (Granada, 1886), s. v. *zaranda*.

<sup>9</sup> For *-nda* < Arabic *-nd* cf. Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe* (Leyden, 1869), p. 28, iv, 20.

<sup>10</sup> *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leyden, 1881), s. v. *sarand*.

<sup>11</sup> *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* (Bonn, 1864), s. v.

<sup>12</sup> *Persian-English Dictionary* (London, n. d.) s. v.

<sup>13</sup> *A Dictionary Persian, Arabic, and English* (London, 1852).

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, v, 188.

<sup>2</sup> *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los Mozárabes* (Madrid, 1888), pp. 508-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, v, 596, 15. The same gloss occurs in somewhat different form in Hugutio (cited in Du Cange, *l. l.*).

It seems much more probable that João de Sousa<sup>14</sup> was right in deriving *zaranda* ultimately from the Arabic root *sarada*,<sup>15</sup> forms of which are used in the sense of "sift," as is indicated in the work of Pedro de Alcalá,<sup>16</sup> as well as in the Modern Arabic dictionaries of Wahrmund<sup>17</sup> and the Jesuit fathers.<sup>18</sup>

This meaning can be readily connected with the senses borne by the root in classical Arabic. Other derivatives of *sarada* besides *sarand* insert an *n*, a procedure of which Lane<sup>19</sup> cites four other examples.<sup>20</sup> Schiaparelli's *Vocabulista* (pp. 117, 325), gives a verb *sardana* in the sense of "to sift"; this form should also be taken into consideration in this connection.

Dozy, who does not seem to have known of the modern verb-forms meaning "to sift," attempts to derive all the words just cited from *sarand*, in regard to which he follows Lane's dubious suggestion of Persian origin. In the face of the evidence adduced, this view is hardly convincing. As all of the examples of the Arabic words in question are quoted either from Spanish or from modern vulgar sources, we would seem to have in

this case, as in so many others, an example of an agreement between the dialect of Spain and that of the modern Bedouins, as against classical Arabic.

Schiaparelli's *Vocabulista* (p. 325) gives *azaren* as a Catalan gloss upon the noun *sarand* and *azerenar* as a Catalan translation of the verb *sardana*. These words correspond to the Spanish by-form *azarandar* (Port. *acirandar*), coming from the Arabic form with the article prefixed. The representation of final *-nd* by *-n* is not surprising<sup>21</sup>; the *-e-* is possibly due to dissimilation, or, more probably, to the influence of nouns ending in *-en*. Escrig (1851) gives *çerendill* or *çerendillo*, with a variant *çarandill*, as the Valencian forms corresponding to Sp. *zarandillo*.

Torra (1757; first edition, inaccessible, 1650) and Lacavalleria (1696) give *atzerena*, or *etzerena*, as Catalan equivalents of the Latin *cyclas*, "a state robe of circular form having a border about its lower edge, worn by women"; Esteve-Belvitges-Juglá y Font (1803), followed by Labernia y Esteller (n. d.), describe the first form, which they write *atsarena*, as well as the second, which they give unchanged, as archaic. Is this word also a lineal descendant of *sarand*?<sup>22</sup>

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## THE NEW CHAUCER ITEM

In an article entitled *A New Chaucer Item*,<sup>1</sup> Professor O. F. Emerson has recently called attention to an extract from the Exchequer Accounts, first printed by M. Delachenal in his *Histoire de Charles V*, which tells us that Chaucer received in 1360, "per preceptum domini," the sum of nine shillings, "eundo cum literis in Angliam." Professor Emerson says with reference to this record:

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Gröber's *Grundriss*, I<sup>1</sup>, p. 679, § 24, and I<sup>2</sup>, 860, § 44.

<sup>22</sup> I am indebted to Professor D. H. Carnahan and to Dr. Florence Nightingale Jones, of the University of Illinois, for courteous assistance in connection with the preceding note.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, xxvi, 19-21.

<sup>14</sup> *Vestigios da lingua arabica em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1789; cited by Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 500).

<sup>15</sup> Sousa (whom I have consulted in the Lisbon reprint of 1830), gives as the Arabic etymon a form *sarandah* (with final *ha*), for which in the sense of "sieve" no authority is cited, and gives as the meaning of the root *sarada* only "encadear, enlaçar, tecer huma cousa com outra." He does not seem to have known of a derivative of *sarada* meaning either "to sift" or "a sieve." A fairly correct but meager statement is made by Duarte Nunez de Lião, *Origem da lingua portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1606), who cites (p. 69) among the "vocabulos que os Portugueses tomaraõ dos Arabes" *ciranda* as coming from *carand* (*sic*); his authority for the statement was doubtless, as Mayans y Siscar (*Orígenes de la lengua española*, Madrid, 1875, p. 357; quoted by Cañes, *Dicc. esp. latino-arab.*, Madrid, 1787, I, xiii, n.), suspects concerning his work in general, Pedro de Alcalá.

<sup>16</sup> *S. v. çarandar* (p. 130).

<sup>17</sup> *Handwörterbuch der deutschen und neuarabischen Sprache* (Giessen, 1870-77), s. v.

<sup>18</sup> *Vocabulaire arabe-français* (Beirut, 1898). Dozy cites from Bistani the nouns *sarad* and *misrad* in the sense of "sieve."

<sup>19</sup> Bk. I, p. 1347, col. 1.

<sup>20</sup> All the cases cited show an insertion of *n* between a liquid and a dental; Ewald (*Grammatica critica linguæ Arabicæ* [Leipzig, 1831], p. 166) cites the additional example *jilandā*.

"So far as we know, Lionel, earl of Ulster, to whose household Chaucer was attached, had not gone over to Calais with the prince of Wales. This would seem to show that Chaucer must have been detached, temporarily at least, from Lionel's household, and have been more directly in the king's, or at least the prince's employ. While both Lionel and Edmund, as well as the prince of Wales, were with their father, the king, in the final ratification of the treaty, there is no reason to believe that they preceded him to Calais. Edward himself did not go until October. On the other hand, we do know that Chaucer had ridden the campaign in France with the division of the prince of Wales, to which the other sons of Edward were attached, and possibly at this time the future poet had attracted the attention of the Black Prince. In any case, the payment for Chaucer's services on this occasion, by the order of the king himself, throws new light upon the poet's detachment from the service of Lionel."

And again :

"We now know, however, that as early as the beginning of the period 1360-67 Chaucer had been selected for a mission of trust by the king, or by the highest in authority next to the king, the prince of Wales. There is thus more ground than has generally been supposed for believing Chaucer may have had, even so early, some connection with the king's service."

These observations were of the greatest interest to me, for I was engaged at that time upon a piece of work upon which they had a very close bearing. But since neither M. Delachenal nor Professor Emerson had given any of the context of the Chaucer record, or stated the exact nature of the document in which it occurred, except its number, Exchequer Accounts  $\frac{314}{1}$ , it was not clear to me by what means Professor Emerson had ascertained that the person referred to as "dominus" was the king or the prince of Wales. In search of further information, therefore, I wrote to the Public Record Office and received, thru the kindness of Edward Salisbury, Esq.,<sup>2</sup> a transcript of the principal parts of the document containing the new Chaucer record. I found, upon examining the extracts sent me, that the document, which is the account of the earl of

Ulster's expenses at Calais and returning therefrom at the time of the treaty of peace, proves clearly that the person referred to as "dominus" was not the king or the prince of Wales, but Lionel, earl of Ulster. The document is as follows :

Expense domini Comitis Vltonie apud Caleys existentis ibidem ad tractatum et redeundo in Angliam, facte per manus Andree de Budeston anno xxxiiij<sup>to</sup>.

Apud Caleys. } Primo solutum Willelmo de Gard' pro cariagio hernesii domini apud Caleys de mari

vsque ad hospicium domini Regis ij. s. Item dicto Willelmo pro j pole empto ibidem vj d. Item eidem Willelmo pro factura j nouche et j zone domini ibidem iiij s. vj d. Solutum pro falcon' empt' per preceptum domini Rogeri de Bello Campo xj multon' Flandrens' xl s. iiij d. Datum Galfrido Chaucer per preceptum domini eundo cum literis in Angliam iiij roiales precii ix s.<sup>3</sup> Liberatum H. Englissh ad opus domini per preceptum domini Rogeri xij multon' Franc' xlvij s. Liberatum Ricardo de Yulee de debito domini Comitis per preceptum domini Rogeri viij nobilia liij. s. iiij. d. Item Thome Skinnere et Iohanni Tregettour de dono domini apud Caleys per preceptum domini Rogeri vj roiales xvij s. Pro vernachio ibidem empto pro domino per vices iiij sceppe di . . . . . xvj. gr. vij. s. ij. d. Liberatum Willelmo de Gard' pro emendatione j. zone domini apud Buloinne vj. d. Item liberatum ibidem . . . . . ij. maille precii vj. s. pro allocatione .ij. equorum carientum harnesium domini de Caleys usque Buloinne vj. s. viij. d. Willelmo de gard' pro emendatione j. zone domini apud Caleys vj. d. Laurentio de Shreuesbury pro cultellis emptis ibidem ad opus domini xvj. d. Liberatum domino ibidem die Sanctorum Simonis et Iude<sup>4</sup> pro ludo suo

<sup>3</sup> So my copyist, Miss M. T. Martin, reads, confirming Professor Emerson's conjectural emendation (*l. c.*, p. 19). M. Delachenal reads: "iii real [. . .] x s." The whole of the Chaucer item is quite legible.

<sup>4</sup> 28 October. I have been unable to determine the precise date of the payment to Chaucer. It is possible, however, to determine with considerable certainty the limits of the period within which it must be placed. The first item of the expenditures "apud Caleys" is 2 s. for carrying Lionel's harness at Calais from the sea to the king's lodging. This would indicate that the king was already at Calais when Lionel arrived there. Lionel, therefore, reached Calais not earlier than 9 October, the date of the king's arrival (Delachenal, II, 241). Two items of the account of Lionel's expenses at Calais confirm this inference and define a little more closely the date of

<sup>2</sup> It is a pleasure to have this opportunity of acknowledging the courtesy shown me by Mr. Salisbury and the care with which he responded to my inquiries.

suo ad paume iij s. Liberatum Ricardo de Yiuale per preceptum domini de debito sibi prestito pro eodem ludo cum fratribus suis apud Caleys per vices j maille iij. s. j roial iij s. .j. est<sup>5</sup> Ph iij. s. iij. d. Item solutum Iohanni de Neubourne pro vadiis esistenti apud Caleys per xvij dies capienti per diem xij d. per preceptum domini Rogeri xvij s. Item per idem tempus iij garcionibus, R. de Aula, W. Ferthing, N. Walsham pro vadiis suis, quolibet capiente per diem iij d. per preceptum domini Rogeri xvij s. Liberatum domino ad afferendum pro .j. falconario infirmo ij. d. pro vadio j. garcionis H. Engl' esistenti cum familia domini ibidem per idem tempus iij. s. Solutum Iohanni de Burlee de debito domini per preceptum suum j. real iij. s. Liberatum Thome de Bernewelle pro expensis cum domino ibidem per preceptum domini Rogeri vt patet per indenturam lxxiiij s. vj. d. Item Philippo valletto domini Theobaldi Mounteneye pro expensis suis et equi sui ibidem per preceptum domini Rogeri vt per indenturam xv s. viij d. Liberatum domino apud Caleys in camera sua nocte qua recessit versus Angliam j. roial precii iij. s. Liberatum gaillard' per preceptum domini j. real iij. s.

Summa xvij. li. x. s. viij. d.

Versus Angliam.

} Item redeundo versus Angliam die Sabbati in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum

pro portagio et cariagio hernesii domini de Dele vsque Sandwic' et allocatū equestris pro diuersis iij s. vij d. Ad prandium domini eodem die apud Sandwic' cum fratre suo domino E. et Duce Britannie xxv. s.<sup>6</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Die Dominica in festo Omnium Sanctorum apud Sandwic' pro focale in camera domini mane iij d.

\* \* \* \* \*

Die lune ij die Nouembris pro expensis familie apud Boghton pane et ceruisia iij d.

\* \* \* \* \*

Die Martis iij die Nouembris apud Derteford ad iantaculum familie ibidem pane iij d.

Lionel's arrival. I refer to the payment of 18 s. to John de Neubourne "pro vadiis existiendi apud Caleys per xvij dies" and to the payment of 18 s. and of 3 s. to "iij garcionibus," and to H. Engl', "per idem tempus." If we are right in taking these payments as an indication that Lionel stayed at Calais 18 days, he arrived there on 13 October. For, as appears from our document, he left Calais on the night of 30 October. The payment to Chaucer, therefore, must be dated somewhere between 13 October (or, at the earliest, 9 October) and 30 October, 1360.

<sup>5</sup>esc?, my copyist queries.

<sup>6</sup>"Under this and the following heads," says my copyist, "the expenses are chiefly for carriage, candles, fuel, wine, pies, beer, etc., at various places."

\* \* \* \* \*

Eodem die ad prandium Lond' iij s.

\* \* \* \* \*

Pro cariagio hernesii domini venientis de Caleys, de Billingesgate vsque ad hospiciū domini viij d.<sup>7</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

The payment to Chaucer for carrying letters to England, then, was made at the command of the earl of Ulster, not "per preceptum domini Regis," and the document proves that Chaucer remained in Lionel's service at least as late as October, 1360.<sup>8</sup> The date at which the poet entered the service of the king is still quite uncertain.

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A *Concordance to the Poems of William Wordsworth*. Edited for the Concordance Society by LANE COOPER, Assistant Professor of the English Language and Literature in Cornell University. London: Smith, Elder & Co. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1911. \$12.50.

This is the second work to appear under the auspices of the Concordance Society, having been preceded by the *Concordance to Gray*, edited by Professor Albert S. Cook. While necessarily large, containing close upon 211,000 quotations, it is not inconvenient in size, being considerably smaller than Bartlett's *Concordance to Shakespeare*.

The work is based upon the most accurate text of the collected poems, that of the *Oxford Wordsworth*, edited by Mr. Thomas Hutchinson. Variant passages, as a rule, have not been taken into account, except in the case of *An Evening Walk* and *Descriptive Sketches* (texts of 1793). In addition,

<sup>7</sup>These extracts have been verified by collation of the proof sheets with the original ms.

<sup>8</sup>For the date, see above, note 4. Since we know that Chaucer was in Lionel's household in the year 1357 [?] (*Life Records*, Document 33), it is fair to presume that he continued in the earl's service at least until October, 1360. The fact that the king contributed in the early part of 1360 to Chaucer's ransom proves nothing to the contrary, for among the other entries in the same Household Account (*Life Records*, Document 34) we find a payment of £10 for "Georgio, valetto Comitisse Vltonie."

*The Recluse*, book I, and other fragments and minor poems reprinted by Knight and Nowell Smith have been included. The number of the page in the *Oxford Wordsworth* (or, exceptionally, of the volume and page of Knight or Nowell Smith or the *Letters*) is given in each case, greatly facilitating reference :

**Alone.** Voyaging through strange seas of Thought,  
alone. . . . . 650 *Preludes* 3. 63

The complete line of verse is given for each occurrence of every significant word. In addition to the words usually recorded, partial lists are given for *like*, bringing together a collection of nearly 700 similes, and for *I, me, mine, my*, bringing together all the significant passages in which the poet speaks of himself in the first person. The total number of words used by Wordsworth in his poems is estimated by the editor at about 20,000, as compared with 24,000 for Shakespeare and 2000 for the poems of Milton. When it is taken into account that Wordsworth deliberately limited his vocabulary, according to principles broadly laid down by himself in the *Preface* to the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1800, and that he also, with rare exceptions, limited his subject-matter by excluding "the moving accident," the passion of love, humorous subjects, and satire, the number would strike us as surprisingly large, did we not reflect that his habitual minuteness of observation and precision of statement would necessarily lead to a constant discrimination between synonyms, and thus to a large vocabulary.

The methods followed in preparing the *Concordance*, explained at some length by the editor in the *Preface*, were such as to ensure speed and accuracy. Forty-six collaborators, supplied with explicit directions, and uniform apparatus of printed copies of their sections of the text, slips, and stamps with movable rubber type, began work simultaneously. Instead of transcribing the quotations, the workers cut out the lines from the printed page, and pasted them on slips, thus avoiding the possibility of countless clerical errors. The page-numbers and the titles, or abbreviated titles, of the poems were stamped on the slips, leaving only the concordance-word and the line-number to be recorded in script. After their assembling and final alphabetization, the slips

under each letter of the alphabet were numbered consecutively with an automatic stamp. As a result of this collaboration, of the mechanical helps mentioned, and of systematic procedure in all stages of the work, the manuscript was ready for the printer in seven months' time. If there had not been some delay in finding a publisher, the volume might have been before the public in eighteen months from the time of beginning work. (It took twenty years to prepare Bartlett's *Concordance to Shakespeare*.) It seems safe to predict that future makers of concordances to the English poets will profit by the time- and labor-saving methods devised by Professor Cooper. Copies of his directions to collaborators may be obtained from him by those interested.

The value of a concordance is, of course, far more than that of an alphabetical index to facilitate the tracing of quotations, or of an inventory to make possible an estimate of the total number of different words used by a given writer. More important is its use as an aid to interpretation, by enabling the inquirer to examine all the passages in which some puzzling word occurs, and by bringing together passages related in subject or in thought. "The main function of the *Concordance*," writes the editor, "is to aid the attentive reader, whose coming is anticipated in Wordsworth's *Preface to The Excursion*, in discovering the vital relation between the longer poems, which are likened to the antechapel and the body of a Gothic church, and the 'minor pieces,' which correspond 'to the little cells, oratories, and sepulchral recesses, commonly included in those edifices.'" It may be mentioned that in arranging the manuscript for the printer, the editor discovered three hitherto undetected relationships, in two cases amounting to identity, between minor poems. The sonnet, *Author's Voyage Down the Rhine* ("The confidence of Youth our only Art"), published by Wordsworth only in the volume of 1822, underwent an interesting transformation and reappeared in No. 12 in Part III of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. The lines describing the voyager's experiences were adapted to illustrate by a figure the experience of the student of church history. The sonnet, "My Son ! behold the tide already spent," was identified as almost word for word the conclusion of *A Fact, and an*

*Imagination*, and the fragment, "O Bounty without measure," was identified as the last lines of *The Cuckoo Clock*. It is not likely that any more revelations of exactly this kind will be made by the *Concordance*, but in skilful hands it will become the means to much significant interpretation of the poet's work.

The *Concordance* forms a subject-index to Wordsworth's poems. It shows upon what subjects he has chosen to speak, and (supplemented by the context) what he has said of them. It also shows of what subjects he has chosen not to speak, a consideration not to be neglected. Professor Legouis's *Early Life of William Wordsworth*, the most illuminating study of the poet yet published, was composed with the aid of a partial concordance to *The Prelude*, composed for the purpose. Such labor is now spared to future students.

Many generalizations about the tendencies of Wordsworth's poems may be derived from the examination of significant words in the *Concordance*. In many cases, these will be simply the confirmation of what is familiar to every reader. No one will be surprised at the frequency of the words *nature* and *natural* (a total of about 680 occurrences), but the words *man* and *mind* (with its derivatives) are each used still more frequently. The poet's teaching is constructive and optimistic. He says,

We live by Admiration, Hope, and Love.

We are prepared to find words expressive of admiration, hope, and love more numerous than their contraries. *Praise* is used more often than *blame*, *hope* than *fear*, *love* (761 times) than *hate* (23 times); *good* than *bad*, *wicked*, and *evil*; *happy* than *wretched* and *miserable*; *joy* than *sorrow*, *grief*, or *pain*. But as deep distress may humanize the soul, we find no such extreme disproportion in the last group of instances as that between *love* and *hate*. The word *beauty* with its derivatives runs to over 600 instances; the word *ugliness* occurs not at all, *ugly* but once, *hideous* thirteen times. Wordsworth dwells upon what is cheering or ennobling: upon objects and emotions that helped to constitute

The bond of union between life and joy.

Though he welcomed frequent sights of what is to

be borne, he did not customarily choose for his subject-matter what is unpleasant, painful or discouraging.

Wordsworth's own account of his diction is familiar. His principle of selection is, however, laid down only in general terms. His "selection of the language really spoken by men" was intended to be such as would "separate the composition from the vulgarity and meanness of ordinary life." He wished to avoid "phrases and figures of speech which from father to son have been regarded as the common inheritance of Poets," in other words, "poetic diction." He aimed at a "manly" style. He said, "my ideas are expressed in language fitted to their relative importance"—a memorable statement, which should be pondered over by all who write in verse or prose. Professor Legouis's discussion of Wordsworth's "poetic diction" in the poems of 1793 is a model of its kind. The *Concordance* should facilitate an equally careful study of other aspects of his vocabulary. A few random observations may be set down here, as perhaps throwing light on his practice. Most words expressive of what is physically repulsive, for instance *filth*, *filthy*, are entirely absent. Amid a total of several hundred instances of *lake*, *ocean*, *river*, *sea*, and *stream*, the commonplace *canal* is mentioned but once. *Wine* is mentioned ten times, *ale* four times, *beer* not at all. *Dog*, with its plural and its various compounds, occurs about fifty times: *cur* only twice, both times in *The Borderers*, an early work of exceptional character. As might be expected, other words of rare occurrence point to similarity of treatment in the poems in which they are found or to nearness in date of composition. Thus the word *devil*, with its plural (six times in all), occurs only in *The Borderers*, *The Idiot Boy*, *The Waggoner*, *Peter Bell*, and in an adaptation from Juvenal. It would be interesting, if Professor F. N. Scott's list of "Hated Words" (given in an unpublished paper read before the Modern Language Association some years ago) were at hand, to see how many of the verbal prejudices now current in America, were felt, consciously or unconsciously, by Wordsworth. Certain at least it is that the words *woman* and *woman's* predominate over *women* in the ratio of seven to one, and that the form *women's* does not occur at all. What Professor Scott found to be the most detested word of

all, namely, *victuals*, is not used. It is curious to note the "Americanism" *I guess* with its eight occurrences, and the imputed "Americanism" *the same* (in the sense of "it"), with perhaps a score. *Oftentimes*, another word now entitled to the name of "Americanism," for the *New English Dictionary* designates it as "now only *arch.* and *literary*," whereas in this country it seems to be becoming more and more current, is found 31 times, more frequently than *ofttimes*, its more legitimate predecessor. These examples must suffice. The vocabulary of Wordsworth, who used words with scrupulous precision and with unfailing regard for the best literary tradition, is deserving of close study.

The work is handsomely printed, and the page is pleasing to the eye. It cannot fail to be a delight, as well as a useful instrument, to the possessor.

One word in conclusion. The actual sales of a volume of this kind necessarily come short of repaying the cost of manufacture. No publishing house can issue such a work unless protected by a subsidy. In the present instance the necessary amount was provided partly by The Concordance Society, partly by the editor and by members of his family. Few means of furthering literary study could be named that would be more serviceable than the preparation and publication of concordances to great poets for whom none at present exist; for instance, Browning. Here exists an opportunity for men of wealth who love the cause of letters—the endowing of future concordances to the great English poets.

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*An Italian Reader*, with notes and vocabulary, by A. MARINONI. Second edition, revised. New York: W. R. Jenkins Co., 1911.

*An Elementary Grammar of the Italian Language*, by A. MARINONI. New York: W. R. Jenkins Co., 1911.

The dearth of Italian text-books edited in this country has put American teachers of

Italian at a great disadvantage. The works available are very few in number, and their character, in general, is not such as to stimulate or even hold the interest of the student in whose hands they are placed. Professor Marinoni's excellent *Italian Reader* is therefore particularly welcome: its use can hardly fail to increase the value and the attractiveness of an elementary Italian course.

The book contains five stories and two sketches by modern writers, a passage from Ferrero's *Grandezza e decadenza di Roma*, and Carducci's oration at the unveiling of the monument to Virgil at Pietole. All the selections—except perhaps the *novelle* by Deledda and Panzacchi—are interesting and valuable in themselves and offer good material for linguistic study. The first story, Fogazzaro's *Idilli spezzati*, is admirably adapted for use with pupils who are just beginning the study of Italian: its language is very simple, and the pervading quiet humor and fine characterization hold interest even when the reading is very slow. The selections increase rapidly in difficulty. The style of Carducci, as Professor Marinoni says, is really "accessible only to the elect," and few students of Italian will be qualified to read his oration—or indeed the three preceding selections—with profit, until their first year of study is nearly over. I list in a footnote a few misprints which occur in the text.<sup>1</sup> These and other minor defects are specified here simply in the hope that those who are using the *Reader* will utilize these notes to correct their own and their students' copies, thus allowing the book to have its due effectiveness.

<sup>1</sup> Pages 20 and 21: for *Gaudria* (an error retained from the Italian edition) read *Gandria*; p. 28 line 13, period instead of comma after *Hcrriet*; 29.10: for *sua* read *sue*; 55.14: for *investi*, *investi*; 59.19: for *puntanto*, *puntando*; 73.28: for *cosi*, *così*; 82.19: for *dela*, *della*; 87.12: for *uno*, *una*; 91.23: for *tarda*, *tavola*; 98.21: for *ella*, *alla*; 110.20: for *raccolti*, *raccolte*; 112.12: for *seterzi*, *sesterzi*; 114.29: for *alle*, *alla*; 120.26: for *quadriugghi*, *quadriughi*; 122.14: for *ronzio*, *ronzio*; 123.25 and 124.11 and 125.16: for *si*, *sì*. There is no good authority for printing a hyphen at the end of a line after an elided word, as *un'* (4 *ult.* and 40.29), *quel'* (44.27) and *n'* (87.14).

The notes in the *Reader* are very few. It may be suggested that in the phrase "un gesto da capitan Fracassa" (p. 49) the reference is rather to the stock figure of the *Commedia dell'Arte* than to the hero of Gautier's romance. The "Curia di Pompeo" (p. 115) was not "a Senate-house built by Pompey," but the main hall in the Theatre of Pompey in the Campus Martius.

The vocabulary has been entirely recast for the second edition of the *Reader*. It now includes, as it should, those words which are nearly the same in form in Italian and English. All irregular verb forms are now separately entered. The position of the stress is now indicated, in every case, by an acute accent. Two of the misprints in the text have led to false entries in the vocabulary: *tarda*, a misprint for *tavola*, and *si* in the sense of "so," a misprint for *sì*, are registered as real words. A few words have been omitted.<sup>2</sup> Two or three Italian forms are misspelled,<sup>3</sup> and the accent indicating the position of the stress is wrongly located in a few cases.<sup>4</sup> The quality of the translations in the vocabulary is uneven. The treatment of the textual occurrences is often precise and excellent, but in very many cases only the most general meaning is given. Some amusing misprints have resulted from the printer's substitution of English words differing by a letter or two from those submitted in the copy,<sup>5</sup> and several other minor errors

occur.<sup>6</sup> The words "Toppa, che non era tanto per saltare addosso al padrone, a Fiore e al muso della cavalla" (p. 82) mean not that the dog "was not large enough to" jump upon them, as indicated in the vocabulary under *tanto*, but that he kept rushing from one to the other, not able to devote to either the master, the man, or the mare what he regarded as the amount of attention due to each.

Professor Marinoni's recently published *Italian Grammar*, though a good book in many respects, seems to me much less serviceable than the *Reader*. It is intended to be "a happy medium between the short and long treatises now on the market." As a matter of fact, it hardly differs from the "short treatises" in extent of subject matter except by the presence of several unusual and valuable statements in the chapters which deal with word order, moods and tenses, and the use of the minor parts of speech. These chapters, XXXI-XXXIX, seem to me by far the best portion of the work.

The book is divided into a series of lessons, each lesson containing grammatical statements, a vocabulary, model sentences in Italian, and an exercise in composition. The grammatical material, however, is disposed, for the most part, in the order proper to a reference grammar: the noun is first treated in full, then the adjective, then the pronoun, then the verb, and so on. This arrangement is decidedly unfortunate. No verb is set before the student—not even *essere* or *avere*—until he has com-

<sup>2</sup> *Brânco*, flock; *brève*, brief; *brézza*, breeze; *bricco*, coffee-pot; *briccóne*, m., rogue; *briciola*, crumb, bit; *caprióla*, caper, hand-spring; *cicláme*, m., cyclamen; *nómina*, appointment; *oréccchio*, ear. Under *cuore* the phrase *mi si strinse il cuore* should be treated: cf. the reference under *strinse*. Under *dare*, the dash in *darsela a —*, should be replaced by the word *gambe*.

<sup>3</sup> For *azzurreggiare* read *azzurreggiare*; for *contradditore*, *contraddittore*; for *mobigliare*, *mobiliare*. Under *genere*, for *cattovo* read *cattivo*.

<sup>4</sup> For *cafarndó* read *cafárnao*; for *esattáménte*, *esattaménte*; for *gorgóglio*, *gorgoglio*; for *incúbo*, *incubo*; for *quadriúghi*, *quadriughi*; for *Sisifo*, *Sisifo*. Under *addosso*, for *tógliersi* read *tóglersi*.

<sup>5</sup> *Baldamente*: for *baldly* read *boldly*; *contatto*: for *contract*, *contact*; *disgraziatissimo*: for *importunate*, *unfortunate*; *egli*: for *be*, *he*; *girarrosto*: for *match*, *watch*; *grugnire*: for *grant*, *grunt*; *linea*:

for *live*, *line*; *novella*: for *sale*, *tale*; *orso*: for *hear*, *bear*; *propretore*: for *proprietor*, *propretor*; *ridestarsi*: for *make*, *wake*; *rinsaccarsi*: for *shrink*, *shrug*; *selvaggio*: for *mild*, *wild*.

<sup>6</sup> *Amichevolmente*: for *friendly* read in a friendly way; *cassetto*: for *drawer*, *money box* (cf. 71.26); *climaterico*: for *climatic*, *climacteric*; *comodino*: for *chiffonier*, *stand* (74.5); *condiscendenza*: for *condescendence*, *condescension*; *crepaccio*: for *ravine*, *crack* (76.16); *grulleria*: for *joke*, *crazy idea* (85.15); *logica*: for *logics*, *logic*; *lussureggiare*: for *exuberant*, *exuberant*; *millenario*: for *millenium*, *millennium*; *Sansone*: for *Sampson*, *Samson*; *tumulto*: for *roit*, *riot*. For *colazione* add the meaning *lunch* (2.22), and for *lesso* the meaning *boiled* (46.2). *Ristretto* and *risultato* are interchanged, and the type is mixed. For *sedurre* add the meaning *fascinate* (22.22). *Sportello* should precede *sposare*.

pleted eighteen lessons, many of which deal exclusively with topics that might well be considered in the latter part of an elementary course, such as augmentatives and diminutives and the ordinal numerals. The line of study as thus planned is also exceedingly monotonous, especially in its block of seven lessons on pronouns followed by a block of twelve lessons on verbs. Even these twelve lessons do not account for all of the irregular verbs, but treatment of the remaining ones is wisely postponed in favor of certain syntactical matters. If similar breaches in the logical order had been made more frequently, the book would have been more successful. Reference order and the practical order of acquisition are incompatible. If the grammatical material is to stand in reference order, then directions for selective study, with exercises, should be given outside the body of the text. If the practical method is to dominate the arrangement, facts should be presented as nearly as possible in the order of their immediate importance to the student, and with sufficient variation to prevent dulling of interest or confusion in memory.

Italian grammatical usage, in matters of form and syntax both, is extremely elastic. The occurrence of two or more parallel forms is frequent, and licence in order and in construction is very wide. The task of the writer of an elementary Italian grammar is thereby rendered peculiarly difficult. He is in danger on the one hand of ignoring forms or constructions which are really in good usage, and on the other of setting before the student a series of options unnecessarily long to learn, and bewildering to apply in writing or in speech. The best guiding principle for a middle course would be, I believe, to present in the text of the grammar only one of the two or more forms or uses (unless it be quite impossible to assign primacy to either), treating such variants as need mention, in footnotes, if the material is arranged in reference order, or in a subsequent portion of the work, if the practical order is followed. Professor Marinoni is in general judicious with regard to the insertion of parallel forms: *elleno* and *cotestui*, however, and a few other equally antiquated words, do not deserve

even the slight prominence he accords them. In the endeavor to avoid dogmatism, he has qualified a great many statements of matters in which usage varies as valid only *generally*, or *usually*, or *as a general rule*. Dogmatism is perhaps not so bad a thing, in an elementary grammar, as Professor Marinoni seems to think. Certainly, in his avoidance of it, he has fallen into the opposite excess: his constant emphasis upon variation in usage tends to suggest the unpleasant and unfair impression that the language is disorganized and flaccid, and the notion that a hit-or-miss method in imitative composition is likely to prove successful. In several cases statements thus qualified might easily have been brought to a satisfactory point of precision: for example, that regarding the use of the grave accent on final syllables (p. ix) and that regarding the plural of nouns in *-co* and *-go* (p. 6).

On the other hand, lack of necessary qualification has produced misleading statements: "The indefinite article in Italian is generally omitted before nouns denoting profession, rank, title, nationality" (p. 10); "The student will easily notice that, except in the case of *s* impure, the tendency with adjectives is to drop the final vowel" (p. 21); "Reckoning by hundreds is not allowed in Italian" (p. 34); "The auxiliary *essere* is used to form the compound tenses of intransitive verbs" (p. 69); "The imperfect indicative expresses in the past two or more actions taking place at the same time" (p. 111).

In several instances grammatical nomenclature is notably misused. *Cui*, in the phrase *di cui*, is called an indirect object (p. 55); the compound tense formed with the present subjunctive of the auxiliary is called the past subjunctive (p. 118). A note at the end of the chapter on relatives gives a reference to the treatment of "the relative *whose* used interrogatively." The compound relative *chi* (= *he who*) is treated in the chapter on interrogatives.

Other statements are ineffective through imprecise wording: "Double consonants are pronounced with double emphasis" (p. viii); "In the genitive case the article is omitted if the name of a country is used instead of an

adjective" (p. 9); "Unlike English, the verb *essere* builds its own compounds" (p. 68).

The book is virtually free from actual misstatements, except in its treatment of pronunciation. Open *e* is said to have the sound of *a* in *care* and open *o* the sound of *o* in *come*; it is implied that intervocalic *s* is always voiced; *casa* is given as affording an example of the voiced *s*; and the voiced *z* is said to be like the English *z* in *zone*.

The only serious omission I have noted is that resulting from the treatment of *che* only as object (p. 59): nothing is said of its use, or that of *che cosa*, as a subject form.

The order of tenses followed in the presentation of verbs is particularly unfortunate: present indicative, present subjunctive, imperfect indicative, future, conditional, preterit, imperfect subjunctive, imperative. This scheme is hard to remember, and regards neither the formal nor the syntactical relations of the several tenses.

The composition exercises are very good,—fresh, sensible, varied, even interesting. Great care is taken, by references and notes, to ensure their translation into idiomatic Italian. Some of them, however, are so full of minute peculiarities which have to be provided for by specific annotation that the main grammatical point at issue is obscured.

The model sentences in Italian constitute the best feature of the book. They too are fresh and interesting, and afford admirable specimens of the living language. They deal, in a simple, idiomatic way, with a great variety of topics,—college doings, social and commercial life, travel, literature, and history. One has the same sort of pleasure in reading them that one gets from the crisp phrasing of good Italian conversation. They suffice to make the book valuable even for those teachers of Italian who may prefer some other grammar for classroom use.

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THEODOR FONTANE: *Grete Minde*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by HARVEY W. THAYER. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911. xxxi and 184 pp.

The publication of one of Fontane's short stories, *Grete Minde*, will be greeted with much satisfaction by instructors of German. As far as known to the present writer, only one of this author's longer novels, *Vor dem Sturm*, has been edited for use in the class-room in this country, and that in a much abridged and cut-up shape.

Fontane's short stories, as the editor observes in the preface to his edition of *Grete Minde*, "are comparatively simple in style, but at the same time characterized by depth and power." The fact that Fontane's style may appear rather sober, at times, as *e. g.*, in the description of the final catastrophe in *Grete Minde*, and of the events immediately preceding it, does not detract from the effectiveness of the story. Rather, it imparts to the tale the quaint charm of the chronicle style of a past age, and is in keeping with the statement on the title-page *Nach einer altmärkischen Chronik*.

Fontane does, to be sure, lack the passion of K. F. Meyer, but he is also without the sentimentalism of Storm, and an agreeable and virile realism pervades his works. We accordingly find in his novels truthful and instructive descriptions of the life and customs of various classes of people, especially those of his native country of Brandenburg and Prussia. Thus *Grete Minde* presents a picture of the life in a small town of the Altmark at the beginning of the seventeenth century, at a period when, on the eve of the Great War, the religious questions were yet uppermost in the minds of the people. Other interesting chapters are concerned with the puppet-players, the Mayday-festival, and the life in the Arendsee Damenstift. The editor has acquitted himself of his task in an excellent manner, he has even spent some time in Tangermünde and neighboring towns, whereby his historical and topographical notes have gained in value and interest.

The Introduction contains a condensed account of the author's life and works, a brief history of the Mark Brandenburg, and an exposition of the real and legendary stories of Grete Minde, together

with a bibliography of works of Fontane as well as on Tangermünde and Grete Minde in particular.

The notes bear witness to the editor's carefulness and thoroughness. Perhaps his endeavor to limit their number may explain the omission of notes on a few somewhat difficult words and passages. Thus, the plural *Ratmänner*, p. 17, l. 7, might call for some comment on the plural *Männer*. Other passages which seem to require some explanation are: *frägst*, p. 29, l. 28; *den andern Vormittag*, p. 31, l. 22; *bist du zur Kirch'*, p. 31, l. 9. In this connection, the reviewer would call attention to a few similar phrases as *die Sonne ist unter*, p. 64, l. 21, and *der Mond war eben unter*, p. 93, l. 8, above all, however, to some strange peculiarities in Regine's speech, such as *mein süß Gretel*, and the frequent omission of the final *e* in such words as *bracht'*, *konnt'*, *sollt'*, *hab'*, *Gret'*, *Kirch'*, *hör'*, etc. Does Regine's speech point to Southern German origin, or should we consider this a perhaps unconscious introduction of Southern German provincialisms by the author? In the note to p. 31, l. 10, relating to the Latin genitive of Dr Luther, *Dr Lutheri*, it would be well if the accent were indicated, in view of the different accent in the adjective *lutherisch*. The passage *zu der ich mich alles besten verstehen habe*, p. 38, l. 9, will appear rather difficult to most students; one would wish also for some comment on *vermun-schen*, p. 74, l. 4 and p. 94, l. 11, *um deshalb*, p. 78, ll. 17 and 18. In the note to *Holstentor*, p. 110, l. 21, a brief statement of the fact that this famous gate is on the North side of Lübeck and signifies *Tor der Holsten*, *Holsteinisches Tor*, would be welcome. Other words requiring some comment are, *absonderer*, p. 102, l. 23; *obwohlen*, p. 107, l. 2; *Junferchen*, p. 107, l. 7. The mere translation of *Michaelismarkt* without explaining the word *Michaelis* or dating it seems rather insufficient (note to p. 104, l. 5).

In reference to *König von Ungarn und Polen*, p. 16, l. 12, the editor suggests that the mention of such a potentate is merely the herald's boastful advertisement because the Roman Emperor was also King of Hungary. It is true, there was no King of Hungary and Poland combined, but Mathias was King of Hungary before he became Emperor in 1612, Ferdinand was also King of

Hungary from 1618, and his son Ferdinand was King of Hungary from 1625-1637, in which latter year he became Emperor. The herald may mean the King of Hungary and the King of Poland.

The rendering of *Koppelpferde*, p. 72, l. 22, as 'horses tethered for grazing' does not appear to be correct. In northern Germany, *Koppel* signifies 'enclosed pasture, common,' and *Koppelpferde*, 'horses in the enclosed pasture.'

The note to *getan*, p. 80, l. 22, states that *hatte* should be supplied, but the context shows that *hätte* is the only possible auxiliary to be supplied since the arrival of Peter Guntz prevented any further confidential conversation between Gigas and Grete.

The translation of *die hohen Nachtfetzen*, p. 82, l. 16, by 'evening primroses' does not seem to be appropriate. More probably the flowers referred to are those better known in Germany by the name *Königsferzen*, English *mullein*, also called 'torch-weed,' 'high taper.' Their straight and tall flower-stalks answer the description far better than the evening primrose which, according to the encyclopedias, came to Germany from America and could hardly be a common weed in Germany at this remote time. The name *Nachtfetze* is also used for *Königsferze*, according to Heyne, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, sub voce *Königsferze*, and Kürschner, *Universal-Lexicon*, sub voce *Verbascum*.

*Nazerl* and *Nazi*, p. 107, ll. 17-18, are diminutives of *Ignaz*, not of *Nathanael*. A Southern German with the name *Nathanael* would be considered quite a curiosity. Compare the *Life of Peter Rosegger* by Hermine and Hugo Moebius, pp. 22 and 23, where mention is made of *Meister Ignaz Orthofer*, der *Natz*, Rosegger's teacher of the sartorial art, and Rosegger's story *Robinson in der Schneiderkeuschen*, in which figures der *Natz*, sein *Meister*, sein *Namenspatron* der *heilige Ignazius*.

In the old drinking-song quoted on p. 108, l. 14 and the following *hölz'ns* = *hölzins*, modern German *hölzernes*; *hab* in the first line was originally *han* riming with *an* in the third.

For American readers not acquainted with the vagaries of thatched roofs, it might be well to add in the note to p. 116, l. 13 that the cottage spoken

of there must have had a thatched roof—else the house-leek could not have grown on its roof. *Span'sche* has occurred on p. 7, l. 25, where the note to p. 118, l. 16 should have been placed. P. 122, ll. 15–16, a short explanation of the meaning of *Ulmer* and *Basler* would not be amiss.

The translation of the phrase *den Torplatz dahinter*, p. 130, l. 15, by 'the open space inside the gate' does not sound correct. Is it not rather the open space *behind* the gate? There usually was an open space between the gate and the city walls on one side and the houses of the city on the other side. P. 136, l. 25: A reference to a previous note on *so* = *wenn* seems advisable.

The number of misprints in this edition of *Grete Minde* is very small. Only the following have come to the reviewer's notice: P. 13, l. 4, read *Spiegel* instead of *Spiegeln*. A dative plural is impossible in this phrase. Compare also Fontane, *Gesammelte Romane und Erzählungen*, Vol. v, p. 307, published by Deutsches Verlagshaus, Berlin. P. 27, l. 27: The text has *Carmeliterinnen*, while the note spells correctly *Karmelitergeist*. P. 38, l. 12, read in *Euer Hand* instead of in *Euer Hand*. P. 158, in the note to p. 18, ll. 4–5, read *unerachtet* instead of *unerachtet*, in second line of note.

As regards the spelling, the most recently adopted rules have been applied to the German text, except in a few instances. Thus, the short forms *all* and *solch* are given an apostrophe which not only violates the present rule, but has no foundation in the origin of these forms as nothing is omitted in them. Therefore, p. 65, l. 19, *all' die Blumen* should be *all die Blumen*, and p. 105, l. 23, *Sold' Sprüchel* should be *Sold' Sprüchel*. P. 67, l. 10 read *aufgährenden* instead of *aufgährenden*. P. 17, l. 20, divide *flan-driscen* instead of *fland-riscen*, and p. 143, l. 15 *nied-rig* instead of *nied-rig*.

The High German renderings of the Low German passages on pp. 103, 126, and 127 are in the main correct. The present reviewer wishes to suggest, however, that *all* in l. 8 of p. 103 more likely means *schon*, hence *doa sinn se all* should be rendered by *da sind sie schon*; this seems to agree far better with the context, since the coming of the puppet-players is an eagerly expected event in *Arendsee*, but their number is not known

to the speaker. Furthermore, the omission of *alles* in the High German passage at the bottom of p. 103 is unfortunate; the sentence should be *was man nicht alles erlebt* in order to have the right ring. One might even wish that *erleben tut* = *erlebt* would be inserted instead of merely *erlebt* to enable the student to see the connection between *deist* and English 'does.' P. 126, footnote 3, *Die wird es* would be more idiomatic than *Die wird es werden*, for the Low German *De wahr' et*, l. 15. P. 126, l. 20, one may say just as well *die sagt immer* for *de seggt ümmer*. Add *schon* after *nun* in the High German passage corresponding to the Low German on p. 127, l. 14. The substitution of *Kleine* for *Deern* on pp. 126 and 128 may also be questioned. Why not say *Mädchen*, which is the natural equivalent of *Deern*?

In conclusion, it may be stated once more that the present writer considers this edition of *Grete Minde* a welcome addition to the more advanced German reading-texts; in the first place, because the story is most interesting to the student as recent use in the class-room has shown; and in the second place, because this edition is of such uniform excellence. It is indeed a credit to both editor and publishers.

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*Spanish Ballads (Romances escogidos)*, edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary by S. GRISWOLD MORLEY. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1911. 16mo., xlx + 226 pp.

As a textbook for advanced college classes and as a guide for the maturer student of Spanish literature, the book in review is a model of scholarly editing. The editor shows not only a firm grasp of the subject, but an admirable method of presentation—clear in style and logical in arrangement. The fifty-eight ballads of the collection give a fair idea of the scope and character of one of the most national phases of Spanish literature. While later literary and popular types are represented in the collection, the majority of the ballads, fifty in fact, are naturally "Romances Populares," which the

editor subdivides as "viejos tradicionales," "juglarescos," and "tradicionales modernos." With but two exceptions, the poems are printed entire, and the volume contains an "Index to first lines."

The Introduction includes a discussion, at once clear and succinct, of the salient points of interest in Ballad literature: the meaning of the word *romance*; origin of the ballad; classification and literary value; influence on Spanish literature, with special reference to the drama, Cervantes and the romantic school of the nineteenth century; English translations; metre. The list of allusions to ballads in the *Quijote* and other works of Cervantes (p. xxv), has a decided value, as has also the bibliography of scattered English translations (p. xxiii). In connection with the popularity of the ballad as illustrated by the Spanish dramatists, reference may be made in passing to Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, *Coplas de la sarna*, which is composed largely of "principios de romances antiguos." The Introduction ends with an excellent bibliography of over one hundred titles, arranged under the heads of texts, translations and criticism.

As the Spanish ballad is distinctly epic in origin and contents, a knowledge of the epic legends of Spain is indispensable to an intelligent reading of the poems. This fundamental information is given in the Notes in connection with each ballad, but is, of necessity, condensed in form. Though sufficient as a commentary, the information seems inadequate as an introduction to an entirely new phase of literature. To the English-speaking student beginning his study of the Spanish ballad, I would recommend, in addition, Trueba y Cosío's readily accessible *Romance of Spanish History*. Furthermore, a work of the type of Gummere's *Popular Ballad* seems an indispensable preliminary to the fascinating but difficult problems of Spanish popular poetry.

As to the language, Morley has included in his notes a chapter on the "Grammatical Peculiarities of the Romances," somewhat after the manner of a similar chapter in Ducamin, *Romances Choisis*. Here should be included several additional items of archaic or popular usage: apocopated imperatives *velá*, *detené*, etc., and even *ios* (for *idos*); other contractions such as *tuvierdes*; -*ases* form of the subjunctive used as imperative;

plural use of *quien*; *vos* for *os*; omission of both definite and indefinite article. The scarcity of classified material on ballad-language, suggests the mention of Leo Spitzer, *Stilistisch-Syntaktisches aus dem spanisch-portugiesischen Romanzen*,<sup>1</sup> and of Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática del Cantar de Mio Cid*, which contains abundant references to grammatical traits of the ballad.

In addition to the items already mentioned, the notes include a substantial notice for the source or history of each ballad, as well as explanations of the difficult or obscure passages. The Vocabulary, taken in connection with the Notes, is well adapted for an intelligent study of the texts. Furthermore, it designates especially those words which are archaic in form. Proper names, however, if discussed in the notes, are not included in the vocabulary. Thus we find in the latter such well known words as Alhambra, Hungría, Córdoba, but fail to find many of the less known, Lara, Mudarra, Cantaranas, etc. The same system of omission pertains to a number of words and phrases, for example: *y aun*, p. 132; *por bien*, *por mal*, p. 124; *partes de aliende*, p. 148; *tuvierdes*, p. 159; *par igual*, p. 159; etc. A complete vocabulary would increase greatly the value of the volume as a book of reference.

The following comments may tend to complete the vocabulary and supplement a few of the notes:

iv, 27, *si no fuera*, 'except.'—iv, 37, *palabra*, not "word," but 'speech,' 'idea' or 'thought'; not uncommon significations for the word in medieval Spanish.—xxii, 62, the *en* belongs after *que* in l. 66.—xxix, 10, *mañana en aquel día*, 'to-morrow morning.'—xxxiii, 5, *dó los?* The phrase has a syntactical interest in addition to the ellipsis. If *los* is an object personal pronoun it is probably not the anticipatory object of *buscar*:

*Dó los mis amores, dó los?—Dó los andará á buscar?*

*Dólos* in the sense of 'where are they?' is found in the fourteenth century and even in the modern dialects.—xxxiv, 2, *las partes de aliende* has a somewhat more specific meaning than "distant parts." As a contraction for *l. p. de aliende mar*, it signifies 'over in Africa.'—xli, 25, *del vino . . . del pan*, probably relics of a rare but authenticated

<sup>1</sup> *Ztr. für rom. Phil.*, 1911, pp. 192-230; 258-308.

partitive construction.—XLIV, 135, etc. *como que*, 'as if.'—XLIV, 167, *en antes que*, 'before.'—XLIV, 205, *obra de un Ave María*, cf. the more striking example in l. 182, *no estaré un Ave María*, 'I won't be a moment.'—XLIV, 193, *sino que* 'but.'—P. 106 : The statement that the ballads show use of the "-ra subjunctive for preterit indicative" is inaccurate. The -ra form in question represents, historically and phonetically, the Latin pluperfect indicative and has retained this indicative mood continuously from the earliest monuments to the present day. Furthermore, on the same page (106) the use of the "pluperfect for preterit" should be illustrated by -ra examples as well as by the compound forms.—P. 107 : *Comenzar* may govern a following infinitive with *á* as well as with *de* (xx, 17) and even without a preposition (xx, 1).

The experiment of reading Spanish ballads in college classes is worthy of trial and will be watched with great interest. Another declared purpose of the book is "to point the way to further research." In this its success is indubitable.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### "L'ART POUR L'ART"

*A MM. les Rédacteurs de Mod. Lang. Notes :*

M. Spingarn a ouvert dans votre revue, en 1907, une enquête sur les premiers exemples anglais et français de cette expression promise à un si bel avenir, *l'art pour l'art*; et lui-même, en 1910 (p. 75), indiquait ce qui est vraisemblablement la première apparition de cette formule, le 20 pluviôse an XII, dans le *Journal intime* de B. Constant (éd. Melegari, Paris, 1895, p. 7).

Il n'est pas indifférent de noter que le passage de Constant relate en réalité sa conversation avec le jeune Anglais qui, mieux initié à la récente philosophie allemande, va servir de guide intellectuel à Mme de Staël à Weimar. "Conversation avec Robinson, élève de Schelling. Son travail sur *l'Esthétique* de Kant

a des idées très énergiques. *L'art pour l'art*, sans but, car tout but dénature l'art."

La formule de Constant traduisait sans doute les termes dont se servait Robinson pour dire que, selon Kant, l'art devait trouver sa fin et son objet en lui-même. Il est vraisemblable que le rédacteur du *Journal intime* resserrait simplement, pour son propre usage, l'expression moins condensée dont pouvait s'être servi Henry Crabb Robinson. Car on ne voit pas que les esthéticiens allemands aient abouti à ce moment à une formule que transposerait exactement le français *l'art pour l'art*. Ils disent : "Die Kunst ist um ihrer selbst willen da." (Et si l'entretien a eu lieu en anglais, il est douteux que *art for art's sake* y ait apparu.) Constant lui-même ne se sert pas de cette expression lorsqu'il lui arrive d'écrire en faveur de l'autonomie d'une œuvre littéraire. La formule heureusement consignée par le *Journal* de Constant est donc vouée, semble-t-il, à un sommeil assez long, jusqu'au moment où paraîtront les nouveaux emplois du terme qu'ont signalés MM. Lanson et Cassagne.

On peut se demander si, en Angleterre, dans le petit cercle dont Robinson fut l'inspirateur, cette idée et son expression ne purent vraiment pas se faire jour. M. Carré, qui publie en ce moment diverses reliques *robinsoniennes*, répondra peut-être à cette question.

F. BALDENSPERGER.

*Paris.*

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## CHAUCEUR AND LYDGATE NOTES

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS :—(1) In Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, lines 289–290, we read

For th' orisonte hath reft the sonne his light  
This is as muche to seye as it was night.

Professor Skeat, commenting on the second of these lines, terms it "A humorous apology for a poetical expression;" Mr. Hinckley, in his *Notes on Chaucer*, asks "Is not this curiously abrupt line a mark of immaturity in the poet's art?" I would refer to Book I of Fulgentius' *Liber Mitologiarum*, ed. Helm, p. 13, where, after

eleven inserted lines of flowery verse describing the approach of evening, Fulgentius returns to prose with "et, ut in uerba paucissima conferam, nox erat."

(2) Lydgate's use of John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres, "Episcopus Carnotensis," is a point of some interest in Lydgate-study. Koepfel, in his valuable monograph on the *Fall of Princes*, pp. 69-70, mentions various references by Lydgate to "prudent Carnotence," but does not identify Carnotence as John of Salisbury. The prologue to Book IV of the *Fall* is in part a dilution of the prose prologue to John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*; and in the prologue to Book III appears a phrase of Salisbury's in one of Lydgate's more striking lines,—“Of my stepmother called oblivion.” The allusion to Carnotence's *Enteticon*, which Koepfel cites from Lydgate's *St. Edmund*, is suggestive in view of the fact that Boston of Bury listed the *Enteticon* of John of Salisbury among the books in the Bury St. Edmunds library.

(3) With the much-disputed phrase "shippes hoppesteres" of the *Knight's Tale*, line 1159, we might consider the picture drawn by Lydgate in the *Fall of Princes*, bk. IV, cap. 1—

Naual crounes whilom wer ordeined  
For them that faught manly in the see  
Whan their shippes wer together cheyned.

(4) In his exceedingly interesting paper on the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, printed in the *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association of America*, vol. 25, Professor John M. Clapp mentions, on p. 76, a story of that collection entitled *Léonor et Eugénie*, and described by the editors as "extraite et traduite de Chaucer." The prose story in question, in the June, 1780, volume of the *Bibliothèque*, is very largely taken from Thomson's *Seasons*. A pseudo-historical introduction, presenting two noble families of Scotland named Penker and Wilson, narrating their friendship, the intended alliance between their two only children, their estrangement by political jealousies, and the downfall and flight of one family, serves as preliminary to the anxious search of the young lover for his lost beloved, whom he finds as a gleaner on his own estate.

This is expanded from the Palemon and Lavinia episode in Thomson's *Autumn*; and the episodes of the bathing nymph, the stag-hunt, the storm, etc., are all from Thomson, whose language is closely followed. More than a little labor was expended in fitting together parts of Thomson which are widely separated in the *Seasons*; and in the brief notice of Chaucer which is prefixed in the *Bibliothèque*, there even appears the remark upon Chaucer from the *Summer*. Thomson there said

Chaucer, whose native manners-painting verse,  
Well moralized, shines through the Gothic cloud  
Of time and language o'er thy genius thrown.

This becomes in the French:—"Ses vers peignent les mœurs, la bonne morale, & brillent à travers le nuage gothique du tems & du langage, qui vouloit offusquer son génie."

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#### A SANSKRIT PARALLEL TO AN ELIZABETHAN PLOT

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—A hitherto unnoticed analogy to Ben Jonson's *The New Inn*, and to the similar plot in *The Widow*, attributed to Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton, is furnished by *The Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājāśekhara.

It will be noticed by the following synopses that the situations in the Sanskrit play are closely paralleled by the corresponding situations in the Elizabethan plays, and that the order of occurrence is identical in the three plays.

#### *The Viddhaśālabhañjikā*

A. Mṛgāṅkāvalī, a princess, appears disguised as a boy at the court of Vidyādharamalla, and calls herself "Prince Mṛgāṅkavarman."

B. The Queen in whimsical mood disguises "Mṛgāṅkavarman" as a girl and gives "him" the name "Mṛgāṅkāvalī."

C. The King falls in love with the supposed boy disguised as a girl.

D. The courtship is encouraged by the Queen and confidential advisers.

E. The King marries "Mṛgāṅkāvalī."

F. The Queen ridicules the King for marrying the husband of some one else.

G. A messenger from Mṛgāṅkāvalī's father announces that the bride, supposedly a boy disguised as a girl, really is a princess, and that her name really is Mṛgāṅkāvalī.

#### *The New Inn*

A. "Frank" is presented as the Host's son. ("Frank" is Laetitia in disguise, but of this the audience receives no hint.)

B. "Frank" is disguised as a girl and given the name "Laetitia" to add fun to the revels at the Inn.

C. Beaufort, a nobleman, falls in love with "Laetitia."

D. He is encouraged by the Host, Lady Fram-pul, and others.

E. The nobleman marries "Laetitia."

F. The Host ridicules the nobleman for marrying a boy.

G. "Laetitia's" mother declares that the supposed boy-bride really is a girl, and that her name really is Laetitia.

#### *The Widow*

A. Martia, posing as a boy, is robbed and partly stripped. She seeks refuge at Philippa's house, giving her name as "Ansaldo." After being dressed in the clothes of Philippa's husband, "Ansaldo" departs. (In this play, as in *The New Inn*, the audience is not taken into confidence concerning the original disguise.)

B. "Ansaldo" returns. Philippa disguises "him" as a woman in order to avoid the suspicion of her husband.

C. Francisco, a nobleman, falls in love with Martia.

D. He is urged on by Philippa and Violetta, who can scarcely conceal their mirth.

E. The nobleman marries Martia.

F. He is ridiculed for marrying a man.

G. Martia's father recognizes the supposed male bride as his daughter, thus making her a real bride.

*The Viddhaśālabhañjikā* is translated into English by Dr. Louis H. Gray and was published in 1906 in *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 27, first half. Dr. Gray makes no

mention of *The New Inn*, or of other analogies to the disguise plot. Dr. G. B. Tennant in his critical edition (1908) of *The New Inn* discusses the possible relation between *The New Inn* and *The Widow*.

It may be remembered that the "retro-disguise" motif, namely, a female page disguised as a girl, had already been used in *The Four Preen-tices of London*, *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon*, and *May Day*, before *The Widow* was produced. But I presume that the resemblance between the Sanskrit and the Elizabethan plays is purely accidental.

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#### VENETIAN *corivo*

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—The Venetian lover says to his lady in a poem of the seventeenth century (*Modern Language Notes*, xxvi, p. 207):

Me bramistu corivo?—Te zuro in verità  
Che per ti diventar me sottoscrivo  
Morosini pellà.  
La romperò per ti, caro tesoro.  
Col Contarin dai scrigni.  
E te farò un Soranzo tocco d'oro.

*Pelà* seems to have in this context its derived meaning 'scusso di danari' (Boerio), and therefore *corivo* means 'generous' (contarini, 'facile'). But for the opposition of *corivo* to *pelà* Boerio and Patriarchi do not help. Stopino, however, offers the solution in his *Capriccia Macaronica*, Venice, Lovisa, 1704, p. 12:

Tertius accedit grauiori ætate Morosus,  
Cervello leuiore tamen, licet ipsa capillos  
Testa cinerosos habeat, grismque colorem  
Quem chiamare solet Corium nomine vulgus.

*Corivo* is simply a technical extension of a sense recognized already by Patriarchi, and which Boerio would have done well to adopt textually: *corivo*, 'corribo,' 'bergolo,' 'fatappio'; it is applied specifically to the young galant who affected the powdered wig. Hence the contrast in the poem of *corivo* and *pelà*. This technical sense of 'dandy,' new to lexicography, is noted with a

view to the new edition of Boerio, with the preparation of which rumor credits Mr. Gattinoni. I regard as unnecessary Pianigiani's supposition of *courroux* (French) for Sicilian *corivo* 'anger.'<sup>1</sup> The exact semantic development of the word in that sense is furnished by the Venetian locution *corivo a menar le man* (Boerio).

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CORNEILLE'S ALLUSION TO THE *Astrée* IN HIS  
*Suite du Menteur*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the *Suite du Menteur*, act IV, scene 1, ll. 1221 ff., Mélisse, the heroine, confesses to Lyse, her alert chambermaid, her sudden love for Dorante, and expounds the laws of sympathy as follows:

Quand les ordres du ciel nous ont fait l'un pour l'autre,  
Lyse, c'est un accord bientôt fait que le nôtre :  
Sa main entre les cœurs, par un secret pouvoir,  
Sème l'intelligence avant que de se voir ;  
Il prépare si bien l'amant et la maîtresse,  
Que leur âme au seul mot s'émeut et s'intéresse . . . etc.

Lyse recognises in these words the theory of Sylvandre, the ideal shepherd of d'Urfé's *Astrée*, concerning the magnetism of souls (vv. 1235–37):

Si, comme dit Sylvandre, une âme en se formant,  
Ou descendant du ciel, prend d'une autre l'aimant,  
La sienne a pris le vôtre, et vous a rencontrée.

A note in the Marty-Laveaux edition of Corneille<sup>1</sup> interprets this as an allusion to the passage in the *Astrée*<sup>2</sup> in which it is said that Sylvandre constructs a compass, "dont l'esguille tremblante tournoit du costé de la Tramontane, avec ce mot, L'EN SUIS TOUCHÉ. Voulant signifier que tout ainsi que l'esguille du quadrans estant touchée de l'Aimant se tourne tousiours de ce costé-là, parce que les plus sçavants ont opinion, que s'il faut dire ainsi, l'Element de la Calamité y est, par cette puissance naturelle, qui fait que toute partie recherche de se rejoindre à son tour ; de mesme son cœur atteint des beautés de sa Maîtresse, tournoit incessamment toutes ses pensées vers elle."

It would seem that Corneille had rather in mind Sylvandre's statement<sup>3</sup>: "Quand le grand Dieu forma toutes nos âmes, il les toucha chacune avec une pièce d'aimant, & qu'après il mit toutes ces pièces dans un lieu à part, & que de mesme celles des femmes, après les avoir touchées, il les serra en un autre magasin séparé : Depuis quand il envoie les âmes dans les corps, il meine celles des femmes, où sont les pierres d'aimant qui ont touché celles des hommes, & celles des hommes à celles des femmes, & leur fait prendre une à chacune . . . Il advient de là qu'aussi tost que l'âme est dans le corps & qu'elle rencontre celle qui a son aimant, il lui est impossible qu'elle ne l'aime, & d'icy procedent tous les effets de l'Amour . . ."<sup>4</sup>

The Marty-Laveaux edition is further inexact in the statement<sup>5</sup> relative to ll. 1241–1243 of the *Suite du Menteur*<sup>6</sup> that the *Astrée* does not give the details of Sémire's treachery. His perfidy is minutely described in the fourth book of the first part.

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ON THE POET COLLINS

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The poetry of Collins is of such an exquisite and truly poetical character that it furnishes a good touchstone for determining the tastes of an age. It is accordingly a matter of some general interest to know how the eighteenth century felt toward Collins. We may, for instance, gain in this way clearer ideas of the rapidity of the decline of pseudo-classicism. In Professor Bronson's admirable edition of Collins (*Athenaeum Press Series*) there is considerable evidence to prove that the poet was more generally appreciated in the eighteenth century, particularly the latter part of it, than has been thought. During the past summer I

<sup>3</sup> *Astrée*, part I, book 10 ; pp. 697 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This peculiar conception was probably developed from the old comparison of a mistress' heart to a compass or loadstone, a comparison drawn in the first passage quoted above from the *Astrée*, and already known to the Sicilian poets. See, for instance, "Ancor che l'aigua per lo foco lasse . . ." by Guido de Columnis, stanza 5, ll. 1–12 (reprinted in A. J. Butler, *The Forerunners of Dante*, Oxford, 1910).

<sup>5</sup> l. c., p. 354, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Ce vieux saule, Madame,  
Où chacun d'eux cachait ses lettres et sa flamme,  
Quand le jaloux Sémire en fit un faux témoin,  
Du pré de mon grand-père il fait encore le coin.

<sup>1</sup> *Vocabulario etimologico*, Roma, Albrighi Segati, 1907, s. v.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1862 ; vol. IV, p. 353. Reure, in *La vie et les œuvres de Honoré d'Urfé* (Paris, 1910, p. 306), refers to this borrowing, but does not indicate what passage in the *Astrée* he considers as the source.

<sup>3</sup> Edition of 1632–1633 ; part II, book 3 ; pp. 170–171.

came upon a number of minor things which tend to confirm Professor Bronson's contention besides being, to me at least, of interest in themselves.

In *Letters concerning the Present State of England* (1772), there is *A Catalogue of the most celebrated Writers of the present Age, with Remarks on their Works*. Two pages of this are devoted to Collins, especially to his *Oriental Eclogues* from which there are several quotations. He is described as, "One of the best poets which we have had in this age; he has written very few pieces, but those of sterling merit. His oriental eclogues have greater merit than any piece of pastoral poetry in our language" (p. 351). That interesting and curious person, Sir Egerton Brydges, in writing of his college days (c. 1780), says, "Collins . . . was one of the greatest favorites of my youthful taste" (*Poems*, 4 ed., 1807, p. 215). Scattered through the very popular and equally lugubrious *Elegiac Sonnets* of Charlotte Smith, are a number of tributes to Collins. Miss Smith sings of

"Wilds! whose lorn echoes learn'd the deeper tone  
Of Collins' pow'rful shell!"

and later,

"Th' Enthusiast of the Lyre, who wander'd here,  
Seems yet to strike his visionary shell,  
Of power to call forth Pity's tend'rest tear,  
Or wake wild Frenzy—from her hideous cell!"<sup>1</sup>

The most interesting proof of Collins's popularity, but one to which I have never seen any reference, is the number of poems using the metre of his *Ode to Evening*. To be sure, this very unusual metre was employed by the three Wartons as well as by Milton<sup>2</sup> so that any of these poets and not Collins or any one of them with him or with each other may have suggested the use of this metre. Many of the poems, however, show other influences from the *Ode to Evening* so that it is probable that most of them derived their metre from this source. My list of poems which use the metre extends from 1759 to 1821 and includes twenty-five titles. Others I came upon before I thought of noting them down, so that the list could probably be considerably enlarged. Seven of the poems were

published before 1773; thirteen, by 1786; and nineteen, by 1800. It is significant that four of them are in the volumes of verse presented to the king by the University of Oxford in 1761-2, and that four more are connected with the sentimental Della Cruscan movement. Some of the verses are by poets of consequence in their day, Mrs. Barbauld; Mrs. Mary Robinson, the "Perdita" of whom Reynolds, Romney, and Gainsborough have left charming pictures; the gifted and still unappreciated John Clare; Henry Kirke White; and even Robert Southey.

RAYMOND D. HAVENS.

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#### PARLIAMENT OF FOWLS 693 F.

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—Dr. Samuel Moore, in "A Further Note on the Suitors in the Parliament of Fowls" (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvi, 8-12), offers the following explanation of the concluding stanza of the *Parliament*: "Chaucer here recommends himself to the King, and in a delicate and characteristic manner expresses his hope for some mark of royal favor." "This interpretation," he adds in a footnote, "so far as I have been able to find, has never before been brought into the discussion of the poem." But how does this interpretation differ from Root's in the *Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 140: "The delicate hint of these closing lines"? It is perfectly clear, as Mr. Moore says, that this concluding stanza looks back to the stanza in the proem, in which Chaucer tells us of his love of reading, "what for luste and what for lore." Further than this justification of the last stanza on the score of structure we cannot safely go. Taking the conclusion with the proem, however, I seem to hear an echo of famous lines in the first Canto of the *Inferno*:

Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore  
Che m'ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume!

The fact that ten Brink long ago associated these lines with *Parliament*, l. 109, tends to strengthen my view. The verses were familiar to Chaucer and he returns to the idea of *vagliami* at the end of his poem.

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<sup>1</sup> Worcester, U. S. A., 1795. Sonnets xxx, 10-11; xlv, 11-14. A footnote to the last quotation states that Collins is referred to. Cf. also notes to xxviii, 9; xxx, 10; and xxxiii, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Jan. 1910, pp. 30-1.

## BRIEF MENTION

The title of Robert Morris Pierce's *Dictionary of Hard Words* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1910) requires an explanation. This is not a dictionary of 'catch-words,'—words commonly considered hard to spell; nor is it exclusively a dictionary of words hard for the average man to define. Obviously the list is determined by other considerations, for it embraces "about nineteen thousand words," and is "limited in its scope" at that. From the compiler's strictly phonetic point of view, English words are almost all heterographic, and this fact converts any "present-day English dictionary" into a dictionary of hard words. It is, therefore, only a representative portion of the vocabulary that has been selected for special treatment. As may be learned from a page taken at random, the words range from the familiar *amiable* to the less familiar *anent* and *ampersand* and to the technical *ampere* and *amphiaster*. On the same page with *new*, *night* and *nineteen* are *nictitating* and *nilghau*. The words here brought together are believed to present "special difficulties or variations of pronunciation or spelling." The average reader, if he will submit to the experiment, will be surprised at this statement, for he will at once, as has been indicated, find a host of words that suggest to him no such difficulty. But the exact phonetician is at hand to show that simple words (even such as *better*, *baker*, *library*) are stored with subtle distinctions in sounds and in stress. If the three-fold pronunciation of such an alien as *buoyant* will not be unexpected, the same cannot be said confidently of the two-fold notation of *baptism*. The reading of the compiler's Introduction will indeed beget the conviction that this is a hard dictionary, altho its title may not have been well chosen. Nothing less than considerable training in phonetics, it will be perceived, will fit one to understand fully the chapter on Syllabification and Stress; so too with the paragraphs on Pronunciation, Phonetic Notation, and other subjects. The discussion of Simplified Spelling is easier reading and is, besides, enlivened by criticism of the "Board." The book, then, is designed to teach the nature of the sounds of speech and what the phonetician observes in the pronunciation, stress, sentence-position, etc., of words, and how accordingly he spells "scientifically." The publisher's announcement is somewhat startling, when he promises "answers to over 40,000 moot points in Orthography,

Orthoepy and Meaning," adding asyndetically "Universal Alphabet. Scientific Syllabification." Mr. Pierce is well disciplined in the science of phonetics and is an accurate observer of the phenomena of speech; but the compiler of International Dictionaries exposes himself to philological criticism within the separate spheres of the languages of his books. Only one point of such comment shall be noticed here. Mr. Pierce calls special attention to the "important innovation in lexicography," first introduced in his French-English Dictionary, which consists in marking the change of stress that accompanies the change from the attributive to the predicative use of such words as *abstract*, *concrete*, *fourteen*, *well-bred*. Several restrictions are here to be made. In the first place, strong as the tendency to observe it may be, this change is not inevitable. The stronger stress is not necessarily shifted to the last syllable in 'this example is concrete.' Moreover the principle involved, being purely rhythmic, applies also to such an expression as 'Right you are!' (cf. *are* in 'You are right!'). And the attributive stress is certainly the norm, and the lexicographer is, therefore, un-English when he gives the predicative stress the preference. In the second place, no adequate dealing with the stress or accent of words in English is possible without a complete reckoning with grammatical history. Nothing shows fundamental characteristics of the language better than the manner in which its Germanic accentuation of radical and derivative syllables (in simple and in compound words; in prose and in verse) was maintained under the test of adopting French and Latin words with their respective peculiarities of stress. That the predicative shifting of stress represents chiefly a rhythmic employment of elements that are explained by the history of the grammar is not considered by Mr. Pierce. Had he started with an exposition of the native doctrine of primary and secondary accents, adding the destiny in English of the variations brought in from foreign sources, his rhythmic forms would have become fully explained and made doubly instructive because of the relation between such peculiarities of sentence-stress and the permissibilities of the ictus in English verse. But Mr. Pierce has bestowed expert and painstaking labor on the making of this book, and very much can be learned from it. Almost every learner, however, may be believed to wish for a stylistic revision of the Introduction. It is possible in good faith to write with technical precision and to receive credit only for obscurity or something worse.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 4.

## THE RELATION OF THE CÆDMONIAN EXODUS TO THE LITURGY

Critical opinion as to the sources of the Cædmonian *Exodus* has been re-examined recently by Dr. Samuel Moore<sup>1</sup> with reference to the supposed evidence that the poet knew and made use of the *De transitu Maris Rubri* of Avitus. In an admirably lucid and thoro manner, Dr. Moore has not only set at naught the principal arguments in favor of this supposition, but he has also shown the futility of prepossessions in its favor. In his conclusion he has declared that the problem of the "immediate source" of the poem is "still unsolved."

By the titles of their editions, the first editors of MS. Junius XI fixed a definite implication upon the study of these so-called Cædmonian poems. But that was not a serious matter. That these pieces are not strictly 'paraphrases of Scripture' was evident enough even to the casual reader; and the more discerning reader was prompt to recognize original compositions in them,—that is original (tho not in a uniform degree) in the sense of being dependent on Scripture for the most part, but independent in the selection and grouping of this material, and artistic in an interweaving of tradition with sacred history and in observing the demands of a central theme. The work of a poet, not that of a mere versifier of Scripture, therefore, became the object of study in each case, and the determination of the poet's purpose, of his subjective qualities, of the peculiar elements of his art, and of his extra-biblical sources and models sprang into prominence in the scholar's concern.

The problem of the *Exodus* has proved to be especially attractive. The poem betrays the hand of a well-endowed and skilful craftsman. He is resourceful in diction, accurate in versification, masterful in condensation, and uniformly elevated in mood. He conforms admirably to the best conventions of his art, and encourages no expectation of feebleness in knowledge or in fitness of expression. These qualities of mind, attainments in knowledge, and maturity in art are inferred from a composition that has invited minute and sympathetic study. Indced it is the widely shared acknowledgment of the poet's high level of achievement that has sustained the assumption of an interpolation; for the poet stands clearly acquitted of such a marring of an artistic whole as has been and is still by many believed to be wrought by the transporting of an unrelated passage into the middle of the poem.

It shall now be shown that this poem is definitely related to the liturgy; that it is specifically ecclesiastic, having been composed in the church, so to speak, as an echo of the service of one of the most elaborate solemnities of the 'christian year.' More precisely, the poem will be found to be based on Scripture selected to be read on Holy Saturday, a very significantly observed day in the medieval church.

Any brief indication of the ecclesiastical importance of Holy Saturday must disappoint the liturgist, so rich in profoundest meaning and so impressive in external symbols was the long series of devotional observances on this great day, *Sabbatum Magnum*. For the purpose of the present argument, however, little more than an enumeration of certain features of the day's solemnities will suffice.

In the medieval church the ceremonies of Holy Saturday were almost exclusively de-

<sup>1</sup> "On the sources of the Old-English *Exodus*." *Modern Philology* ix, 83-108.

signed for the baptism of the catechumens. This rite was of supreme importance, and the day of its observance was distinguished by "the longest and most trying Service of the Latin Liturgy."<sup>2</sup>

The catechumens are to be solemnly impressed with the central meaning of the New Dispensation. All the lights in the church are extinguished to represent "the abrogation of the Old Law," and the new light is obtained from the flint to symbolize the "Light of the World" rising from "the rock-hewn sepulchre" (*Passiontide* p. 552). A triple-branched candle, type of the Trinity, receives the new light, and from it, at the proper time, is lighted the Paschal Candle, the most conspicuous and significant object of symbolism employed during the 'season.' This extraordinary symbol, which, to the time of the Reformation, attracted both pious and curious attention in the cathedrals of England, and which is still a feature of the Easter ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church, is briefly described by Guéranger (*op. cit.* p. 558): "It is of an unusual size. It stands alone and is of a pillar-like form. It is the symbol of Christ. Before being lighted, its scriptural type is the pillar of a cloud, which hid the Israelites when they went out from Egypt; under this form, it is the figure of our Lord, when lying lifeless in the tomb. When lighted, we must see in it both the pillar of fire, which guided the people of God, and the glory of our Jesus risen from the grave."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Prosper Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year: Passiontide and Holy Week*. Translated by Laurence Shepherd. London and Leamington, Art and Book Co., 3d ed. 1901, p. 550. This volume, which shall be designated *Passiontide*, and the next volume of the same work, *Paschal Time*, vol. 1, supply admirable comment on the liturgy of the 'season.'

<sup>3</sup> The history of the "Great Paschal or Easter Candle" in the Cathedrals of England, and ample comment on the ceremonies connected with it constitute a chapter in *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, by Henry John Feasey, London, Thomas Baker, 1897, pp. 179-234. Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints, Feasts, and other Annunciations of the Catholic Church* (New York, 1844), vol. vi, chap. viii, may also be consulted for some of the minor variations in the ceremonial uses of the Candle.

The new light, however, does not only typify Christ and the pillar of fire, but inasmuch as the day of Christ's resurrection fell upon the first day of the week, the first day of creation, the analogy is also given to the original creation of light. The meaning of Easter-tide, therefore, becomes transcendent. Much is reflected in the history of the calendar that is referable to the comprehensive interpretation of the 'season's' significance. This is the beginning of the reign of Christ, the second Adam. Man is regenerated, "born again" and admitted to the privileges of the new citizenship thru the rites of the Church. Men are saved from destruction by water (baptism) as Noah and his family were saved,—a residue of men, comparable to the disciples, that was to repeople the earth as the disciples were to christianize the world. Faith in God is to be affirmed to-day, for by faith men are saved, as were the Israelites when they passed through the Red Sea (a symbol of baptism), in fulfilment of God's promises to Abraham. This is indeed the Christian *Pasch*; and the events of that memorable night of the Passover, when the destroying angel saved the chosen people and the false gods of the world were cast down, are mystically re-enacted at the vigil of Easter.

From the foregoing indication, brief and incomplete, of the thoughts that were to be deepened in the mind and heart of the faithful and especially of the catechumens by the observances of Holy Saturday we pass at once to a consideration of the 'twelve prophecies,' the reading of which constituted so important a part of those observances, and is still enjoined by the Roman Catholic office of the day. These prophecies "have reference to the mysteries of to-day's service." After the reading is finished "a procession is formed to the Baptistery" (*Passiontide*, p. 550).<sup>4</sup> "The procession moves

<sup>4</sup> "Twelve prophecies from the Old Testament are read for the instruction of the Catechumens and Faithful; and as an introduction to their end and accomplishment in Christ's Resurrection." Alban Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 275. In a recent book, *Lent and Holy Week, Chapters on Catholic Observance and Ritual*, by Herbert Thurston, S. J. (New York, Long-

from the Church to the Baptistery in the following order. The Paschal Candle (which represents the pillar of fire that guided the Israelites, by night, to the Red Sea, in whose waters they found salvation) goes first, leading on the Catechumens" (*id.*, p. 602).

Before proceeding to observe the relation of the 'prophecies' to the *Exodus*, the well-known fact may be recalled that in the present-day ceremony of baptism, types of that rite, as of old, are taught to be the deluge and the crossing of the Red Sea.<sup>5</sup> It may also be stated in advance that the poet could not be expected to reproduce the specific dogma of the day's solemnities. Baptism is not a subject for poetry; but national faith and destiny constitute the supreme theme for epic treatment, and that is the theme of this christian epic poem, with its characteristically Germanic coloring.

The 'prophecies' shall now be considered in their order, with comment in each case to indicate briefly what use the poet has made of them.

Most of the selected Scripture of the office might be conjectured from the specific service and symbolism of the day. Thus, the first 'prophecy' (P. 1), which is the first chapter of Genesis, would be expected at the beginning of lessons for the inculcation of the doctrine of the 'Light of the World' and the regeneration of man. The poet must, of course, set aside the doctrine, and cannot admit into his well

mans, Green & Co., 1904), it is stated (p. 427) "That these prophecies had no essential connexion with the instruction of the catechumens, but were simply intended to open the minds and hearts of the whole assembly to the new creation typified in the Easter mystery, may fairly be inferred from the fact that this portion of the service is still retained even in churches which have no baptismal font." This is, of course, not sound reasoning. The historian must know how to deal with survivals. If, on the other hand, "this portion of the service" may be shown to be "a survival of the most primitive form of vigil," that does not constitute a presumption against a later adaptation to the chief ceremony of the day. See also L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, 4th ed. Paris, 1908, p. 315 f.

<sup>5</sup>The baptismal prayer in the *Book of Common Prayer*, may be compared with *Passiontide*, p. 605. The apostolic passage is *I Peter* III, 20, 21 (*Paschal Time* I, 296 f.).

constructed introduction (1-29) more of the theme of creation than may be incidentally combined with the name of Deity when Moses is called to his mission (22-29). One may therefore assume that the introduction of the thought of lines 25-27 into the history that was obtained from *Ex.* III and VI is due to P. 1.

As to this setting aside of the account of creation, nothing more shall be said in this connection than to express the conviction that the same poetic judgment that excluded the subject from the plan of the *Exodus* led also to such a treatment of it as is found in the poem *Genesis*.

P. 2 is exceptionally long; it consists of the three chapters (with a few slight omissions) in which the account of the deluge is given, *Gen.* VI, VII, VIII. The ark is a type of the church, and the flood typifies baptism. The poet's use of this first great deliverance from destruction by water is very brief and strictly episodic (see P. 3). In accord with the dominating thought of the poem, the emphasis is on the faith of Noah (*hålige trêowa*, 366) and the saving of his family and of a remnant of all life.

P. 3 is *Gen.* XXII, and furnishes the subject for the most important contributory episode in the poem. The poet measures the line of descent from Noah to Abraham, for the trial of Abraham led to the exaltation of the covenant begun with Noah (*Gen.* VI, 18) to its highest national significance. Abraham became the father of the nation (*him wæs æn fæder*, 353) and to him were made the promises that sustained the national mind. The faith of Abraham and the destiny of his seed govern the plan of the poem, and the poet has shown admirable constructive ingenuity in placing this passage so centrally in his composition. Admirable also is the historical completeness gained by the extension of the passage backward to embrace the story of Noah,—an extension that is not introduced abruptly by *nîwe flôdas* (362), but after the mind has been led to reflect on the origin of the *Israëla cyn*.

P. 4 and P. 9: *Ex.* XIV, 24—XV, 1 and XII, 1-12. These may be taken together, inasmuch as they consist of sections of the two chapters

that supply the centrally significant portion of the poet's material. 'After an introduction (cf. P. 1), the story of the poem is begun with the three important events of the night of the passover (Note <sup>6</sup> 33-42), which are recorded in the chapter of P. 9. In the case of P. 4 there is a noticeable extension into the following chapter. The added words (xv, 1), "Tunc cecinit Moyses et filii Israel carmen hoc Domino et dixerunt," served to introduce the Canticle of Moses and the response of the women, which was then sung immediately after the reading of this 'prophecy' (*Passiontide*, p. 580). The canticle was again sung during the procession from the baptistry to the church (*id.*, p. 616),<sup>7</sup> and, as is clearly implied, during the daily repetition of this procession, which was observed by the white-robed neophytes thruout the following week.<sup>8</sup>

P. 5, *Isaiah* LV, is appropriate enough with its invitation to the catechumens, "come ye to the waters," and its emphasis on the "covenant" God makes with his people (3-5). There is obviously not much here that the poet could use; yet there is something, and he has, apparently, made notable use of it. The promise to Abraham in P. 3 is reproduced in lines 432-446; but this passage is preceded by an unusual formula, meaning that 'heaven and earth cannot annul the words of the glorious God, for these are wider in their extension than the embrace of earth, ocean, and firmament' (cf. Note 427-431). Such passages as *Jeremiah* xxxi, 37, *Nehemiah* ix, 6, and *Habakkuk* iii, 6 may be considered in this connection; but no

biblical expression seems to be as close to the poet's cosmic thought as P. 5, 8-11. At all events, that this is the basis of the passage in question is a reasonable inference from the poet's unquestionable use of the 'prophecies.'

P. 6 is the eloquent exhortation of *Baruch* iii (9-32) to consider *Wisdom*. None of the poet's moralizing lines seem to be related to this 'prophecy.'

P. 7 was not available for the poem. It is *Ezekiel* xxxvii and is applied to the transcendent dogma of the season, that of the resurrection. Except in the most general manner, this prophet too is not to be reckoned among the *böcceras* of line 530.

P. 8 is *Isaiah* iv, the short chapter concerning the admision of the "seven women" to the company of the cleansed and protected daughters of Zion. The closing verses are pertinent to the argument in hand:

"5. Et creabit Dominus super omnem locum montis Sion, et ubi inuocatus est, nubem per diem, et fumum et splendorem ignis flammantis in nocte: super omnem enim gloriam protectio. 6. Et tabernaculum erit in umbraculum diei ab aestu, et in securitatem, et absconsionem a turbine et a pluuiâ."

The occurrence of this passage within the compass of the 'prophecies' must certainly close all controversy concerning the poet's indebtedness for the detail, *þær hālig God, wið færbryne folc gescylde* (71-72); altho this does not exclude the possibility of the poet's confirmatory knowledge of such Scripture as *Ps. civ* (cv) 39 and perhaps *Wisd. xix, 7*.<sup>9</sup>

P. 10 (*Jonah* iii) and P. 11 (*Deut. xxxi, 22-30*) may be dismissed with very few words. The first is appropriate to the day as a lesson on repentance; the second is to admonish the catechumens to be "faithful to their promise, and remember that God is the avenger of every infringement of so solemn a vow" (*Passiontide*, p. 594). There is apparently nothing in the

<sup>6</sup>A reference to Note directs the reader to *Mod. Lang. Notes* xvii, 13-19.

<sup>7</sup>Space is lacking for a collation of liturgic authorities; but the practice does not require further proof (cf. Dr. Samuel Moore, *loc. cit.*, p. 97). This is the specifically appropriate use of the canticle: "The sublime Canticle of Moses . . . forms part of Thursday's Lauds during the whole year. It is peculiarly appropriate now, when our Catechumens are about to receive holy baptism. The Font will be their Red Sea," etc. (*Passiontide*, p. 342).

<sup>8</sup>This must be the practice recorded in the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus* 3283-3290. [E. E. T. S. No. 7.]

<sup>9</sup>Dr. Samuel Moore has supplied the last reference (*loc. cit.*, p. 89) and increased the interest of this detail by his citations from the commentaries.

poem that may be said to be derived either from these two passages or from the last canticle of Moses (*Deut. xxxii*), from which a 'tract' is introduced after the reading of P. 11.

The last 'prophecy' remains to be mentioned, and it is of special importance. If the argument that the preceding 'prophecies' embrace what may be designated the direct source of the *Exodus* is sufficiently sustained by such an enumeration of them as has now been made, with an indication of the unifying purpose of their ritualistic use, the additional inquiry of how it has come to pass that the *Exodus* is followed in the MS. by the *Daniel* will also be conclusively answered by the observation that the twelfth 'prophecy' is *Dan. iii, 1-24* (Vulgate).

From the history of the three young men that were cast into the fiery furnace the catechumens are, in the last lesson before their baptism, to be instructed in the heroism of the martyrs, in the severities of the Christian warfare. This history could not, of course, be admitted into the definitely planned *Exodus*; but inasmuch as all the other circumstantial histories embraced in the 'prophecies' had been fittingly wrought into the poem, the complete omission of this especially significant history, kept before the popular mind by the liturgical use of both the prayer of Azarias and the 'Song of the three children,' would have occasioned legitimate surprise. At all events, the poet has escaped the charge of incompleteness in his treatment of the histories, the epic material, embraced in the 'prophecies' by the composition of a separate poem on this remaining subject.

Further consideration of the *Daniel* must be deferred to another occasion. The presumption that has now been established in favor of accepting the second composition as the work of the poet of the *Exodus* is, in my judgment, convertible into conviction; but the limits of the present communication enforce restriction to observations on the *Exodus*.

To return, then, to the *Exodus*, the selected Scripture upon which it is based and the liturgic purpose of the selection prove the poem to be a *carmen paschale*. As such its most famous predecessor is the poem by Caelius Sedulius.

The succession may be said to be in the line of kinship in the sense that both compositions represent the relation of poetic themes to the specific teachings of the church, when the significant events that marked off the periods of the solemnities at the altar rather than the sensuous joy in the seasons of nature inspired the poet. But there is a wide difference in attitude to theme between the poets, corresponding to the difference between a controversial and a settled faith. In the former state art is fettered by dogma; in the latter, dogma being established, art again becomes free. The two poems are, therefore, so unlike in character that by contrast each serves to give precision of definition to what is peculiar to the other. The earlier poet, in his revolt against the paganism of the classical writers, avows the purpose of celebrating in verse the Christian pasch, the supreme fact in the miraculous intervention of the power of the true Olympus in the affairs of men. But this purpose is not brought under the law of an artistic structure. The subject is handled more in the manner of a narrative poet with the super-added qualities of an intensely controversial homilist. A loosely articulated plan admits into the first book a mystically doctrinaire description of a series of Old Testament events that are held together merely by the common miracle of the arrest, by Deity, of the laws of nature. Inevitably important in this chronological sequence of events are the deluge, the trial of Abraham, the crossing of the Red Sea, and the triumph of the men in the fiery furnace; but there is, of course, no grouping according to liturgic convention. The plan of the poem is too wide for that. These 'indirections to find direction out' are employed to lead to the compelling wonder and significance of the culminating fact. And there is liberal compensation for a deferred purpose in the highly figurative, if too often overwrought, expression of a passionate zealot, whatever may be thought of the judgment of the poet's best friend at whose request a prose version of the poem was prepared. Granting the aim and method of the poet in the recital of historic events, one may still be accessible to surprise at the poet's

unrestrained mysticism, by which, for example, the crossing of the Red Sea is interpreted as a christian baptism. The entire passage may be cited to illustrate some of the characteristics of this once widely admired and influential poem.<sup>10</sup>

Peruia diuisi patuerunt caerula ponti  
In geminum reuoluta latus, nudataque tellus  
Cognatis spoliatur aquis, ac turba pedestris  
Intrat in absentis pelagi mare, perque profundum  
Sicca peregrinas stupuerunt marmora plantas.  
Mutauit natura enim, mediumque per aequor  
Ingrediens populus rude iam baptisma gerebat,  
Cui dux Christus erat, clamat nam lectio: multas  
Vox Domini super extat aquas; uox denique uerbum  
est.

Verbum Christus adest, geminae qui consona legis  
Testamenta regens ueterem patefecit abyssum,  
Vt doctrina sequens planis incederet aruis.

*Carmen Paschale* (ed. J. Huemer) I, 136-147.

It was, as Schönbach declares, in the school of such poets as Sedulius that the Christian poets of early Germanic times were trained. The figurative extravagance of the Latin lines just cited do not strangely affect a reader of the *Exodus*. Indeed it would not be a discrediting of inherent possibilities to believe such a passage, for example, as *Exodus* 466-475 to have been directly translated from Sedulius or one of his followers. But this digression has been for the purpose of securing by contrast a sharper outline of the epic features of the *Exodus*.

The poet of the *Exodus* rejects all ecclesiastic dogmatism, and from professionally selected

Scripture selects an historic unit of greatest import as the concrete manifestation of his theme, the national destiny of a people that relies steadfastly on Deity,—the reward of faith in the God of the nation. So far as there is departure from objective history into general moralization, this is infrequent and restrained, and does not, perhaps, transgress the formal limits of the *genre*. It is the sustained epic character of the *Exodus*,—it is hardly surpassed as an example of the eposodic type,—that is made distinct by comparison with the *Carmen Paschale* of Sedulius. A similar relation may be observed instructively between the *Heliand* and the non-epic composition of Otfrid. But there is in this case no such sharp contrast in the handling of a definitely restricted theme as in that of the two paschal poems.

From the foregoing observations and the notes published in the January number of this periodical, a coherence in the structure of the *Exodus* becomes manifest that cancels all warrant of any critical disintegration of the transmitted text. The introduction is accounted for as well as the so-called interpolation of ll. 362-446. But a word remains to be said concerning the poet's selection of the three events of the night of the passover for the beginning of his poem. What is now to be noticed is the liturgic sanction of this selection. Not only does the record of these events (*Ex.* XII, 12, 35, 36) occur in the chapter from which the ninth 'prophecy' was taken, but the symbolic interpretation of these events is the specific lesson of the vigil of Easter and pervades the instruction of the 'season.' Guéranger is explicit on this point in his chapter on "the office of vespers for Sundays and feasts during paschal time." He is commenting on the use of *Ps.* CXIII, which "speaks of the ancient Pasch (the exodus from Egypt) and the prodigies that accompanied and followed it; of the Red Sea, the figure of Baptism; . . . and of the abolition of idol-worship. Our christian Pasch and Pentecost are the fulfilment of all these figures" (*Paschal Time* I, 96). Farther on (*id.* p. 223) the two "prodigies" recorded

<sup>10</sup> See especially Adolf Ebert, *Gesch. d. Christl.-lat. Literatur*, Leipzig, 1874, I, 358 f.; M. Manitius, *Gesch. d. Christl.-lat. Poesie*, Stuttgart, 1891, 303 f.; and J. Huemer, *Sedulii Opera Omnia* [Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum], Vindobonae, 1885. Anton E. Schönbach's judgment is compactly stated in *Cosmopolis* I, 609 f.: "Das 'Carmen Paschale' des Sedulius, eines Zeitgenossen des Juvenius, ringt nach demselben Ziele [i. e. a 'harmonized' evangel: das einheitliche Leben Christi], vermag es aber in seiner gespreizten, schwülstigen Sprache noch weniger zu erreichen, trotz der beigegebenen Paraphrase in Prosa und trotz des Umstandes, dass gerade die geheimnisvolle Schwierigkeit des Ausdruckes das Werk den Schulmeistern des Mittelalters als erwünschten Lehrstoff empfahl."

in *Ex.* XII, 12 (the death of the first-born and the visitation upon the gods of Egypt)<sup>11</sup> are expounded as showing the Pasch to be "a day of judgment, a day of terrible justice upon the enemies of God; but, for that very reason, it is a day of deliverance for Israel." The despoiling of the Egyptians is not so obviously a symbol of spiritual truth. For the poet's purpose this detail, when exalted in significance (Note 32-42), is almost indispensable; and one must understand it to be correspondingly elevated as a symbol of spiritual import in one of Adam of Saint-Victor's sequences (*Paschal Time* I, 263): "Haec Aegyptum spoliauit | Et Hebreos liberauit | De fornace ferrea." Altho the subduing of Satan expressed in one of the paschal hymns (*id.* pp. 37, 99) may be referred to the descent into hell, which is apparently sometimes blended with the destruction of the idols, it is clear enough that the detail under consideration was also distinctly kept in mind during the 'season': "Yet a little while, and the altars of the false gods shall everywhere be destroyed," runs the comment of Guéranger (*id.* p. 225).

After considering the principal reflections of the liturgy in the *Exodus*, one is tempted to see an indication of the poet's absorption in the ritualistic significance of his theme in such a minor detail as the expression *deg was mære* (Note 47). Not to press the point too far, one must observe that the Scriptural emphasis on the importance of keeping 'this day' in perpetual remembrance is greatly intensified by ritualistic repetition. Thus, the 'Gradual' which is said only on the first six days (beginning with Easter Sunday) of the "paschal joy" (*Paschal Time* I, 56) consists of *Ps.* CXVII, 24, "Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus; exsulemus et laetemur" (*id.* 164, 211, 230, 250, 277, 298, 320); the 'versicle' is varied from day to day, and this may be kept in mind as a symbol of the group of transcendent

meanings assigned to the 'day.' There is also a paschal anthem (*id.* p. 152) and an important sequence (*id.* 263) that repeat this note, which is still maintained in the services and in musical compositions composed for the 'season.'

A consideration of the poet's use of Scripture not adjacent to the formal limits of the 'prophecies' and of historic and expository tradition is excluded from the present discussion. All that pertains to this side of the subject merely confirms the judgment passed on the efficiency of the poet as a constructive craftsman and does not invalidate a shred of the foregoing argument. Besides, assuming the argument to be valid, a presumption is established which, however apparent, remains to be tested in detail. It is the presumption, to add a final word, that Anglo-Saxon poetry as a whole stands in closer relation to the liturgy than has been assumed hitherto. One has only to call to mind such subjects and themes as the invention of the cross, the descent into hell, the final doom, the distribution of gifts among men, etc., and both poetry and liturgy alike are suggested. And in this connection it is impossible not to be impressed with the wider significance of such an investigation as that by which Professor Schönbach<sup>12</sup> has been led to conclude that Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* is based on the pericopes of the service-book. The comprehensive inference is that the ecclesiastical calendar, which was the educational and emotional director of all classes, stood in a relation to the literature of the early epic period that is comparable to the relation between liturgy and drama in the period following the emergence of the dramatic *Quem quaeritis*. In both periods doctrine and rite had control of the popular consciousness and were therefore available for artistic treatment.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

<sup>11</sup> I shall take this occasion to add that perhaps the most direct suggestion for the expression *þær Drihten cwöm* (Note 45-47) is to be seen in "descendi ut liberem eum de manibus Aegyptiorum" (*Ex.* III, 8).

<sup>12</sup> See *Zs. f. d. Altertum* XXXVIII, 209-217, and the articles that follow in *id.* XXXIX and XL; and *Cosmopolis* I, 611 f.

## ADJECTIVE OR ADVERB?

In volume 30, pp. 334-344 of Paul and Braune's "Beiträge," Professor Franck has raised the question as to the part of speech of the italicized words in the following sentences, whether they are adjectives or adverbs: "ich enmüeze also swache leben / daz ich in lieber wære tot" ("Der arme Heinrich," 754-5) "so that I might not be compelled to live such a miserable life that I would be more acceptable to you if I were dead." "Uns ist noch hiute *liep* vernomen, / ir inneclichiu triuwe, / ir *liep*, ir leit, ir wunne, ir not" ("Tristan und Isolde," 218-221) "Their great fidelity, their joy, their sorrow, their bliss, their distress are still today pleasing to us when we hear of them." "Diz schoene kindelin / daz wære *schedelich* verloren" ("Gregorius," 687-8) "The beautiful child would be a source of loss to the world if it were to perish." In this last example "*schedelich*" is a clear adjective form, but Professor Franck calls attention to the fact that MS. J has the adverbial form "*schedlichen*." Professor Franck thinks that such forms were originally adverbs, but admits that in M. H. G. speech-feeling here had become somewhat unsettled so that adjective forms began to appear. Professor Paul replies on pp. 569-70 of the same volume. He calls attention to the fact that in the long list of such sentences in Grimm's "Grammatik" IV, p. 151-2 only two have the adverbial form: "Daz ist *baz* verborn" "That would be more serviceable to us if left undone." "Es ist ein *schedel baz* verkorn dann ob sin wirt ie mere" "A little injury if not noticed would often be less harmful than if it were provoked to larger proportions." By the translations it can be seen that the writer does not believe that "*baz*" is here an adverb. It is an adverb used in adjective function just as the adverb "*zu*" in the following sentence: "Die Tür ist *zu*." The adverb "*baz*" was also in O. H. G. used as a predicate adjective: "Bi thiū ist nu *baz* zi wære thaz uuir gigrūazen, thaz iohanne ouh hiar leid kleib" (Otfrid, "Hartm." 97-8) "Therefore it is indeed better that I mention that trouble came also to John." "Thaz *baz* ist, man biuuerbe daz ein man sterbe" (ib.

III. 25, 25) "That it is better that we bring it about that one man die." In the light of such plain facts it is not possible to state with much assurance that "*baz*" was always an adverb in O. H. G. and M. H. G. This reduces the cases of absolutely sure adverbial forms to the one instance cited by Professor Franck from MS. J. Professor Wilmanns, however, who takes the question up in his "Deutsche Grammatik" III, p. 742, thinks that the feeling for the adjective form was even in M. H. G. faint and led to its use where in an exact sense the predicate adjective cannot be interpreted as referring to the subject: "Ist ime diu sele danne verlorn, / so wære er *besser* ungeboren" ("D. a. Heinrich," 605-6) "If he then loses his soul, he would be *better-off* if he were never born." We can no longer in this way refer a simple "*besser*" with this meaning to a personal subject, but it was the common and natural M. H. G. usage. The great grammarian has been a little hasty here in passing judgment. This construction was very firm in M. H. G. and, as adjective and adverb usually had a different form, there were no formal factors that could lead to a confounding of the two forms. In the one absolutely sure case of the use of an adverb in such expressions, as in MS. J. referred to above, there isn't the slightest indication that adverb and adjective have become confounded, for the adverbial form in *-en* has been intentionally chosen as an adverb and no German of that time could possibly have felt it as anything else than an adverb: "Diz schoene kindelin / daz wære *schedlichen* verlorn." The author of MS. J has preferred to change the form of statement a little. If one reads the sentence aloud, first with the adjective *schedelich* and then with the adverb *schedlichen* he can clearly feel the difference in the thought, or rather the form of the thought. In the former case: "The child would be a source of loss to the world if it should perish." In the latter case: "The child would perish in connection with a loss or entailing a loss upon the world." Later when adjective and adverb lost their distinctive endings these two distinct grammatical constructions had exactly the same form: "Das wære ebenso *gut* (or *besser*) unterblieben." How should we construe this construction today? Would it not be more

natural to construe the form "gut" or "besser" here as an adjective, as the adjective construction was in M. H. G. *much* more common than the adverbial one? Professor Wilmanns says in his "Grammatik" that he always feels the modern form as an *adverb*. Here Professor Wilmanns agrees with Professor Franck. Professor Paul has not expressed himself with regard to his own feeling of the construction where it is still found in current speech. Other Germans to whom this sentence has been submitted all agree in feeling "gut" or "besser" here as an *adverb*. One thing, however, seems perfectly sure to the writer, namely, that the fact that this form is now felt as an *adverb* is not the cause of the decay of this construction, but it has rather helped to preserve it in the few cases where it has survived. Wherever the old predicate adjective stood in syntactical relations so unclear as to the form that it could also be felt as an *adverb* modifying the following verb, the construction has been *well* preserved, altho the original syntactical structure is now misunderstood. Naturally there are not many such cases, for they are only accidental. On the other hand, the original construction is clearly felt where the old predicate adjective cannot be construed as an *adverb*. Examples are hard to find, for the construction is felt as unnatural in our time. They can occur only in a style far removed from colloquial speech where the life of an older period is dimly felt: "Das ist besser unterblieben" ("Das ist besser, wenn es unterbleibt"). This sentence may be felt as unnatural, but it has the sanction of many centuries of good usage resting upon it. Here it is impossible on account of the tense form employed to construe "besser" as an *adverb*. Here all to whom this sentence was submitted felt "besser" as an adjective. None of them could feel it as an adjective in "Das wäre besser unterblieben." The old conception "Das wäre besser, *unterblieben*, i. e. (*wenn es*) unterblieben (bliebe)" was quite foreign to them. The construction of "besser" as an *adverb* was made possible by the tense form of the verb and this modern interpretation has preserved the old form with changed meaning, while the old form with the old meaning seems strange to Germans of our time. This leads

us to say a few words about the origin of the old construction and the causes of its decay.

Professor Paul in his "Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik," Sec. 203, remarks: "Auch neben einem rein prädikativen Adjektiv kommt das praedikative Attribut vor: 'So wære er maneges bezzer tot' (so wære er als toter viel besser, d. h. so wære es viel besser, wenn er tot wære)." There is here an inconsistency between Professor Paul's statement and his illustration of it. In his statement he calls the adjective "tot" a "praedikatives Attribut," i. e., a predicate appositive, but by his illustration "wenn er tot wære" he shows clearly that it is not a predicate appositive at all, but an ordinary appositive. It is very common for an ordinary appositive adjective or participle to perform the function of an adverbial clause: "Die Schlange sticht nicht *ungereizt*" (*wenn sie nicht gereizt wird*). This simple explanation removes all the difficulties in the way of a clear understanding of this old construction. The adjective or participle that so often in M. H. G. accompanied a predicate adjective was an appositive to a preceding noun or pronoun. This noun or pronoun was not necessarily a subject, but it might be in some oblique case: "daz *mir* bezzer wære begraben" (quoted by Grimm, "Grammatik" IV, p. 152) "that it would be better for me if I were buried."

Let us return to the sentence quoted by Professor Wilmanns as proof that the predicate adjective sometimes in M. H. G. referred to a subject to which in a strict sense it could not refer: "so wære er bezzer ungeboren." As stated above this sentence is perfectly regular in every respect, but "bezzer" is not used in this sense any more. We must now employ in English "better-off" and in modern German "besser daran" to render the simple M. H. G. "bezzer." Of the state of health, however, we can still use the simple form: "He is better today." Only in a few set expressions do we find this old meaning: "Das wäre besser verschwiegen" "This matter would be more advantageous to us if it could be kept secret." Here we have the old construction and this old meaning, only applied to a thing. Why should this sentence be preserved, while "so wære er bezzer ungeboren" is not retained in

modern usage? With reference to persons we cannot use simple "besser" here any more. In "Das wäre besser verschwiegen" the construction has been preserved because "besser" is now construed as an adverb. Thus in fact the old construction has not been retained. In looking over the M. H. G. grammars and dictionaries we find a long list of sentences containing this old construction, very few of which could be rendered literally into modern German. The predicate adjectives "gut," "lieb," "besser," "lieber," etc., have changed their meaning. Now "lieb" is not so freely used with reference to things as to persons and often seems out of place with reference to a subject that represents a thing. Moreover, it now often has a different meaning even when it refers to persons. The common words "gut" and "besser" now have quite different meanings: "Es ist in sere guot gelesen" ("Tristan," 171), "It (*i. e.*, the book) will be helpful and stimulating to them if they read it." As can be seen by the translation of this sentence there is another important development in modern English and German which has been a large factor, perhaps, the chief factor, in breaking down this old construction. In the English translation the appositive "gelesen" is expanded into a clause. Modern German also employs a clause here: "wenn sie es lesen." Not only in this particular construction but in general the simple appositive is now very little used in plain prose. It is the characteristic of poetry and elevated discourse: "Selbst Tugend wird zum Laster, falsch geübt." *The very fact that the simple appositive was often ambiguous in that the participle used as an appositive was construed as the verb and the preceding word as an adverb must have often led to an instinctive avoidance of the simple participle and suggested its amplification to the form of a clause.* Modern prose in general tends to develop hypotaxis, where the different adverbial relations of time, place, manner, means, condition, etc. find an accurate formal expression in the language by means of a subordinate clause introduced by an appropriate conjunction. In spite of this tendency we sometimes, however, find in colloquial speech the terse appositive construction: "Die Gans wäre mir lieber gebraten." Grimm in his "Grammatik," iv, p. 152, is

quite positive that "Das ist leicht gesagt" also belongs here, but the writer cannot find anything in the older periods of the language to confirm this position. The form that precedes the participle here seems to be of a different nature than the cases given above. The evidence of English "That is *easily* said but not so *easily* done" and of many similar German expressions, as "Das ist bald gesagt" and "er ist leicht verletzt" "He is *easily* offended," seems to indicate plainly that we have here to do with an adverb and not an adjective.

There is another little group of words where there is a difference of opinion as to the part of speech, namely, "leicht" and "schwer" in connection with an infinitive. In the Grimm dictionary we find the words: "Ferner zahlreiche Fälle, in denen *leicht* adverbial steht: 'ouch half in sere, daz diu kint / so lihte ze gewenenne sint' ('Der arme Heinrich,' 333-4)" = "It was also in his favor that children are so *easy* to train." Benecke, in his glossary to "Iwein," gives the same explanation. The English translation of this passage indicates clearly that in English the form is a predicate adjective in connection with an active infinitive which completes its meaning. In Old High German where adjective and adverb have different forms the *adjective* form is here used: "zi zellenne ist iz suari" (Otfrid v, 19-7) "It is difficult to relate." "Uuante siu (*i. e.* scientia ueritatis) *liht* ist ze vernemene" (Williram, 71. 5) "for it is easy to understand." As there is no longer a difference of form here between adjective and adverb the predicate adjective has gradually come to be felt in German as an adverb: "Er ist *schwer* zu überzeugen," "He is *hard* to convince." An English-speaking person still naturally feels such forms as adjectives. He associates the *adverb* with *passive* form: "He is very *difficult* (adjective) to beat," but "He is to be beaten only *with great difficulty*" (adverbial phrase). A great English philologist has here combined the *adjective* with the *passive* form: "The steps are easy to be found by which the word has come to possess its present meaning" (Skeat's "Etym. Dict."). The writer would say here: "The steps are *easily* found or *to be found easily* by which," etc. In German the infinitive here has not de-

veloped passive form and hence there is no formal distinction between the use of the infinitive as a gerundive with passive force and with a modifying adverb on the one hand and its use with active force as the complement of a predicate adjective on the other hand. To judge by the treatment of these expressions in German grammars and dictionaries the infinitive here is now always felt as having passive force and the old predicate adjective is now felt as an adverb modifying the infinitive.

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### ENÉAS AND THOMAS' TRISTAN

Notwithstanding the attention which has been paid to the position of the poem of *Enéas* in medieval French literature, its relation to Thomas' story of *Tristan* has hardly been mentioned. Yet in various characteristics of style, and in some of the points of view, the fragments of *Tristan* are strikingly like certain passages and episodes in *Enéas*. Several years ago in a study of certain features of the narrative poetry of the time, I became persuaded that there might be a connection between these two poems, and that *Enéas* could count Thomas also among the authors it had influenced.<sup>1</sup> This conjecture has recently been strengthened by further evidence of a more definite kind.

We read in Bédier's restoration of Thomas' poem that the Breton knight, Rivalin, took advantage of an armistice with his enemy to visit Mark's court in Cornwall. There he displayed such manly virtues and bore himself so well that he won the love of Mark's sister, Blanche-flor. And her love was no ordinary passion. It occasioned quite peculiar symp-

toms. Blanche-flor's mind and body were as though set on fire. She wasted away. She trembled constantly. She was bathed at times in perspiration. Nevertheless this strange sickness, which was without remedy, gave her no physical pain. In the midst of health she felt ill, as from the effects of poison. Had the noonday heat poisoned her? Never would she have believed in a disease where heat made her shiver and cold made her sweat, and where heat and cold united to test her endurance.

But Blanche-flor was not to languish long. Through the mediation of her nurse she was brought near to Rivalin. Yet her happiness was fleeting, for an invasion soon summoned Rivalin home. He made ready his horses, boats, and armor. Great is Blanche-flor's distress at the tidings of his approaching departure, and greater her lamentation when he finally comes to take leave of her. She knows, she declares, that his going will be the signal for her death, and sobbing with despair she faints away in his arms.<sup>2</sup>

In its general outline and trend this episode recalls the story of Dido and Aeneas. The stranger who comes by sea, who unconsciously wins the love of the princess of the country, who accepts her love and who is finally forced to leave her in obedience to higher demands, her reproaches, despair and fainting. In either instance another woman, attendant or sister, is a confidant in the matter. The likeness, we repeat, is wholly general, bearing only on the main points. Yet Thomas was conscious of the resemblance. For when Rivalin rode out to the tournament where he attracted the attention of the women of the court, Thomas paused to meditate on that peculiarity of the sex which makes it value what it cannot attain and despise what it can, "as it happened in the case of Dido, who loved so that she burned herself alive, when her beloved, who had come from a foreign land, left her."<sup>3</sup>

Now is there any good reason for believing

<sup>1</sup> "Some Features of Style in Early French Narrative Poetry (1150-1170)," *Modern Philology*, October, 1905, April, 1906, April, 1907. See particularly the number for April, 1906 (pp. 536, 537), where Tristan's soliloquy on Isolt's loyalty is compared with Lavinia's monologue in *Enéas*. The versification of the two poems was also found to correspond (April, 1907, p. 667).

<sup>2</sup> J. Bédier, *Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas*, I, pp. 2-21. E. Kölbing, *Die nordische und die englische Version der Tristan-Sage*, I, c. I-XIII.

<sup>3</sup> Kölbing, *l. c.*, c. IV.

that this comparison suggested itself to Thomas through any other means than his memory of Virgil's own narrative? I think there is. An examination of Thomas' account of Blanchefflor's condition discloses some significant details which were not furnished him by the lines of the *Aeneid*. Among them are the description of the effects of love on Blanchefflor's body, the idea that these symptoms acted like the results of poison, and the assertion that the separation of the lovers meant death to the woman. The last-named notion may be entirely due to the situation, and may be independent of any model. It is difficult to suppose that the other two are. For it is not in the nature of things that unusual ideas should be broached at approximately the same time by different persons, independently of one another. On the contrary, when such ideas are put forward, we are obliged to believe that they originated with one person and were borrowed by the others. Now the physical condition which caused sweat in Blanchefflor, and her query whether this condition was due to poison, are unusual ideas. They both occur in *Enéas* under similar circumstances. Its author says, in regard to the second, that Dido drank mortal poison when she met the Trojan, and this was also sister Anna's opinion later on.<sup>4</sup>

More striking, however, is the resemblance between the two descriptions of the effect of love on Dido and on Blanchefflor. Because of the fragmentary state of *Tristan*, we can only conjecture what the phrases penned by Thomas really were, but for *Enéas* there is no mistake possible. Dido cannot sleep for love:

Torne et retourne sovent,  
Ele se pisme et s'estent,  
Sofle, sospire et baaille,  
Molt se demeine et travaille,  
Tremble, fremist et si tressalt.<sup>5</sup>

Again when Aeneas sails away,

<sup>4</sup> *Enéas*, ll. 1259, 2107, 2108. See Blanchefflor's words in Kölbing (*l. c.*, c. vi). The origin of the notion is to be found in Virgil (*Aeneid*, i, l. 688).

<sup>5</sup> *Enéas*, ll. 1229-33. Cf. Molt l'angoissot li feus d'amor, l. 1271.

Amors la fait sovent pasmer  
Et refreidier et tressuer.<sup>6</sup>

Expressions like these must have stood in *Tristan* also, for the Norse translator of Thomas, in telling of the violence done to Blanchefflor by love, enumerates practically all the symptoms with which the author of *Enéas* had characterized Dido's passion, particularly the attributes of trembling, shivering, and sweating. The other symptom dear to *Enéas*, the yawning, is absent from his list. There is pretty good evidence, however, that it was not absent from Thomas' couplets, for it comes forward, together with the other traits, in the lines of Chrétien's *Cligès*. In the first episode of *Cligès*, an episode which corresponds in idea to the first episode of *Tristan*, Soredamor sweats, yawns and sighs, as Dido had done in *Enéas*, and Blanchefflor had presumably done in *Tristan*.<sup>7</sup>

Other poets of the twelfth century had indeed used some of these terms in describing the physical manifestations of love. William of Poitou had sung of his trembling,<sup>8</sup> and Cercamon had started, burned and shivered.<sup>9</sup> Wace tells us how Uther Pendragon had lost all desire for sleep, food and drink.<sup>10</sup> But no one before Dido, of *Enéas*, or Blanchefflor, of *Tristan*, had perspired and yawned. We are therefore led to the assumption—pending the discovery of new evidence—that these unwonted manifestations of the tender passion owe their existence to the inventive brain of Thomas, or to *Enéas*. And when we add to them the notion of poison, of which Virgil offers only the barest suggestion, we cannot escape the alternative that one poet was copying from the other at this place. Now was it Thomas who copied, or the author of *Enéas*?

<sup>6</sup> *Enéas*, ll. 1959, 1960.

<sup>7</sup> *Cligès*, ll. 462 ss, 875 ss. It is hardly necessary to point out again the close connection between the general ideas, the plots, taken as a whole, and the style and sentiment of *Tristan* and *Cligès*.

<sup>8</sup> Per aquesta fri e tremble. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*, col. 31.

<sup>9</sup> Totz trassalh e brant e fremis. Appel, *Chrestomathie*, p. 53. Cf. l. 1233 of *Enéas*, above.

<sup>10</sup> *Brut*, ll. 8887-90.

The best answer, in a case where proof is so elusive, is perhaps given by the attitude of the two authors, when again confronted by the same conditions. *Tristan* was written to magnify the love of Tristan and Isolt, not the love of Rivalin and Blanche-flor. Yet when Thomas reaches this engrossing episode he does not reproduce his former scene of the physical distress of the lovers. On the contrary, he would ignore this material aspect of love's power, and show love as working only on the mind. Wholly different is the purpose of the author of *Enéas*. He accompanies his major plot, of the love of Aeneas and Lavinia, with repeated expositions of the way love manifests itself in the body. First Lavinia learns from her mother what the symptoms are, then she diagnoses her own case by them, and finally the tell-tale signs betray her plight to her mother.<sup>11</sup> Here is an iteration, which is so persistent that we can ascribe it to no other cause than the pride of an inventor in his invention, and the conclusion straightway follows that in this particular instance *Enéas* was the model for *Tristan*—as indeed the general likeness of the Blanche-flor episode to the story of Dido had already foreshadowed.<sup>12</sup>

This conclusion, that *Tristan* imitated *Enéas*,

<sup>11</sup> *Enéas*, ll. 7917 ss, 8072 ss, 8543 ss.

<sup>12</sup> It is possible that the author of *Enéas* started with the commonplace representation of love as a malady, an inward burning, and then added the symptoms of yawning and perspiring to some such description as Cercamon gave of himself (see also Virgil's picture of the infatuated Dido), under the temptation to compare the effects of love to the action of fever and ague. It is Lavinia's mother talking:

Pire est amors que fievre ague,  
N'est pas retors quant l'en en sue.  
D'amors estuet sovent suer  
Et refreidrir, fremir, trembler  
Et sospirer et baillier,  
Et perdre tot beivre et mangier  
Et degeter et tressaillir, etc. *Enéas*, ll. 7919 ss.

E. Faral, in an interesting article on Ovid's influence on *Enéas*, suggests that the idea of the physical torments of love originated with the Latin poet (*Romania*, XL, pp. 214-218). But we should not forget that in this particular episode *Enéas* dwells on even more displeasing features of animal passion.

might be supported by a review of the same idea in other poems of the time. Nearly all the romantic writers of the twelfth century were under obligations to the thought and style of *Enéas*.<sup>13</sup> Of these writers, only Marie de France and the author of *Partenopeus de Blois* escaped the influence of its descriptions of the physical side of love. Chrétien de Troyes, as we know, did not like them at all, and only yielded to them indirectly in the case of *Cligès*, because Thomas had set him the example. And in *Cligès* he follows Thomas' guidance throughout, refusing, like Thomas, to repeat the description in his main episode, of Cligès his romances, though he ingeniously divided and Fenice. But Gautier d'Arras was more pliant. He imitated this trait of *Enéas* in both the symptoms between them, and gallantly transferred to the hero the unpleasant characteristics which had been the special property of the heroine. Other admirers succeeded to Gautier, among them the authors of *Amadas et Idoine*, *Ipomedon*, *Guillaume de Palerne* and *Galeran de Bretagne*, not to mention Gerbert de Montreuil, in the *Violette*, and even later poets.

How could this odd invention of *Enéas* be of any aid in solving the relation of that poem to Benoît's *Troie*? The love affairs in *Troie* are described with more refinement than those in *Enéas*, yet their physical side plays an increasingly important part. Paris shows his passion for Helen by change of color only, but Achilles, in his infatuation for Polyxena, loses sleep, shivers, burns, groans, falls ill. More than half-way between them stands Troilus, enduring not only the torments which Achilles will suffer, but also one of the afflictions which Dido and Lavinia had made famous. He sweats.<sup>14</sup> Were he Briseis, and not Troilus, we might argue from this symptom the direct influence of *Enéas* on *Troie*. But since it is the man who is love's victim—as he had been in Wace and Gautier d'Arras—, the presence of this

<sup>13</sup> A. Dressler, *Der Einfluss des altfranzösischen Enecas-Romanes auf die altfranzösische Litteratur*. Göttingen dissertation, 1907.

<sup>14</sup> *Troie*, l. 15012.

characteristic feature in *Troie* would simply indicate the priority of *Enéas*, a priority which indeed a comparison of the versification of the two poems had already suggested.<sup>15</sup>

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### SOME PARALLELS TO PASSAGES IN THE FIRST PART OF JERONIMO

Whether *The First Part of Jeronimo* is spurious or not, whether it is Kyd's or another's, whether it was produced before 1592 or between 1600 and 1605, the fact remains, nevertheless, that there are in it some passages which bring to the reader's mind certain parts of other plays of the same general period.

The first of these is found in Act II, Sc. 2,<sup>1</sup> and the parallel passage is in *Cymbeline*, Act III, Sc. 5. In *Jeronimo* Lorenzo and Alcario enter. Andrea, who is Bellimperia's lover, has gone to Portugal as ambassador, so Alcario, who also loves Bellimperia, is urged by Lorenzo to dress himself in a suit of clothing of the style and color of Andrea's and present himself in it to Bellimperia, with the idea in mind of winning her love. He at once agrees to this proposal and the two go to get the clothing. Imogen's betrothed, Posthumus, is absent from her in *Cymbeline*. Cloten, who is in love with Imogen, finds that she is to meet Posthumus at Milford Haven, so he forms the plan of pursuing her, of killing Posthumus, and of making love to her then in a more or less violent manner. Accordingly he forces Pisanio, Posthumus's former servant, to procure him a suit of his late master's clothing in which he may carry out his plans.

In Act II, Sc. 4, of *Jeronimo* the plot of Lorenzo and Alcario comes to nearly the same end as that of Cloten. Lorenzo and Alcario, who is disguised as Andrea, enter. Soon Bellimperia enters to them and greets Alcario as Andrea. She does

not discover the fraud, and after a short dialogue, leaves him. A moment before the end of the conversation Lazarotto enters. He has been engaged by Lorenzo to assassinate Andrea, and so, seeing a man dressed like Andrea talking very confidentially with Bellimperia, he takes him to be the real Andrea. After her exit he stabs Alcario, who dies immediately. At this point "Andrea and Rogero and others" enter to the great horror of the murderer. Jeronimo and Horatio come in a little later and, until they discover the real Andrea, think the corpse in familiar-appearing garments is his. Soon, however, they are undeceived, as is Bellimperia who has heard the cries of murder and who enters in consternation.

Sc. 2, Act IV, of *Cymbeline* corresponds in part to that just outlined. Imogen has taken refuge with Belarius and his two foster sons, Arviragus and Guiderius. Cloten, dressed as Posthumus, appears after Imogen has retired from the stage. He and Guiderius quarrel, and the first is killed, but off the stage. To prevent identification of the body the head is severed and thrown into the sea. At this point, Imogen, who is disguised as a boy, is discovered apparently dead, the result of having taken a sleeping draught which she thought to be poison. She and Cloten's body are laid before the cave home of the three foresters. Belarius and the young man go to find flowers to strew over the corpses. In their absence Imogen regains consciousness and recognizes the clothing on the headless trunk by her as that of Posthumus. She concludes that the body is Posthumus's and bewails his death. After a long lamentation she falls speechless on the corpse. The Roman general, Lucius, then enters and Imogen is taken away by him.

Briefly the points of resemblance which I have endeavored to bring out are these: the disguising of two unfavored suitors in the clothing of the favored ones during the absence of the latter; the death of the same; and the mistaking of each corpse for that of the favored suitor in each play. Besides these there are certain minor points of resemblance which are unimportant except as merely corroborative of the major indications of a possibly more than accidental resemblance.

In addition to the points mentioned above I

<sup>15</sup> *Modern Philology*, April, 1907, pp. 667-675.

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Thomas Kyd*. Edited by Frederick S. Boas, Oxford, 1901.

desire to cite the following as showing a possible relationship between *Jeronimo* and other plays of approximately its own time. While Alcario is dressing himself for his attempt at counterfeiting Andrea, Jeronimo and Horatio prepare a letter (*Jeronimo*, Act II, Sc. 3) warning Andrea of Lorenzo's hatred of him and of his murderous intentions toward him. In spite of the rank of the writers and of the subject matter of the letter it is conceived in a spirit of the broadest humor. Notwithstanding the unlikeness in general tone of the two scenes, that just mentioned bears a resemblance to Sc. 2, Act III of *Julius Caesar*—but one of language only. In the letter Jeronimo, while telling Andrea of Lorenzo's plot against him, expatiates upon Lorenzo's honesty and declares that when he says "a nobleman" may be "a knave as well as an ostler," he does not speak of him. It is hardly necessary to call attention to Antony's use of the expression

" . . Brutus is an honorable man "

in regard to Brutus' judgment and actions. The following lines which Antony speaks—

"I speak not here to disprove what Brutus spoke  
But here am I to speak what I do know"—

are in substance almost exactly the same as those which Jeronimo uses in speaking of Lorenzo.

The last parallel which I wish to point out is that between Sc. 5, Act II, of *Jeronimo* and Sc. 1, Act IV, of Marston's *Second Part of Antonio and Mellida*. Lazarotto, the assassin of Alcario is much like Strotzo, Piero's tool in the latter play. His death is managed in very much the same way as is Strotzo's. In *Jeronimo* (Sc. 5, Act II), the King of Spain is presiding at the trial of Lazarotto for the murder of Alcario. The prisoner has bargained with Lorenzo, his employer, that he would be pardoned for his crime. After telling a trumped-up story of his having been hired by Alcario to kill Andrea and of his having mistaken his man—as was indeed the case—he is condemned to death by the King. He whispers Lorenzo to press for his pardon. Lorenzo pretends to do so, but in reality urges the King to make way with the criminal immediately. Thereupon the King refuses to hear Lazarotto who

wishes to implicate his employer. He is gagged and hurried off to execution. Marston's villain uses a similar device for disposing of Strotzo, his aid. Piero, Duke of Venice, is presiding at the trial of Mellida, his daughter, on a charge of adultery. Strotzo, by prearrangement with Piero, enters with a halter about his neck and accuses himself of having defamed Mellida and of having slain Antonio's father at the instance of Antonio. In reality the murder last mentioned was done by Piero. Upon hearing this confession, Piero simulates great indignation and seizes the end of the cord which is about Strotzo's neck. Castilio, a courtier, grasps the other end; and the two of them strangle the unlucky instrument of Piero's crimes, thus putting out of the way an inconvenient confidant in much the same way as Lorenzo does. Strotzo attempts to speak, but his master is too quick for him, and his secret is not disclosed.

Since the date and the authorship of *The First Part of Jeronimo* are in doubt, it is, of course, not possible to consider it as either a source or a debtor in regard to the parallelisms above mentioned, except in the case of *Cymbeline*, which, it is almost certain, was written after 1605—the date of the publication of *Jeronimo*. The likeness to passages in *Julius Caesar* and in *Antonio and Mellida* may have been the result of the acquaintance of the authors of those plays with *Jeronimo* or else they may have furnished inspiration for the latter drama. It is a difficult matter to determine since the plays may have appeared about the same time—very near the year 1600. In view of this uncertainty then, I am unwilling to offer any explanation of the parallelisms which I have mentioned above. My purpose has been merely to point out these resemblances with the hope that they may be of some interest, and possibly of value, to some investigator.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE *NED*.

It is hardly necessary to sing the praises of the *New English Dictionary*. The work done by Murray, Bradley, Craigie, and their collaborators is not likely to be superseded, in the present generation at least. The work is not only a dictionary of modern English but in fullness of information far surpasses the special dictionaries for the Middle English period. The almost inexhaustible amount of material, however, renders it impossible to make such a work absolutely definitive. An exhaustive collection of the lexicographical material in individual texts brings to light here and there a neglected word or use of a word.

In preparing a glossary recently for the Middle English *Dame Siriz*, *Vox and Wolf*, and *Sir Cleges*, my indebtedness to the *NED*. has been incalculable. When I have found a use of a word not cited in it, I have felt it to be a veritable discovery. The few discoveries of this kind that I have made, I offer here in two short lists; the first containing words not found by me in the *Dictionary*, the second containing citations earlier than those recorded in it.

A. Words not found in *NED*. :

*buske*, in the sense 'beat.' No man he wold buske ne bete. *Sir Cleges*, Oxf. text, 20.

*castell-gate*, 'castle gate.' *Sir Cl.* (Oxf. text), 254.

*gode sir*, a polite form of address. The only word cited is *goodsire*, 'grandfather.'

*heie-renning*, 'running at the eyes.'—*D. S.* 283.

*houssong*, -e, 'matins' (?) *V. & W.*, 265, 270, 274.

*how-pat-euer*, adv., 'however.' *Sir Cl.* (Oxf. text), 420.

*leuelif*, 'sweetheart.' *D. S.*, 30.

*loue-uere*, 'physical expression of love.' *D. S.*, 374.

*nones-kunnes*, 'no kind of.' *V. & W.*, 294. Cf. however, *Kind*, sb. 14 and *Kin*', 6b.

*notys*, pl., 'musical instruments of some kind.' *Sir Cl.*, 101. Possibly a textual error. The *Edinb.* text has *luttys*.

*of-slyfe*, 'break off.' *Sir Cl.*, 214. Not cited under *off*—.

*serteyn*, *Sir Cl.*, 162. Possibly a textual error.

B. Citations earlier than those in *NED*. :

*all-wey*, 'in any event.' *Sir Cl.*, 227. *NED.* cites Caxton's *Eneydos*, 1490.

*almus-folke*, 'charitable people.' *Sir Cl.*, 31. *NED.* cites *alms-folk* from *Hollinsh. Chron.*, 1587.

*amidward*, 'in the middle of.' *V. & W.*, 274. *NED.* cites the word from *Pallad. on Husb.* 1420, in the sense 'toward the middle.'

*bless þe*, excl. 'God bless you!', *D. S.*, 201. *NED.* under the verb 'bless,' meaning *iv*, cites "Exclamatory, elliptical and ironical uses" from 1588 on.

*ofte-tyme*, 'often.' *Sir Cl.*, 488. The earliest citation is about contemporary, 1414.

*ryalty*, 'munificence,' 'generosity.' *Sir Cl.*, 73. The earliest citation of 'royalty' in this sense is from 1548.

I can say with Chaucer,

"And I come after, glening here and there,  
And am ful glad if I may finde an ere  
Of any goodly word that ye han left."

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## THE LEGENDARY DANTE

*La Leggenda di Dante. Motti, Facezie e Tradizioni dei Secoli XIV-XIX. Con introduzione di G. PAPINI.* Lanciano: R. Carabba, editore, 1911. 16mo., pp. 128. Frontispiece, "Ritratto di Dante attribuito a Raffaello, esistente in Monaco."

In 1873 the distinguished bibliophile, Giovanni Papanti, published at Leghorn his collection of Dante anecdotes under the title: *Dante, secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*. The book has long been out of print and it was a happy thought on the part of Papini to prepare for his very attractive collection, "Scrittori Nostri," a similar volume. Papanti covered the ground so thoroughly that he left his successors little to do, and we regret that Papini has done that little not very well. He has been able to use improved editions issued since Papanti's day, notably Solerti's lives of

Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio (Milan, 1904), various reviews of Papanti's book, as well as Mr. Koeh's admirable catalogue of the Fiske Dante Collection at Cornell University and Mr. Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary*.

The most important differences between Papini and Papanti are as follows. Papini omits a number of articles in Papanti relating to the fame and praise of the poet, but not anecdotes properly speaking. There are fourteen such in Papanti: pp. 1, 3, 26, 34, 58, 82, 85, 118, 134, 175, 179, 185, 187, and 200. Most inconsistently Papini prints at the very end of his volume, p. 120, "Dante in Parnaso," an extract from Boccacini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, which Papini himself says has nothing to do with the legend of Dante, and adds: "Ma ho pensato di metterlo come curiosità ed anche perchè non esce del tutto dal quadro del volume." With this reasoning he might as well have included all the Papanti articles which he has omitted. He also prints p. 105, a long article "Dante Mago," although as he says in the very first words: "Su Dante mago non vi sono leggende propriamente dette."

As to new material Papini claims to have added forty new legends or versions not found in Papanti. If this new material is carefully examined it will be found that most of it consists in new versions of stories already in Papanti. Of absolutely new material, that is, of material not found in Papanti in any form, there are only eight stories, one of which is the irrelevant extract from Boccacini mentioned above. Four of the remaining seven are from Giovan Mario Filelfo's life of Dante (Solerti, p. 175): (a) Papini, p. 37, "Roganti Gerio Belli filio, quis esset in civitate sapientior, eum esse respondit quem stulti magis odissent"; (b) Papini, p. 38, some one complained that Florence was badly governed because provisions were high. Dante answered "Fortasse et apud Corinthum vilis est frumentum," meaning that Florence was so large and rich that things could not be so cheap there as in country places where there was little money; (c) Papini, p. 38, Dante's reply to "Ianoto Pacio," who had insulted him, "Responderem tibi nisi essem ira-

tus"; (d) Papini, p. 98, "Dante consiglier d'amore," Aldrovandinus Donatus asks Dante's advice in regard to obtaining the favour of his mistress, for whose sake he had devoted himself to poetry and learning. Dante replies by asking him why the nightingale sings only part of the year. Aldrovandinus cannot tell, and Dante explains that as long as the nightingale is wooing it sings, when it is mated it is silent. The three remaining anecdotes are as follows. Papini, p. 36,—Don Luis Milan, *El Cortesano*, Madrid, 1874, p. 139,—Dante was highly esteemed by the Florentines but despised them and hid from them. A wise man said the only way to find him was to begin some remark and leave it unfinished and Dante would certainly complete it. The remark he advised them to make was "Who knows the good?" So the Florentines went about saying this and Dante who was among them disguised answered "He who has experienced evil." This recalls the story of the egg with salt, Papanti, p. 183; Papini, p. 52. The second anecdote is the curious story told by the Englishman, Edward Wright, in *Some Observations made in travelling through France, Italy, &c. in the Years MDCCXX, MDCCXXI, and MDCCXXII* (see Toynbee, vol. I, p. 216), of Dante's kleptomania. The third and last story is from Taddeo del Branca, *Liber penitentiae* (published by C. Cipolla, *Taddeo del Branca e una tradizione leggendaria sull'Alighieri*, Torino, 1887). Dante is here represented as a famous preacher enjoying the popularity of the crowd. One day as he is about to ascend the pulpit an old woman falls down before him and pours out her praises. Dante replies that he has acquired his ability by study and abstinence. He then mounts the pulpit but is unable to speak; at last he says that virtue is gone from him and that he is not worthy of the gifts of God. He descends and "sic miser ille fuit semper ignarus in omni."

Papini gives, p. 39, as new material, the story of Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli, which Papanti, p. 197, gives in an Italian résumé. I shall return to this story later. On p. 117, Papini marks with an asterisk as new material the Letter of Frate Ilario, which, however, is printed by Papanti, p. 202, from Fraticelli's

Life of Dante. Papini uses a better text (that in Rajna's *Dante e la Lunigiana*), but the difference is after all very slight.

It will be seen that the absolutely new material is small and unimportant. The new versions are not of great interest. From Toynbee, Papini, p. 24, has taken John Williams's *Letter to the Duke of Buckingham* ("Who will go if I stay?"); p. 32, Sir John Harington's *Epigram* ("Elephant"); p. 57, John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* ("Why Dante is esteemed less than a buffoon"); p. 68, T. Carlyle, *Lectures on Heroes* (same topic); p. 68, Jeremy Collier (same topic); and p. 77, Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, "Dantes, that famous Italian Poet, by reason his clothes were mean could not be admitted to sit down at a feast." This is hardly an anecdote. A number of other versions, which I have not space to mention, might have been taken from the same source. It is strange that both Papanti and Papini have overlooked Dante Gabriel Rossetti's fine poem "Dante at Verona," which contains versions of three anecdotes: "Dante torna dall'Inferno," "Why Dante is esteemed less than a buffoon," and "Bones." Some of the other new versions are: four stories by Marcantonio Nicoletti ("Elephant," "Dante pronto risponditore," "Dante e la meretrice," and "Dante e il bugiardo"), all in Solerti; "Dante torna dall'Inferno," versions by Benvenuto da Imola, Giannozzo Manetti, Landino and Filelfo, all in Solerti; two anecdotes by Secco Polentone and Gabriello Simeone ("Why Dante is esteemed less than a buffoon") published by Graf in the *Giornale storico*, vol. VI, 475-6; etc.

A certain number of the anecdotes relating to Dante belong to the jest literature of the world and Papini's parallels could easily be increased. I shall mention only a few recent additions to the literature of the subject. The story of Dante pouring the food over the rich garments is found in Nasreddin (naturally not told of Dante), the recent edition by A. Wesselski, *Der Hodscha Nasreddin. Türkische, arabische, berberische, maltesische, sizilianische, kalabrische, kroatische, serbische und griechische Märlein und Schwänke*. Weimar, Duncker, 1911, gives, vol. I, p. 222 (to No. 55) a

considerable number of additional references. Three anecdotes: "Dante e la ragazza," "Dante e Cecco d'Ascoli" (the Cat and the Candlestick), and "Dante chiede a chi dimanda" are found in the jokes of Piovano Arlotto, recently edited by the same Wesselski, *Die Schwänke und Schnurren des Pfarrers Arlotto*, Berlin, Duncker, 1910. The stories in question are found respectively in vol. II, p. 215 (to No. LXXI), I, p. 213 (to No. LIV), and II, p. 238 (to No. CXXXI). The second story mentioned above, the Cat and the Candlestick, has just been made the subject of a remarkable study by E. Cosquin, "Le conte du chat et de la chandelle dans l'Europe du moyen âge et en Orient," *Romania*, t. XL (1911), 371-430, part first. While I am on this subject I may remark that Papanti's book is still superior to Papini's as it prints a large number of parallels from scarce works, which are only referred to in Papini.

I regret that I must dwell on the inexcusable and inexplicable carelessness with which Papini has edited his texts. Ordinary mistakes in proof reading may be pardoned, although there are too many of these; but there are worse errors. Papini had the advantage of consulting the reviews of his predecessor's book. In one of these Köhler (*Kleinere Schriften*, II, 630) pointed out Papanti's frequent mistakes, particularly in the Latin texts. Papini, strange to say, has reprinted some of these and repeated all of Papanti's errors, although in one case at least the point of the story is spoiled: *e. g.*, p. 58, l. 19, "et ipse similiter te dictabit," it should of course be "me dictabit." In the same short story occur these misprints: *ali-quandiu* for *aliquamdiu*, *canis* for *Canis*, *preter quam* for *praeterquam*, *inetiae* for *ineptiae*, *equum* for *aequum*, *conteneret* for *contemneret*, *haberi* for *habearis*, *presto* for *praesto*, and *Domini* for *domini*. Papini simply copied Papanti, who used a MS., which explains some of the above forms, but Papini should have given a readable text.

A still more remarkable instance of carelessness occurs in the two anecdotes, pp. 36 and 65, from Don Luis Milan's *El Cortesano*. The first extract is credited to the *Jahrbuch für*

*romanische und englische Sprache und Literatur*, vol. XIV, p. 453; the second extract is credited to the edition of the *Cortésano* in *Co-lección de libros españoles raros ó curiosos*, vol. VII, Madrid, 1874. Now instead of correcting his texts by the Madrid edition in both cases, Papini actually reprints the version in the *Jahrbuch* with its incredible blunders (*e. g.*, *inhadado testo* for *enhadado desto*, *vyese* for *oyese*, etc.), and has added some of his own, such as the omission of *no* before *le podian hallar*, which of course spoils the point of the story. In almost every case in this extract the accents are wrong. In the extract credited to the Madrid edition there are only five misprints, none of them very bad, *e. g.*, *may* for *muy*, *senor* for *señor*, *è* for *e*, etc.

Even where Papini has a good text before him he is apparently unable to reproduce it correctly: in an extract from Filelfo (Solerti, p. 175, Papini, p. 38), *nec vellet peccare* becomes *nes vel et peccare*; wrong divisions are constant, *e. g.*, p. 55, *adalte-ram*, p. 81, *curante* for *cur ante*, p. 95, *sudort antus*, etc. How could Papini overlook such a misprint as *qui-buadam*, p. 91, or constantly quote Petrarch's work under the impossible form *De rerum memorandarum*? Mistakes in proper names are not common, but I have noted, p. 78, Godwin for Gladwin (the correct form occurs on p. 84, so there are two entries in the index), Ginfà for Giufà, p. 104, Geffchen for Geffcken. I have no space left to mention the errors in the English extracts, but I must not overlook *loud* for *lond* in Gower, p. 58.

Finally, there is something to criticize even in the frontispiece. The statement is "Ritratto di Dante attribuito a Raffaello esistente in Monaco." I cannot find that this portrait (first reproduced in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Dante-Gesellschaft*, vol. II, 1869) has ever been attributed to others than Masaccio and Ghirlandajo, see R. T. Holbrook's *Portraits of Dante from Giotto to Raffael*, p. 8, the portrait faces p. 10.

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*Deutsche Schrifttafeln* des IX. bis XVI. Jahrhunderts aus Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München. Herausgegeben von ERICH PETZET und OTTO GLAUNING. I. Abteilung. Althochdeutsche Schrift-denkmäler des IX. bis XI. Jahrhunderts. München: Druck u. Verlag von Carl Kuhn, 1910. Fol.

This is the first number of a collection of collotype facsimiles from German manuscripts, intended to illustrate the development of writing in Germany from the earliest period to the time when printed books took the place of written codices. The whole series is to consist of five numbers, published at the price of M. 7.— (or in cloth binding M. 8.—) for each number. The specimens have been selected in every instance from manuscripts of the Royal Library in Munich.

The scope of the first number is not—as one might suppose from the title—strictly confined to Old High German, since it includes a specimen of the cod. Monacensis of the Heliand (pl. VII). Among the Old High German texts represented in this number the best known probably are: the Wessobrunn Prayer (pl. I, the entire poem), the Muspilli (pl. VI), Otfrid (pl. VIII, last page of the Freisingen MS.), and Williram's Paraphrase of the Song of Solomon (pl. XV, first page of the Ebersburg MS.). In addition to these, facsimiles are given of the 'Exhortatio ad plebem christianam' (pl. II), the Freisingen Paternoster (pl. III, two different versions), the Franconian Prayer (pl. IV), the 'Carmen ad Deum' (pl. V), the Song in praise of St. Peter (pl. IX), the Augsburg Prayer (pl. X), two specimens of OHG. Glossaries (pl. XI and XII), Otloh's Prayer (pl. XIII), and the Munich fragment of Notker's Psalms (pl. XIV).

Several of these facsimiles, to be sure, are accessible in other works (*e. g.* plates I, II, III<sup>b</sup>, IV, VI, VIII, IX, in M. Enneccerus, *Die ältesten deutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, Frankfurt a. M., 1897; pl. XV in W. Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, etc.). The

present publication, however, has distinctive features of its own, apt to lend to it special value as an introduction to the study of German paleography. Not only is every plate accompanied by a literal translation of the text, but also by a brief paleographical commentary in which both the general form of the writing and the special peculiarities of each specimen are carefully characterized. The technical execution of the plates is excellent, the price moderate. The work as a whole fully answers the purpose for which it was undertaken, *i. e.*, to serve as a practical aid, accessible not only to larger libraries but to every student of Germanic philology.

A word must be added in regard to the transcriptions. These are on the whole quite accurate, in fact more so than the texts given in OHG. Readers and in philological works generally. In one respect, however, *viz.*, so far as the separation of words is concerned, no attempt has been made to render the originals faithfully. Here, instead of retaining the individual method of each scribe, the modern system of word separation has been adopted throughout. If this had been done for merely practical purposes, it might be regarded as entirely proper, the more so as it is in keeping with the usual practice of modern philologists. Obviously, however, the editors have failed to recognize that the system followed in many of the early texts differs in principle from the one to which we are accustomed. Otherwise they would not have made statements like the following: "Die Worttrennung ist in B weniger gelungen als in A" (expl. to pl. III., Freisingen Paternoster); "Worttrennung wird angestrebt" (pl. VIII, Otfrid); "Die Worttrennung ist noch unvollkommen" (pl. x, Augsburger Gebet). This sounds as if the scribes had intended to write, in accordance with our modern practice, each word separately, yet had not quite succeeded in carrying out their aim. The fact, however, is that the scribes endeavored not to separate words held together by one and the same stress accent.

This is most clearly seen in cases where an unaccented preposition is combined with the

following noun or adjective or pronoun. *E. g.*, in the passage from Otfrid (pl. VIII) *mit selbon chriftes seganon* (l. 2), *ingihugti* (l. 3), *mituuortun* (l. 4), *zitruhtine* (ib.), *indemo friste* (l. 5), *ziuualtentemo kriste* (ib.), *ziuualtenteru henti* (l. 6), *inerdu ioh inhimile* (ll. 9 and 17), *mitengilon* (ll. 10 and 18), etc. The same principle is followed—though less systematically—by the scribe of the Heliand (pl. VII), *e. g.*, *anthat gibirgi* (l. 2), *anflood* (l. 11), *antheme see* (l. 18), *anthe ne fload* (l. 29), *anforhtun* (l. 21).

A lack of ability, on part of the scribes, to recognize the preposition as an individual word, follows from instances of this kind as little as it does for Modern German from the recent official (or semi-official) spellings like *imstande sein*, *zustande bringen*, *zugrunde gehen*, *vonnöten sein*, etc. The difference between the modern usage and that of the Old German scribes rests on the fact that at present the combination of the preposition with the following noun is restricted to instances in which the noun is used adverbially, while in the Old High German period the similar spelling was based not on syntactical but merely on phonetic reasons.

That indeed in instances like those quoted above the accent is the decisive factor, is confirmed by the fact that words consisting of two elements each of which has a separate accent, are spelled as two separate words. *E. g.*, the compounds given in Petzet's and Glauning's transcriptions as *liuduueroð* (Heliand, l. 2), *seolidandean* (ib., l. 10), *lagulidandea* (l. 16), *modsebo* (l. 21), in *abgrunte* (Otfrid, l. 9) appear in the MSS. as *liud uueroð*, *seo lidandean*, *lagu lidandea*, *mod sebo*, *inab grunte*.

It is clear then that in order to do justice to the scribes we must not judge their method by our modern standard, but must attempt to ascertain their own principles and to trace the development of the various methods used in different localities and at different periods.

With few exceptions (*e. g.*, G. A. Hench in his edition of the *Monsee Fragments*, Strassburg, 1891), the editors of OHG. texts have not considered it worth while to pay any attention

in their texts or their critical apparatus to the practice of word separation in the original texts. It is therefore only by the aid of manuscripts or of facsimiles that this subject—and similar ones—can be studied, and it is much to be desired that the example given by G. A. Hench in his facsimile edition of the OHG. Isidor should be more frequently followed.

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### MODERN FRENCH POETS

A. VAN BEVER et P. LÉAUTAUD : *Poètes d'aujourd'hui*. Morceaux choisis accompagnés de notices biographiques et d'un essai de bibliographie. 20<sup>e</sup> édition. 2 vols. Paris : Mercure de France, 1910. 358 and 373 pp.

A. VAN BEVER : *Les poètes du terroir du xv<sup>e</sup> au xx<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Textes choisis, etc. Tome II : *Dauphiné, Flandre, Franche-Comté, Gascogne et Guyenne, Ile-de-France, Limousin*. Tome III : *Languedoc et Comté de Foix, Lorraine, Lyonnais, Nivernais, Normandie*. Paris : Delagrave, n. d. 346 and 350 pp.

F.-A. CAZALS et G. LE ROUGE : *Les derniers jours de Verlaine*, avec une préface de Maurice Barrès. Paris : Mercure de France, 1911. x, 270 pp.

E. DE ROUGEMONT : *Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, biographie et bibliographie*, etc. Paris : Mercure de France, 1910. 413 pp.

STEFAN ZWEIG : *Emile Verhaeren, sa vie, son œuvre*. Traduit de l'allemand. Paris : Mercure de France, 1910. 350 pp.

MARCEL COULON : *Témoignages* (Moréas, A. France, R. de Gourmont). Paris : Mercure de France, 1910. 298 pp.

EDMOND ROSTAND : *Les Musardises*. Edition nouvelle 1887-1893. 9<sup>e</sup> mille. Paris : Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1911. viii, 292 pp.

France is to-day almost the only country in which poetry still occupies an important place in

literature. The output, therefore, both of verse and of critical studies is comparatively large. The following is an attempt at a rapid survey of some of the more interesting publications in this field during the last two years.

Let us first of all welcome the twentieth edition of Van Bever and Léautaud's *Poètes d'aujourd'hui*, now published in two volumes. Unlike other works of a similar character, *e. g.*, Brümmer's *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, this anthology will appeal not only to those professionally interested, but also to the literary public at large. Specimens of the verse of the writers mentioned are given in every case. Accurate and suggestive information is furnished in the introductory notes, some of which have in their brief compass the substance of essays (R. de Gourmont, Comtesse de Noailles, Mallarmé). They contain much information not to be found elsewhere, drawn from personal acquaintance with the authors, and often indispensable to an intelligent reading of their poems (Merrill, Fort).

The same indefatigable Van Bever has published two more volumes of his *Poètes du terroir*. As the first volume has already been reviewed in *Modern Language Notes* (December, 1909), all that needs be said is that the work continues to present the same interest. The European press, sceptical or indifferent toward the first volume, has now almost completely changed its attitude.

On reading the new volume on Verlaine, containing such chapters as "Les dernières Maîtresses," "Verlaine au Café," "Verlaine amusant," the reviewer was at first disposed to question the biographer's defence: "N'est-ce pas servir la gloire du génial poète que de dire toute la vérité sur ce pénible sujet?" (p. 83). One must confess, however, that in Verlaine's case—as in Villon's, or even Musset's—such revelations are essential to a real understanding of the poet. The delicate subject, which mere erudition would have rendered repulsive, has been handled with a tact that saves the situation. The book is a useful complement to Lepelletier's *Paul Verlaine, sa vie, son œuvre* (1907), and is besides a valuable guide for one who wishes to understand the Latin Quarter of the poets.

E. de Rougemont's recent work on Villiers de

*l'Isle-Adam* reminds one of a good American or German doctor's dissertation: pages of bibliographical data, indexes, documents of all sorts, scraps of "inédits," tables of contents, reproductions of proofs corrected by Villiers, descriptions of armorial bearings, enumeration of ancestors. One comes, however, to understand the author's reason for writing his book in this style. Nothing is more difficult than to portray the life of this poet; everything about him is so odd that it requires unusual skill to recount even his most courageous acts without rendering them ridiculous. M. de Rougemont was therefore wise in attempting only the rôle of a conscientious compiler. His book, as it is, is valuable. What stands out most prominently from these new researches is that, contrary to the traditional opinion, representing him as a dreamer who lived, so to speak, "en marge" of modern ideas, Villiers was one of the most "modern" writers of the end of the last century. He was ahead of his contemporaries in understanding authors like Poe and Baudelaire, artists like Wagner. His own "Isis," "Axel," "Eve future," for example, must not be interpreted as reflecting reactionary views of life, but as lofty aspirations of a coming age.

Another ultra-modern genius is Verhaeren. The book we have before us, written by a German, and translated in manuscript, deserves untinted praise. The author is fully equal to his task; the treatment is a model of keen philosophical criticism. Verhaeren is the Whitman of Europe, but is a far greater artist, whose chief rhetorical effects do not depend on naïve exclamations, accumulations of synonyms, and endless repetition of the same phrases. He is superior to Whitman also in culture. While both are ardent admirers and advocates of modern civilization, Verhaeren has the advantage of having absorbed the spirit of earlier civilizations. Whitman, not knowing the epoch to which he opposed the greatness of modern life, was bound to remain vague and rhetorical; he only knew that he liked his age. Verhaeren knew why he liked it, and consequently when the great crises came and when, having exhausted the inspiration to be drawn from mystic, conservative Flanders, he felt the emptiness of it all, London, noisy, feverish, commercial London, alive to modern civilization,

was a revelation to him and a source of fresh, vital inspiration. A new poet was born in him, the poet of the new order of things.

Verhaeren could never have committed the naïve error of celebrating at the same time the man of the birch-tree canoe and the man of the steam ferry-boat, or the man of the ox-cart and him of the railroad. His song is consistently modern,—"*le monde trépidant de trains et de navires.*" In Whitman's eyes a wretch or a fool is as much a human being as a man of great intellect. For Verhaeren, however, if democracy means anything, it means that intellect wherever found, is to conquer all prerogatives. "*La volonté du sort devient de plus en plus la volonté humaine.*" Even love of the sensual kind so fervently sung by Whitman is ignored or discarded by Verhaeren. The only debatable point in Zweig's book, which will remain one of the solid literary studies of recent years, is the closeness of the parallel he draws between the two poets. His estimate of Whitman is derived chiefly from Balzacette, whose erroneous conception I pointed out in an article in *Lippincott's Magazine* for December, 1910.

Marcel Coulon has in a remarkably short time laid the basis for a solid reputation. He is a talented writer, versatile and keen. His essay on Moréas is one of the most conscientious of the many recent attempts to make something consistent of that "fuyant" genius. Moréas is Protean; he proceeds, not by evolutions, but by "mutations." First we find him passing from Parnassianism into Symbolism and Decadentism, then reaching a personal phase of Moréasism, which is a form of what is called "Romanisme" (a variation of Symbolism, not to be confused with Romanticism). Shortly afterward, we are surprised to find him a disciple of the correct Malherbe, altho, adds Coulon, with perhaps a touch of Verlaine or of the young Gautier. But Moréas leaves behind him Gautier as he has left the Parnasse, Verlaine and Symbolism. We now have before us a "Romanticist 1820-1830." Then suddenly he remembers that he is a Greek, he rewrites "Iphigénie" as well as was possible after Racine. Another step takes us to the inspirer of the contemporaries of Racine: Moréas becomes a "Ronsardisant."

Coulon set out to reveal to us "l'unité de Moréas," but to tell us that it consists in being "classic" in his various phases (pp. 99, 100) and then that to be classic means to be "beautiful" (p. 103) adds nothing to our information; finally when we are told that we must, however, consider Moréas as classic only "autant que nous serons prêts également à le traiter de romantique" (p. 106), we are entirely at sea.

Rostand's new edition of *Les Musardises* is worthy of mention here on account of the light it offers to a student wishing to understand the later dramatist. First of all, his Neo-Romanticism as opposed to Realism comes out on every page.

Et je vous aime, ombre des choses,  
Plus que les choses bien souvent ! (p. 229.)

There are also some striking "rapprochements" to be made with his later works. The fundamental idea of *Cyrano*, the hero with the ridiculous appearance and the delightful romanesque fire, is found in "Le Contrebandier," that masterly evocation of Don Quixote, the dear, incurable dreamer, who endeavors to smuggle into France his helmet, lance and escutcheon, the emblems of poetry banished from among us.

Moi qui ne vieillis pas, je sens vieillir l'Europe.  
Je devine combien s'épaissit et sirope  
Le sang latin si clair jadis. (p. 282.)

We find as well the germinal idea of "La Princesse Lointaine," except that there the poet does not come from, but starts for the land of dreams, the South and the Orient. Further, the type of the conscientious, not over-intelligent man, who thinks that the welfare of the world depends on the fulfilment of his humble daily task, like Chantecler who believes that his song causes the sun to rise, is impersonated in an old faithful *pion de lycée*, Pif-Luisant. The love for animals, especially domestic animals, also announces the future author of the barnyard play. It is to be noted that the idea of putting sacred themes into French had occurred to Rostand long before he wrote *La Samaritaine*, or the exquisite fourth act of *Chantecler*. The "Prière de Matin" in the *Musardises* (pp. 224-226) is the Lord's Prayer in poetical form.

We find here also the technique of the later

Rostand. In the *Musardises* the reader will find many freely-coined, strange-looking terms, as "s'arc-en-ciéliser," "marescalcier," calembours like the refrain of "Les deux Cavaliers":

Ame, ma sœur âme, ne vois-tu rien venir?,

or variations on a poetical motif, such as the dazzling "Charivari à la lune," which announces the famous passage on the "Point sur un i" in *Cyrano*, and many others in *Chantecler*.

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Geoffroy Chaucer, par ÉMILE LEGOUIS. [Les Grands Écrivains Étrangers.] Paris, Bloud & C<sup>ie</sup>, 1910.

With memories of M. Legouis' penetrating and distinguished study of Wordsworth, one takes up his volume on Chaucer in keenest expectation of finding a similarly illuminating discussion, and there is no disappointment. As the author himself points out, this is the first volume in French to devote itself to a comprehensive analysis of the literary development of Chaucer. M. Taine and M. Jusserand have given brief studies in their histories of English literature, but M. Legouis has undertaken a far more extended and exactly critical study than has ever before appeared in the language which was so intimately associated with Chaucer's life and art. Unquestionably this is the best general study of Chaucer yet published. The book is not controversial; it advances no new theories nor does it combat old ones. The whole plan of procedure is to make the personality and the poetry of the medieval poet alive for the modern reader by giving careful presentation of biographical details and other facts, by summarizing succinctly the accepted opinions regarding disputed points, and, furthermore, by interpreting the poetry in M. Legouis' own masterly manner of criticism. A judicious conservatism is apparent throughout, never a bigoted conservatism but a sane, steady desire to present no apocryphal material.

The point of greatest interest in the book is the very careful study of Chaucer's evolution as a

literary artist. Most graphically M. Legouis pictures the way in which the alert and buoyant young poet imitated, reacted from his imitations, and became individual, independent, national, by a steady development. It is with special deftness and adroit subtle appreciation that the qualities of Chaucer's humor are brought out. The exposition does not throw a false emphasis, as do so many attempts to analyze that element in Chaucer's work. The critic is aware of the objective, picturesque details of comic situation, but he is equally conscious of the fine, playful, ironic laughter which breaks down so many conventions of art and of human hypocrisy. Unusually discriminating tribute is paid to the intellectual equipment of Chaucer. His skill as a diplomat, his shrewd, kindly acquaintance with the world of commerce, as well as his preoccupation with books receive appreciative recognition. In the account of French sources, in the keenly imaginative analysis of *The Hous of Fame*, and especially in the discussion of the *Prologue to The Canterbury Tales* M. Legouis has made a most important contribution to Chaucer study. Here he gives an impressive lesson in the art of criticism.

A fastidious scholarship is exercised in dealing with the Chaucer criticism of today. Debatable points are touched with caution, yet M. Legouis does not fail to indicate his own attitude. Such questions as that of Chaucer's possible residence at Cambridge, or of his meeting with Petrarch are discussed in a way to suggest that the critic has done independent thinking on these subjects. Perhaps some readers will feel that the influence of Boethius does not receive due attention, others may find that the study of the late Minor Poems lacks the sympathy which is elsewhere most clearly shown. Mr. Manly might be moved by the reference to Pierre Langland (p. 141) and certainly Mr. Skeat would comment upon Guido de Colonna. Other critics might feel that Queen Anne is given too close an association with the *Legende of Good Women*. Here, M. Legouis has shown admirable taste in avoiding the topic of priority of the prologues, a subject which we know has special interest for him. The disturbing question as to the date of *The Hous of Fame* he has ignored, although in placing his discussion

of that poem after the study of *The Parlement of Foules* he has indicated his point of view. However, these are all topics which are not of primary interest for the general reader, and all honor should be paid to the exactness of statement when statements are based upon *Life Records* or upon well-authenticated evidence, and to the exceedingly wary fashion in which M. Legouis has indicated just where, in many cases, is the borderland of doubt.

The translations of Chaucer deserve examination because of their successful rendering of the original. Not only do they convey the meaning of the poet, but they suggest his very style and cadences. Those which are in stanza form seem rather more effective than those in couplet. The following stanza from *The Prioresses Tale* may be quoted to show how in diction, style, metre, and rime, the translator has succeeded in echoing his original :

Noght wiste he what this Latin was to seye,  
For he so yong and tendre was of age ;  
But on a day his felaw gan to preye,  
Texpounden, him this song in his langage,  
Or telle him why this song was in usage ;  
This preye he him to construe and declare  
Ful ofte tyme upon his knowes bare.

Point ne savait ce que latin veut dire  
Car il était tout jeune et tendre d'âge,  
Si pria-t-il un plus grand de traduire  
Ce chant pour lui dans le commun langage  
En lui disant quel était son usage ;  
Il l'adjura d'y mettre mots connus  
Par mainte fois, et sur ses genoux nus.

Skill in rendering the stychomathia in many poems, as, for example, in *The Hous of Fame*, should be noted as evidence of the way in which M. Legouis has entered into the Chaucerian mood.

Special satisfaction is to be found in the perfect literary form of M. Legouis' book. Frequently, in these days, it is true that important discoveries and suggestions about Chaucer are expressed in crude fashion, without systematic plan of exposition and with a more than medieval disregard for punctuation and the normal uses of the relative pronoun. So careless, often, are the sentences of advanced scholarship that the mere student is obliged to read and reread paragraphs which are veritable literary puzzles. M. Legouis has not, I believe, an obscure sentence, yet his style

possesses lightness and zest and variety. With true Gallic tact and expressiveness he has written an invaluable book, in which he has brought to English readers a quickened sense of Chaucer's enduring position in the world's literature.

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*Old Spanish Readings*, selected on the basis of critically edited texts. Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary, by J. D. M. FORD. Boston, New York, Chicago, London: Ginn and Co., [1911]. 12mo., xlv + 312 pp.

This book serves not only as a text-book for students but as a hand book for specialists. The Introduction, after a brief statement of the scope and historical position of Spanish, gives a list of the more important works on Spanish historical grammar. Ford then makes an exposition of the laws of phonology, which forms a most valuable guide to the beginner in the subject. There is no corresponding treatment of morphology and syntax; for this we are referred to the notes and vocabulary. Nevertheless, the student would have welcomed a consecutive treatment of morphology or even the paradigms of the inflected parts of speech. Discussion of disputed points of grammar are very properly omitted in the introduction and placed in the notes.

The Texts begin with a group of four Latin documents of the years 804, 935, 1039 and 1065, respectively. In a second division we may put the Silos glosses edited by Priebisch. Then follow the *Reyes Magos* complete, and well selected passages in verse and prose, beginning with the *Cid* and ending with the *Danza General*. While each selection is reproduced verbatim from a critical edition, Ford offers in the notes many valuable emendations and suggestions, making indeed a new critical edition of each selection.

The Notes are especially full and accurate. They contain chapters on the literary history of the documents, in addition to literary and linguistic commentary on special points of interest. The most striking chapter is the twenty-one

pages of commentary on the three-page text of the *Glosses*,—a commentary which in itself forms an excellent introduction to Spanish historical grammar. Among the many detailed discussions in the notes may be mentioned the treatment of the terminations of the imperfect indicative of *-er* and *-ir* verbs (pp. 119–121). The suggestion that here we have a secondary influence of the subjunctive forms in *-iese* seems quite plausible, as does also the theory that the shortened forms of the atonic pronouns may be due to redivision of preposition and pronoun, thus: *de ello* > *del(l)o* > *de lo* (pp. 88–90). The phonetic difficulty of *quizá* is solved in Ford's suggested *qui te sapet* in which *te* is regarded as an ethical dative (p. 79).

The note on *afé, fê* (pp. 108–9) does not advance materially the constructive argument for *habete vos* > *afê*. On the other hand, any form of *habere* as the direct source of *fe, he*, presents an orthographic difficulty not generally recognized. Latin initial *h* disappears not only as a sound but as a symbol,—a fact which is not in harmony with the sporadic occurrence of Old Spanish *e* in contrast to the more general *fe, he*. Since the appearance of Ford's book, Menéndez Pidal has published his Arabic etymology (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, II, p. 686). The Arabic demonstrative *he* is found in such combinations as *he húa* = '*hêlo*,' *he húa* = '*hêla*,' and seems the most probable explanation as yet offered.

The Vocabulary is more than etymological; it contains a detailed discussion of word-forms when such discussion is of interest or importance. The contents are especially complete, embracing not only irregularities of orthography and inflection, but also paradigms of the strong verbs. Proper names are included in the vocabulary, but in the case of geographical names the location is not given. In some cases the location is discussed in the notes, but exceptions are not infrequent; cf. *Burueba, Cannas, Çelfa*, etc. In the vocabulary of a text-book it seems advisable to include such scribal compounds as *abuena, alo, endia, siuos*, etc. On the other hand, it seems unnecessary to retain in text and vocabulary *bio, trava*, etc., simply because the original scribe left a space in writing *en bio, en trava*. These details, however, are subordinate to the excellency of the book as a

whole. On every page we see evidence that here is no cut and dried exegesis, but the well digested material of previous commentaries and treatises, supplemented by abundant new material by Ford himself.

As mentioned above, Ford has given us a new critical edition of the texts he publishes. In this connection I offer a few points of commentary. From the statement on p. xxxii, supplemented by the note 4, 11, we see that the prosthetic vowel may not occur before *s impurum* in cases of close syntactical combination, if the preceding word ends in a vowel. But the prosthetic *e* is equally unnecessary after a sibilant *s* or *š*, and of this the texts show numerous examples, some metrically correct, others due to the logically phonetic carelessness of the scribe; for example, "sodes uos strelero" (*Reyes Magos*, 52), "mios scriuanos . . . mios streleros" (*Reyes Magos*, 121, 123), "las posas" (*Juan Ruiz*, 497b). The same phonetic principle might enable us to emend "fues escançiano" (*Yucuf*, 94c), "la gentes" (*Reyes Magos*, 6), and even "le speraré" (*Cid*, 1194).

The selections from Berceo's *Sto Domingo* offer special difficulties caused by the undue prominence given to the recently discovered manuscript E. Some of the resulting difficulties are noted by Ford, p. 136. By using one or both of the versions H and V we get the following preferable readings: *so* for *su*, 92b; *fize* for *fizi*, 101a; *lazar* for *lazar*, 355b; *oye* for *oy*, 360d. Stanza 364c reads:

Nos essi uos daremos de grado *al present*,

following ms. E. The HV reading *en present* 'as a gift' seems preferable to *al present* 'just now,' 'for the present.' While I have no additional examples of *en present* with the meaning ascribed, Old Spanish *dar en don*, *dar en presentaja*, and the verb *enpresentar* (*Cid*, 872), seem sufficiently parallel to justify the corrected reading in the *Santo Domingo*. In *los cosas malas*, 353c, Fitz-Gerald's reading of masculine *los* and interpretation of the phrase as referring to the Moors, is further strengthened by a passage in the *Milagros* 721c, where *el cosa mala* clearly refers to a Jew. In stanza 3, I would suggest the punctuation,

Quiero (que lo sepades luego de la primera)  
Cuya es la ystoria meter uos en carrera;

or following version H, interpret *en as e en*.

The *Poema de Alexandre* is classified among the texts as a work of Berceo's, though Ford inclines rather to the opposite view in his remarks on p. 139. The critical edition wished for by Morel-Fatio has been definitely promised by Menéndez Pidal (cf. *Cultura Española*, Mayo 1907, p. 552b). Ford has wisely refrained from reëditing the selections on the basis of the Madrid manuscript as published by Janer. Nevertheless, there are a few obvious errors in the present text to which attention might have been called: the identical rhyme words in stanzas 18 and 21, and *tanto* for *tant* in 7cd. In *su preçiosa cortina*, 19b, the form *su* (< *sub*) is open to suspicion. Ford argues that the *su* of *Santo Domingo*, 92b, may be a hiatus form, but such an explanation would not hold for the form in the *Alexandre*. Furthermore, two of the three manuscripts of the *Santo Domingo* have *so*. In light of these facts, the Janer reading *so* for the *Alexandre* is worthy of some credence.

In the *Fernan Gonzalez*, 79d,

(E) fueron de la primera los moros arrancados,  
(Re)cojieron se con todo essora los cruzados,

Ford endeavors to make *cruzados* refer to the Moors, i. e., "those who had crossed the sea." While such a rendering stretches considerably the meaning of the much-used conventional term *cruzados*, it necessitates also the retention of *rrecojieron* instead of *cojieron* and a consequent overlong hemistich. A more probable interpretation of the couplet would be: "At first the Moors were defeated, but before the end of the battle (essora) the Christians had to flee."

The interpretation of "por non tener" in *Fernan Gonzalez*, 368c, as equivalent to a purpose clause with the imperfect subjunctive, seems justified by the corresponding passage of the *Cronica General*, "por que nol touiessen." An exact syntactical parallel occurs in the fourteenth-century *Vida de Santa Catalina*:

A estas palabras dixo el enperador que la deslealtad tenia en el coraçon *por non tener los que estavan enderredor del, que era bravo*: Donsella, pues asy fue, etc.

The corresponding passage in the Old French version reads:

A ces paroles li dist li tyranz qi les desloiautez avoit el cuer *por ce que cil qi entor lui estoient ne le tenissent a cruel ne a felon*: Pucele, etc.

The Latin text has :

Ad hec tirannus, dolos in pectore versans, ne a circumstantibus tanquam iniquus et inplacabilis accusaretur, ait puelle, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The *Danza de la Muerte*, I, reads :

Pues non ay tan fuerte njn Rezio gigante  
Que d'este mj arco se puede anparar ?  
Conuiene que mueras quando lo tirar  
Con esta mj frecha cruel traspasante.

In commenting on *quando lo tirar*, Ford, following Appel, says : "This is an interesting early use of *cuando* as a preposition." He refers to Bello's discussion of such phrases as *cuando la guerra* and to the English "we did it when children." Without considering the question of a possible prepositional use of *quando*, the interpretation of the phrase in the *Danza* as 'at the time of the shooting' offers difficulties. If *tirar* is a verbal noun we should expect the masculine article *el*, not the neuter *lo*. It seems more probable that *lo* is the object pronoun referring to *arco* of the preceding line, and *tirar* is the apocopated first person singular of the future subjunctive *tirare*. This interpretation is strengthened somewhat by the reading of the 1520 edition :

Convieni que muera, si he de poner  
contra él mi flecha en el traspasante.

In the *Danza de la Muerte*, XLIII, Death addresses to the dishonest lawyer the following words :

El Chino e el Bartolo e el Coletario  
Non vos librarán de mj poder mero.

As the identity of "el Coletario" still remains an unsolved riddle, the following item and suggestion may be of interest. About the middle of the fifteenth century Juan Martinez de Burgos in a poem on the corruption of the law courts of his time, states that

Viene el pleito á disputacion,  
Alli es Bártolo, é Chino, Digesto,  
Juan Andrés é Baldo, Enrique, do son  
Mas opiniones que uvas en cesto.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien und der h. Maria Aegyptiaca, nebst unedierten Texten*, Halle, 1890, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Memorias históricas de la vida y acciones del Rey D. Alonso VIII*, Madrid, 1783, p. cxxxv.

Note that the two poems are treating the same theme and that the *Digesto*, or Justinian *Digest*, takes the place of *el Coletario* in its direct association with Chino and Bartolo.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### SOME INCONSISTENCIES IN *Salammô*

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—In the *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* for 1910 (p. 395) "H. L." published some "Petites Notes Vétilleuses sur Mme. Bovary." During a careful reading of *Salammô*<sup>1</sup> for another purpose I was struck by some inconsistencies of detail that are quite as curious as the vagaries remarked by H. L. in the schedule of *l'Hirondelle* between Yonville and Rouen.

First of all, the question of language in *Salammô* is a complicated one. When *Salammô* appeared at the banquet of the Mercenaries she chanted the adventures of Melkarth "dans un vieil idiome chananéen que n'entendaient pas les Barbares. Seuls les prêtres sans barbe comprenaient" (p. 14). Then follow the words of her song. But later when Mâtho was suffering the torments of love at Sicca he remembered the scene and chanted the story in the self-same words (p. 35). Flaubert (p. 368) reproached M. Froehner with falsifying the "is omnes linguas scit" of Plautus so as to make universal polyglots of the Carthaginians, yet, at the banquet, his heroine, a maiden reared in retirement, "employait simultanément tous les idiomes des Barbares" (p. 15). Furthermore the slave who, later, guided her to the barbarian camp replied in the proper tongue to each band of hostile stragglers that they met (p. 215).

It is not only the Carthaginians who had

<sup>1</sup> The references are to the Charpentier edition, Paris, 1910.

this gift of tongues. At almost our first glimpse of Spendius he is speaking Greek, Ligurian, and Punic (p. 7), and tho we are assured that the Mercenaries knew no Phoenician (p. 40), yet during the siege the townsmen were harassed by projectiles from the slingers, with words stamped on them: "attrape!"; "je l'ai bien mérité" (p. 273). Now if these legends were in Barbarian tongues it is but another evidence of the linguistic ability of the Carthaginians.

Not infrequently Flaubert loses sight of the point of view in his descriptions. At the close of the first chapter Spendius and Mâtho, from the terrace of the palace, descried a body moving on the horizon: "un point d'or tournait au loin dans la poussière. C'était le moyeu d'un char attelé de deux mulets. *Les crinières des bêtes bouffaient entre leurs oreilles à la mode persique, sous un réseau de perles bleues*" (p. 21).

Again this is evident in what was beheld by the solitary spectator, "le Carthaginois qui regardait penché au haut du précipice," when he looked down into the Défilé de la Hache where the lions were finishing up the trapped Barbarians: "alors un des lions se mit à marcher, découplant avec sa forme monstrueuse une ombre noire sur le fond du ciel pourpre" (p. 341).

Sainte-Beuve (*Nouveaux Lundis*, iv, p. 66) girded at Flaubert because of the figures given for the sum total of Hamilcar's army—11,396 (p. 170).<sup>2</sup> The author replied tartly: "mais vous venez de le voir vous-même, puisque j'ai dit le nombre d'hommes qu'il y avait dans les différents corps de l'armée punique. C'est le total tout bonnement" (p. 358). But the sum total actually is 10,396 (p. 162).

The reader is somewhat surprised at the secret beginning (p. 125) and public ending (p. 137) of the Council of the Ancients, and quite amazed at the conduct of the sacred lions in the temple of Moloch: "ils sommeillaient, les paupières entre-closes. Mais réveillés . . . ils venaient vers les Anciens, qu'ils reconnaissaient à leur costume, se frottaient contre leurs

*cuisse en bombant le dos avec des bâillements sonores*" (p. 126); and, tho flowers were in blossom (p. 139), "la vapeur de leur haleine passait sur la lumière des torches."

The angry Hamilcar condemned to death Giddenem (p. 157) and Abdalonim (p. 159), but they appear again alive (p. 285).

The excellence of the discipline in the Punic army seems exaggerated in the scene that closes the battle of the Macar. There is a marvelous description of battle tumult and the beginning of a headlong pursuit. Hamilcar appeared and "d'un mouvement de sa pique à trois pointes il arrêta l'armée" (p. 176).

It was no doubt surprising to Mâtho, attempting to escape with the zaïmph, to find the streets already barred with ropes, chariots, and snares (p. 93).

Despite the vividness of the picture there is something smile-provoking in "un Lusitanien, de taille gigantesque, portant un homme au bout de chaque bras, parcourait les tables tout en crachant du feu par les narines" (p. 6); and again in the final sentence of the paragraph describing the weapons of the savage tribes that came to aid the Barbarians (p. 253): "D'autres, les mains vides, *faisaient claquer leurs dents*."

The reader finds difficulty in accepting the fact that Salammbô did not perceive the symptoms of the serpent's malady (p. 198) to be due merely to the time having come for him to cast his skin—too much difficulty to justify Flaubert in using her ignorance of this as an important means of leading up to the journey to the Barbarian camp in the following chapter.

When we remember the enormous care that Flaubert bestowed on the writing of *Salammbô*, such inconsistencies, such disparities as these are surprising. On the other hand, this very expenditure of labor resulted in composition by scenes, even by paragraphs, rather than by movements or by chapters. This left openings for slips. Furthermore, it is evident that one of his methods of building up his wonderful descriptive passages was to accumulate vivid details, and to clamp on at the close some striking item or image that nails the picture, as it were, motionless before the mind's eye. Thus,

<sup>2</sup>This same total is given also in the first edition of *Salammbô*.

if we omit the vanishing chariot, the lion's silhouette against the purple background, the snap-shot of Hamilcar with raised staff halting the Carthaginian army, the unarmed savages clicking their teeth, we omit so many fine pictures, and if Flaubert had produced what he called his "facétie truculente" free of inconsistencies it would in all likelihood not be the resurrection of Carthage that his five years' toil made of it.

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in which the number of properties is the same—printed in Claudio Corte's *Il Cuvallerizzo* (Venice, 1573, Lib. I, cap. 22):—

(fol. 32<sup>b</sup>) "Dal lupo adunque piglia gli occhi, la uoracità & le forze dinanzi; Dalla uolpe l'orechie picciole, la coda lunga, & folta, & l'andar greue et soaue; Dalla donna caua il petto, la superbia, & le chiome. Benche alcuni gli potrebbono aggiungere il piacere, & la patientia, che ha di essere caualcata. Et altri gli attribuiscono di piu due altre uirtù; del lepore, cioe, la uelocità & l'agilità; & del Leone la generosità, la fortezza, & l'animo."

CARLETON BROWN.

*London, England.*

# THE FIFTEEN CONDITIONS OF A GOOD HORSE

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—In his edition of the *Harrowing of Hell* (EETS., Ext. Ser. C, p. xxv, note), Professor Hulme reprinted from MS. Lansdowne 762, a list of the Fifteen Conditions of a good horse. With this may be compared the following bit preserved in Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. O. 9. 38, fol. 49<sup>a</sup>:

"here be gymnyth xvten condycyons that a goode hors schulde haue.

A goode hors schulde haue iij condycyons of a man. iij of a woman. iij of a fox. iij of an hare. and iij of an Asse. The iij of a man to be prowte boolde and hardy. The iij of a woman to haue a faeyr breste a fayer creste and eesy to lepe vpon. The iij of the fox to haue schort eerys a fecyr tayle and a goode trott. The iij of the hare to haue a lene hede greet yeen and wel rennyng away. The iij of the asse to haue bygge chyne a flat leg and a goode hofe. &c."

A variant of these Fifteen Conditions is to be recognized in the following sentence, which is taken from the *Four Bookes of Husbandry, collected by M. Conradus Heresbachius . . . Newly Englished and increased by Barnabe Googe, Esquire, London, 1577, fol. 115* (wrongly printed "113") verso:

"Some horsemen would haue their Horse to be limmed after the proporcion of diuers Beastes, as to haue the head and legges, of a Stag, the eares and tayle, of a Fox, the necke, of a Swanne, the brest, of a Lion, the buttockes, of a Woman, and the feete of an Asse."

There is also a variant of the same catalogue—

## LA PHONÉTIQUE CASTILLANE.

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—We should like to explain that the persons used as subjects, or models for our study, *La Phonétique Castillane*, were for the most part graduates of the Madrid and Valladolid Universities and Normal Schools, or professors in those schools. The pronunciation of the educated class is therefore the basis of our study. Our phonetic notations represent that pronunciation except where otherwise stated.

Excluding the nasal vowels, M. Passy finds fifteen vowels in French, and we present sixteen for Castilian. (Passy, *Les Sons du Fr.*, pp. 85, 87, 89; and the Tableau in the *Exposé des Principes de l'Association Phon. Int.*)

M. A. COLTON.

*Annapolis, Md.*

## LETTER OF VOLTAIRE

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—The following letter of Voltaire has never, so far as I can discover, been published. I add it to the already voluminous correspondence that seems due to increase each year.<sup>1</sup> The letter is addressed to "Pierre Gosse, libraire à la Haye," bears the month-date, but is "sans millésime."

<sup>1</sup> I owe this letter to the kindness of Dr. T. De Vries of Leyden and the University of Chicago. It has been in his valuable collection of rare books and autographs for many years.

BERLIN, 29 décembre.

S'il est vrai, monsieur, que vous ayez quelque manuscrit sous mon nom, soit une ancienne lettre écrite à monsieur König, soit un détail d'expériences de physique, intitulé Séance etc., je vous prie avec la plus vive instance de ne les point imprimer. Je vous paierai ce que vous voudrez et je vous dédommagerai de plus d'une manière. Vous y pouvez compter et je me flatte que vous aurez égard aux prières de Mr. König et aux miennes. Je vous aurai une obligation extrême et suis parfaitement, monsieur,

Votre très humble et très  
obéissant serviteur

VOLTAIRE.

This letter, if not of prime importance, is interesting in that it probably is, so far as we can judge, an echo of the famous quarrel between the German mathematician, Samuel König, and Maupertuis. It will be recalled that a dispute had arisen between König and Maupertuis, President of Frederick's Academy, over a problem of physics. Voltaire took part in the dispute with the celebrated *Diatribes du Docteur Akakia*, which earned him the keen displeasure of his royal patron. This satire was published in 1752.<sup>2</sup>

König, at one time the secretary and teacher of Mme du Châtelet, had gone, in 1749, to La Haye, as professor of mathematics and philosophy. Voltaire left Berlin March 26, 1753. It seems to me that Voltaire's letter was probably written in December, 1752. The *Diatribes* was finished in October, 1752. The first edition, published that month in Potsdam, was burned about the end of November, by the orders of Frederick. Again printed at Leyden (Luzac), all the copies sent to Germany were seized and burned, December 24.

The letter to Gosse would be explained by Voltaire's evident anxiety to recover a certain compromising document whose publication would aggravate the already bitter feelings of Frederick. The reference to "un détail d'expériences intitulé Séance etc.,"—Voltaire himself was undecided as to the nature of the manuscript—may point to the eight-page *Séance mémorable* written upon the occasion of the same quarrel, though not published at once.<sup>3</sup> Voltaire's "instance" betokens an anxiety produced by an event out of the ordinary, and it may well be laid to the cause mentioned.

SHIRLEY GALE PATTERSON.

University of Idaho.

# A NOTE ON "AN ENGLISH FRIEND OF CHARLES OF ORLÉANS"

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—A variant to No. XIV of the English ballades printed in my article with the above title (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, xxvi, 1, p. 165) is to be found in ms. Lambeth 306, leaf 137. It has been printed by Dr. Furnivall (*Pol. Rel. and Love Poems*, E. E. T. S. 15, re-ed., p. 68). The ballade has been considerably altered in the Lambeth text, each stanza being expanded from the seven-line to the eight-line ballade. A notable change is the alteration of the dating, December 5 in the original ballade (line 21) to an indefinite date, suitable for any lover's use.

Accompanying this ballade in ms. Lambeth 306 are three other ballades, which resemble closely the ballade under consideration. It is not impossible that these represent a similar reworking by a later hand, of ballades by the friend of Orléans.

H. N. MACCRACKEN.

New Haven.

## A NOTE ON MUSSET

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In perhaps the finest emotional passage of Musset's *Nuit de Décembre*, occur the following lines:

Ah ! faible femme, orgueilleuse insensée,  
Malgré toi, tu t'en souviendras !  
Pourquoi, grand Dieu ! mentir à sa pensée ?  
Pourquoi ces pleurs, cette gorge oppressée,  
Ces sanglots, si tu n'aimais pas ?

In these lines, Musset has followed pretty closely a much less well known poem, *A Laure*, published three years earlier, as will appear from comparison:

Si tu ne m'aimais pas, dis-moi, fille insensée,  
Que balbutiais-tu dans ces fatales nuits ?  
Exerçais-tu ta langue à railler ta pensée ?  
Que voulaient donc ces pleurs, cette gorge oppressée,  
Ces sanglots et ces cris ?

It will be seen that in these two five-line passages, three essential words, *insensée*, *pleurs*, *sanglots*, and one phrase, *cette gorge oppressée*, are absolutely identical; one hemistich, *Si tu*

<sup>2</sup> Bengesco, *Bibliographie*, II, 63.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 64.

*ne m'aimais pas*, is almost identical; the meaning of *Pourquoi* and of *Que voulaient donc*, in the fourth line, is practically the same; and the meaning of the third line in both cases is very similar.

Whether the heroine of *la Nuit de Décembre* be George Sand, "Laure," or another love, it is evident that Musset, consciously or unconsciously, has imitated his earlier poem.

GEO. N. HENNING.

*The George Washington University.*

RICHARD BRATHWAITE'S *Mercurius Britannicus*

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS :—In my recent note (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVI, 233 f.) on Brathwaite's *Mercurius Britannicus*, I stated that in the records of the trial of the Ship Money Case I could find no reference to "Puny Baron Page, alias Baron Telclock," although the marginal note identifying him with the character "Gliciscus Horologus" seemed to be correct. My colleague, Professor Charles H. Hull, calls my attention to the fact that Edward Foss, in *The Judges of England*, VI, 352, refers to a Baron Page, who was Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer from 1638 until his death in 1642. Very little more than this is known of him. Foss says: "Dugdale calls this baron William, and Rymer christens him John; and which is the real name has not been discovered." Unfortunately the reference to him in *Mercurius Britannicus* does not settle the question. "That he was a cursitor baron," continues Foss, "there is no doubt, for he is never mentioned in the judicial proceedings of the court." This is thoroughly in keeping with the treatment accorded him by Brathwaite:

"*Gliris* [= Latin for 'dormouse,' an animal proverbially sleepy], Judge *Dormant* [observe the pun, *dormouse-dormire*], you know whom I meane, hee that sits for a sipher on the Bench, the barren Baron that hath little wit, and lesse honesty, because he was your tell-Clock [= a lazy person], (ô yee purple Iudges)."

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR.

*Cornell University.*

## BRIEF MENTION

A *Shakespeare Glossary*, by C. T. Onions (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911) is a companion-volume to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* and might also like it have been described on the title-page as "adapted from the *Oxford Dictionary*;" but that is what is meant by Mr. Onions's occupational title, "Of the Oxford English Dictionary," which is so closely followed by the opening words of his preface, declaring the book to be "primarily the outcome of an analysis of Shakespeare's vocabulary conducted in the light of the results published in the Dictionary." But the modifier "primarily" is here used with strict regard to facts that are carefully recited by Mr. Onions. This is important, for otherwise it might have been supposed that there has been "a mere mechanical transference" of material from the large work "with small expenditure of time and labour." It should, therefore, be duly considered (*a*) that when the Delegates of the Press authorized the preparation and publication of this book, the compiler had to his credit "fifteen years' experience on the editorial staff of the Dictionary;" and (*b*) that "the full working days of a year and a half" were then expended on the task, which was considered by the compiler to be "one of difficulty and delicacy," with "pitfalls even for the expert." The work "comprises close upon ten thousand separate articles," in a handy and cheap volume. The glossaries that usually accompany separately edited plays are little better than make-shifts in comparison with this compilation, which gives a complete view of Shakespeare's vocabulary and idioms, and enables the student to profit by such excellent advice as the following: "He will do well from time to time to examine the articles in the glossary, especially the longer ones and those concerned with words of Latin origin, apart from the . . . text; he will in this way discover how much he is in danger of missing or misunderstanding," and will gradually be quickened to a finer "appreciation of the richness and subtlety of Elizabethan English." And the commonest native words must

also, in a surprising number of instances, be re-learned according to the usage of the earlier time. Thus, for example, to know well the ten meanings of the verb *set*, as distinguished here, is in itself a creditable acquisition; and an aggregation of such lessons counts much for sound knowledge. Mr. Onions has gone pottle-deep into the elucidation of idiom, colloquial phrase, and dialectal usage, altho his results are recorded with such brevity as to give but the slightest indication of his pains-taking. He has also admitted into his compact articles "important readings and spellings of the original folio and quarto editions, as well as conjectural emendations, even when these are certainly wrong," hoping that this will "enable the student to take his first steps in textual criticism." Mr. Onions also calls attention to a list of words in connection with which he has been able to bring together "interesting, and here and there entirely fresh, information" respecting the relation of the poet's language to the midland dialects, especially to that of Warwickshire. There is also a long list of words, we are assured by the conscientious and scholarly compiler, concerning which new or usually inaccessible information is here given; and the author of *An Advanced English Syntax* (1905) may be expected to be instructive at many points, as, for example, in distinguishing his third use of *should* (which extends back to Anglo-Saxon and might have been confirmed by the dialects). One must regret the exclusion of references to the periodicals for such supplementary knowledge as that by which, for example, Zupitza confirmed the meaning of *abridgement* (*Engl. Stud.* VIII, 470 f.); and L. M. Harris, that of *breech'd* (*MLN.* XXI, 11-12). Such references have not been excluded altogether from the *Oxford Dic.*; and Mr. Onions had less restraint put upon him. Surely, it is false economy to sacrifice an increased value of a special dictionary to an insignificant saving of space. It is another matter when a discussion of a word or idiom has escaped observation. For example, one must be surprised at the editors of 'The "First Folio" Shakespeare' (to take a single example) and especially at

the compiler of the book before us for ignoring F. A. Leo's explanation of *Vllorxa* (*Shakespeare-Notes*, London, Trübner & Co., 1885). Are we to expect the same omission in the *OD*? Mr. Onions's Quarto readings do not include *garmombles* (W. H. Browne, *MLN.* XXI, 256); and he will be glad to consider T. P. Harrison's note on those "banks with pioned and twilled brims" (*MLN.* XXV, 8). There remain words to be explained. "What's that 'ducname'?" should, in all instances, be met by a clear exposition of the conjectures made; *scamels* and *pittie-ward* are thus best kept within the range of special inquiry. Finally, by way of a further word on mistaken economy of space, if a plebiscite were taken, a sure decision would be rendered in favor of larger type for the matter of this very helpful book. The young Shakespeare makes the same plea: "Light seeking light doth light of light beguile" (*LLL.* I, i, 83).

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Especially in view of the recent visit of Professor Lanson to this country, it is not too late to call attention to the eleventh edition of his standard *Histoire de la littérature française* (Paris, Hachette, 1909). It differs from the former editions chiefly in its "notes de repentir ou de conversion" (p. xviii, n. 1), added to indicate the principal modifications wrought by time in the author's esthetic judgments, and in the addition of a few bracketed supplementary passages to set forth new theories he adopts. Among the additions, one of the most important (pp. 25-28) records the conclusions already established by the first two volumes of Bédier's *Légendes épiques*, and specifies the investigations still needed to give the new explanation of the *chansons de geste* its full value.

A. T.

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#### ERRATUM

In *M. L. N.*, December, 1911, the following correction should be made: P. 256, col. 2, ll. 33 ff., for "Deah(ðe) may be reinforced by a prefixed *eall*, *eac swylce*, *ge*, or *and*, or else by a following *nu*," read "Deah(ðe) may be reinforced by a prefixed *eac swylce*, *ge*, or *and*, or else by a following *eall* or *nu*."

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## TWO LOST PLAYS BY ALEXANDRE HARDY

To show Hardy's importance in the establishment of the modern French drama, Monsieur Rigal not only studies his thirty-four extant plays, but reconstructs several lost pieces by comparing their titles, scenery, and properties, preserved in Mahelot's *Mémoire*,<sup>1</sup> with certain contemporary stories and dramas. In this way he gives us the main characteristics of *Pandoste*, *Ozmin*, *l'Inceste supposé*, *le Frère indiscret*, and *la Folie de Turlupin*.<sup>2</sup> Of the other five plays mentioned by Mahelot, he writes, "Nous ne pouvons rien dire de la *Cintie*, de *Leucosie*, de *la Folie de Clidaman*, de *la Folie d'Isabelle*, ni de *Parthénie*."<sup>3</sup> I shall endeavor to supplement his work by rehabilitating *Leucosie* and suggesting a possible source for *Parthénie*.

Concerning the first of these, Mahelot<sup>4</sup> gives us the following information:

*Leucosie*, pièce de M. Hardy.

Il faut que le théâtre soit enrichy. A un des costez, une grotte d'où l'on sort. Il faut deux navires, l'un pour des Turcs et l'autre pour des chrestiens. Il faut un tombeau caché et qu'il s'ouvre deux fois. Le vaisseau des Turcs paraist au quatriesme acte, où l'on tranche une teste. Il faut aussy un brancart de dueil où l'on porte une femme sans teste. Il faut des trompettes, des turbans et des dards pour les Turcs.

The decapitation of the woman on board the ship has given me the clue to the source of the play, for a similar incident occurs in *Clitophon and Leucippe*, the late Greek romance of Achilles Tatius. Clitophon and Leucippe

elope from Tyre and are shipwrecked on the coast of Egypt, where they are captured by pirates and imprisoned. The hero is rescued by an Egyptian commander, who joins battle with the pirates, while the heroine is taken by the latter to be sacrificed to their gods. But the two men in charge of the sacrifice, fortunately happening to be friends of the lovers, save Leucippe by ripping open a sheepskin full of blood, which they have laid on her body, and by placing her, as if dead, in a coffin, from which she is removed at night and restored to Clitophon. Not long after, a certain Chaeareas carries off the heroine in a ship, and, when pursued by Clitophon and his friends, brings upon deck a woman whom they take to be Leucippe, cuts off her head, and flings into the water her body, which, drawn out by Clitophon's friends, is buried after much lamentation. Tatius goes on to tell of Clitophon's affair at Ephesus with the wealthy Melitta and her husband, his discovery of Leucippe, and their final union.

This tale explains the two boats mentioned by Mahelot, the tomb and its two appearances, the beheading, the litter, the trumpets and darts. To understand the cave, the Turks and Christians, and the omission of properties belonging to parts of the story that pass at Tyre and at Ephesus, we shall do well to compare the passage quoted from Mahelot with his requirements for Pierre Du Ryer's *Clitophon*, a tragi-comedy written about 1628 and based on the same story as *Leucosie*.

Au milieu du théâtre un temple fort superbe, qui sert au 5<sup>e</sup> acte, est le plus beau du théâtre, enrichy de lierre, d'or clinquant, balustres, termes ou colonnes; un tableau de Diane au milieu de l'autel, deux chandeliers garnis de chandelles. A un costé du théâtre, il faut une prison en tour ronde; que la grille soit fort grande et basse pour voir trois prisonniers. A costé de la prison, il faut un beau jardin spacieux orné de ballustres, de fleurs et de pallisades. De l'autre costé du théâtre, il faut une mon-

<sup>1</sup>MS. fonds français, 24330, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>2</sup>*Alexandre Hardy*, Paris, 1889, pp. 542-556.

<sup>3</sup>*Op. cit.*, pp. 542-543.

<sup>4</sup>*Op. cit.*, folio 24 verso. There is no illustration.

taigne eslevée; sur ladicte montaigne, un tombeau, un pilier, un carquan et un autel boccager de verdure et rocher, où l'on puisse monter sur ledit rocher devant le peuple; à costé du rocher, un antre, une mer, un demy vaisseau; sous le rocher, faire paraistre une prison pour deux personnes, qui soit cachée. Il faut du sang, des sponges, une petite peau pour faire la feinte du cou du sacrificateur, un chapeau de fleurs, un flambeau de cire. Il se fait une nuit, si l'on veut. Il faut des turbans pour des Turcs, des dards, des javelots, tambours, trompettes, des chesnes, des clefs, une robe de conseiller, deux bourguinottes, de la verdure, une lanterne sourde et une chandelle dedans.<sup>5</sup>

Now the setting described in the first three sentences of this passage is not reproduced by Hardy, for it has to do with scenes laid at Ephesus and Tyre, while he seems to confine his play to the part of the romance that is enacted in Egypt. In the fourth sentence, where the setting for the sacrifice is given, the *montaigne*, as well as the *pilier* and *carquan*, is not mentioned by Tatiüs, who sticks more closely to Egyptian topography. Du Ryer's cave, used merely to lend wildness to the Delta scenery, is less important than that of Hardy, whose addition of *d'où l'on sort* implies that with him the cave is the place where the lovers are confined, corresponding to his rival's *prison pour deux personnes*.

Du Ryer's mention of the altar and other properties for the sacrifice suggests that Hardy, who omits them, does not represent the sacrifice of the heroine, and has her brought on the stage only to be placed in the coffin, but it is improbable that Hardy, with his delight in the melodramatic, would miss so fine an opportunity for brutal entertainment, while the far more refined Du Ryer avails himself of it. The sacrifice in Hardy's play may have been made without any accessories but the coffin, called *tombeau*<sup>6</sup> by Mahelot, and the sacrificer's sword, a weapon ordinarily left out of Mahelot's lists. Again, the fact that a night is mentioned in the requirements for *Clitophon*, but not in

those for *Leucosie*, does not prove that all the scenes of the latter play occur in the day-time, for, although nights are found in two other plays by Hardy, *Cornélie* and *la Belle Égyptienne*, they are not named among Mahelot's requirements for those plays.

The fact that *turbans pour des Turcs* constitute properties for *Clitophon* shows clearly that to Mahelot *Turcs* was an appellation for Oriental pirates of any date, and implies that the word *chrestiens* means merely enemies of the pirates and friends of the lovers. The terms could thus be applied with propriety to the pirates and Egyptian soldiers of *Leucosie*. The military implements of *Clitophon* correspond to the trumpets and darts of *Leucosie*. The other requirements for the former play are omitted in the latter, as the *mer* and *demy vaisseau* are used at Tyre; the keys, chains, and robe, at Ephesus; and as the lantern is not absolutely necessary for the scene in which the heroine is taken out of the coffin. As Du Ryer does not represent the decapitation, and as he makes no mention of the burial, the properties needed for these events in *Leucosie* do not appear in the list for *Clitophon*. It should be noted, however, that the passage in which one of Du Ryer's characters describes this execution occurs in the second scene of his fourth act and thus corresponds closely with its place in *Leucosie*.

It seems clear, then, that Hardy uses the same source as Du Ryer and that he treats it differently, making the setting less elaborate, changing the heroine's name from Leucippe to *Leucosie*, beginning his play after the lovers' arrival in Egypt, securing a tragic ending by the actual decapitation of the heroine, and eliminating all episodes subsequent to her burial. A comparison of Mahelot, Tatiüs, and Du Ryer suggests that Hardy's play was constituted somewhat as follows. The scene is laid in three or four places in the Egyptian Delta, previous to the establishment of Christianity. The characters include two lovers, their friends, a villain, pirates, and soldiers. Act I gives the description in conversation or monologue of the events that happened before the lovers' arrival

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, folio 47 verso and folio 48 recto.

<sup>6</sup> This word occurs also in Mahelot's decoration for Rotrou's *Hypocondriaque* as the equivalent of *cercueil*, mentioned in that play, Act V, Scenes 1, 4, 5, 6.

in Egypt, which is followed by their capture by the pirates; Act II, the exit from the cave, the escape of Clitophon to the Egyptian soldiers, the supposed sacrifice of Leucosie; Act III, the rescue of Leucosie and the meeting with Chae-reas; Act IV, the abduction of Leucosie, the pursuit, her death; Act V, Clitophon's lamentation over the heroine's headless body, brought before the audience on a *brancart de deuil*.

To confirm the evidence given as to the source of *Leucosie*, it may be added that not only the original Greek of Tatius, but also Latin and French translations had been published before *Leucosie* appeared; that Hardy had shown in his other plays a preference for Greek subjects and had dramatized another late Greek romance, the *Ethiopics* of Heliodorus; that it would seem strange if the author of some seven hundred plays overlooked a work so well adapted to his needs as was *Clitophon and Leucippe*; that the similarity of the names, Leucosie and Leucippe, suggests that this story is his source, as he frequently called his plays after their heroines. It is quite possible that Hardy changed his heroine's name as well as her fate in order to distinguish this play from Du Ryer's, which follows the original Greek closely and was played in the same years and at the same theater as *Leucosie*. According to this theory, the play would be among Hardy's last productions, written in the years 1629-1631, a dating which its appearance in the first part of Mahelot's *Mémoire* would tend to confirm.

For the second play, *Parténie*, I have only a suggestion, which Mahelot's requirements cannot be said to prove. The scribe writes:

Première journée de Parténie de M. Hardy.

Il faut deux palais, une prison, deux flambeaux, deux lances, des trompettes, du papier, des masques pour se déguiser, des rondaches et des fleurets, un rondache où il y ayt un portraict.

Parténie, seconde journée, de M. Hardy.

Il faut deux palais, une chambre fermée et un liet, un brancart, une teste feinte, un bassin, un licol, un poignard, une fiole pleine de vin ou d'eau, des trompettes, un drap pour un ombre, des flames et des socisons.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, folios 31 verso, 32, and 33 recto.

Now the title represents the French form of Parthenius, the name of the chamberlain who assassinated Domitian. The accounts of the emperor's murder given by Suetonius<sup>8</sup> and Dion Cassius<sup>9</sup> were accessible to Hardy and explain one palace, the room, bed, dagger, and the litter on which the dead emperor was hurried off to his grave. Domitian's vision of Rusticus accounts for the sheet, the ghost, and the fireworks. The tragic love-affair of his empress and the actor, Paris, might well require the masks, the paper, the prison, and the flask. The second palace, the torches, lances, trumpets, and weapons are unimportant additions, easily understood. But the *rondache où il y ayt un portraict*, the *bassin*, the *licol*, and the *teste feinte* are too definite to be neglected. Not one of them, it is true, is incompatible with a tragedy treating of Domitian's murder by Parthenius, yet, until their presence is thoroughly explained, the play cannot be identified with certainty.<sup>10</sup>

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER.

Amherst College.

## THE CYNEWULFIAN RUNES OF THE RELIGIOUS POEMS

When the Old English poet, Cynewulf, inserted his name in runic letters into four important poems, *Christ*, *Juliana*, *Elene* and *Fates of the Apostles*, he had even less intent of puzzling his readers than had his famous predecessor, Aldhelm, when he wrote large in an acrostic at the beginning of his Latin Enigmas, "Aldhelmus cecinit mille-

<sup>8</sup> *Domitian*, 16, 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Roman History*, LXVII, 3, 13, 15, 16, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. C. E. Andrews of Amherst has called my attention to Massinger's introduction of Parthenius into his *Roman Actor* (licensed, 1626). There is, of course, no question of influence, but it is interesting to note that Domitian's jealousy of Paris, his vision of Rusticus's ghost, and his murder by Parthenius and his associates furnished dramatic material to one of Hardy's contemporaries.

nis versibus odas." <sup>1</sup> The difficulties that have assailed so many modern interpreters of these runes not only could never have been anticipated by the writer, but could never have been appreciated, indeed even imagined, by his contemporary audience. The man of the eighth and ninth centuries found sun-clear the symbols that have often beriddled the man of the nineteenth and twentieth. My aim, therefore, is not to offer opinion—of this there has already been far too much—but to present definite evidence bearing on the attitude of early Englishmen to runic letters, which has been but imperfectly understood.

Let us turn immediately to that misconception of runic use which has done more than all other causes combined to obscure the four Cynewulfian passages. It is asserted by Trautmann <sup>2</sup> that the poetic employment of runes is not limited to the substitution of these symbols for their accepted names and to the employment of groups of these in the rôle of ordinary letters, but that a rune may often be regarded as the initial letter of a missing word. For the support of this sweeping assertion which he and others (such excellent scholars as Strunk <sup>3</sup> and C. F. Brown <sup>4</sup> among the number) soon exalt to the rank of established fact, Trautmann brings not a jot of real evidence. He points, it is true, to the use of the rune *W* for *weard* in *Elene*, 1090, *on wuldres W*; but, unfortunately for his argument, Sievers' reading *wynn* <sup>5</sup> (the letter's word-name) is established beyond the shadow of a doubt not only by the appearance of *wuldres wyne* fifty lines before (*El.* 1040), but by the close likeness of our riming line, *on wuldres wyne bide wigena þrym* to *Andreas* 887, *þær wæs wuldres wyne, wigendra þrym*, <sup>6</sup> and to *Juliana*, 641, *Gemunað wigena wyne ond wuldres þrym*. His only other example of the substitution in question is equally unhappy. According to Trautmann, <sup>7</sup> the runes at the close of *The Husband's Message*, *S*, *R* and *EA*, *W*, and *M* stand for *Sige-Rēd*, *Ead-Wine* and *Monn* respectively.

This is manufactured evidence, inasmuch as there is not the least reason to regard these five runes as anything else than a letter-group forming a single word <sup>8</sup>—such a runic letter-group, indeed, as we meet in the *Riddles*, 20, 25, 43, 65, 75, in the *Salomon and Saturn* and in the *Juliana* charade. Trautmann is certainly debarred from calling into court *The Husband's Message* letters to sustain his assertion that a rune may suggest any word of which it is the initial. His whole theory collapses for want of support. <sup>9</sup>

The upshot of the preceding discussion is that no tangible evidence of the literary use of initial runes has as yet been offered; nor indeed could any be found, searched one ever so widely, since no Old English poet would ever have dreamed of putting even in a riddle such a strain upon the powers of his readers. The most provoking of enigmatographs does not ask his victim to furnish an entire word from the slight clew of a single letter, <sup>10</sup> far less does a poet whose purpose is not to confound but to enlighten. Had Cynewulf made the mistake of so doing, the result would have been just such confusion as that wrought among modern scholars, who have started from this utterly false assumption. For the rune *Y* one reader would have suggested *yrnðu*, another *ȳst*, a third *yfel*; for the rune *U*, *ufan*, *uppe*, *unne* would have been offered in turn; for *C*, *cearu*, *ceorl*, *cyn* and *cempa*. *Ælc him hafað sun-dorsefan*. But it is suggested that Cynewulf went to greater extremes of unreason and implied that in some cases the runes were to be viewed as symbols for their naming words, in others merely as initial letters. It seems almost incredible that no voice has been raised in protest against this unwarranted assumption, but that, on the contrary, the purely imaginary process has been tacitly accepted by many as a rule of the game. It is not a rule of the game. In no passage of Old English poetry

<sup>8</sup> Other scholars agree that a single name is designed, but they differ widely in their interpretation of this. My own view of the *H. M.* passage will be presented at length, elsewhere.

<sup>9</sup> It must be noted that the runic letters above *Riddles* 9 and 18 are no part of the riddler's design, but merely the memoranda of a late scribe.

<sup>10</sup> In *Rid.* 65 the poet provides so large a part of each missing word, that the solver looking at the context is troubled but little.

<sup>1</sup> In a previous article (*M. L. N.*, December, 1910) I have interpreted the charade-acrostic, with which Cynewulf, following old custom, prefaces the *Riddles*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bonner Beiträge (BB)*, I, 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Juliana*, Boston, 1904.

<sup>4</sup> *Englische Studien*, 38 (1907), 196-233.

<sup>5</sup> *Anglia*, XIII, 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bosworth-Toller, p. 1289.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Anglia*, XVI, 219.

is a rune used merely as an initial letter ; but in each case, save in the letter groups of which I have already spoken, is a substitute for one definite word. That word is always the name assigned to the rune by long tradition and associated with it in runic alphabets and hence immediately suggested to the thought of every early reader. In *Elene* 789<sup>11</sup> and 1090, and in *Rid.* 91<sup>2</sup>, *W* represents *wynn* ; in the *Ruin*, 24, as in the *Durham Ritual* (*Surtees Society*, 10, pp. 13, 21, 26, 60, 81), the *M*-rune stands for *man* ; in the *Durham Ritual*, pp. 25, 26, 60, 66, the *D*-rune equals *dæg* ; in *Waldere A.* 31 and in *Beowulf* 931, the rune *Æ* is equivalent to *æðel* or *ēðel*. Such was the invariable method of other Old English poets and of Cynewulf himself in other passages. We shall see that such was his method in the runic acrostics.

We have yet other evidence bearing on the use of runes for acrostic purposes. The many Scandinavian illustrations of runic method that I have adduced in my previous article<sup>12</sup> amply sustain the contention that, "in typical runic acrostics, the rune was so obviously associated with a definite naming word that, at the sight of its name or the synonym of this, the reader immediately supplied the symbol." Cynewulf's *First Riddle* certainly seems to be thoroughly in accord with this runic tradition. In *Riddle* 43, the set names of the symbols, *Nýd*, *Æse*, *Æc* and *Hægel* suggest at once the letters *N*, *Æ*, *A* and *H*. Conversely at the sight of the symbol, every Old English reader substituted the set name.

Having marked that the name of each runic letter is definitely fixed, let us note that the meaning of this name frequently varies. This variation is due to two causes. The first of these is the love of word-play illustrated by so many passages in Old English and Old Norse poetry.<sup>13</sup> *Rād* (the name of the *R*-rune) appears in the Old English *Runic Poem*, 13-15, with the two meanings of "modulation" and "riding" ; in the alphabet in Cott. ms. Domitian A 9, fol. 10<sup>14</sup> it is defined

as "consilium." *Sigel* (the *S*-rune) may be interpreted either as "sail" or "sun" in the *Runic Poem*, 45-48 ; it is explained as the one ("velum") in the Domitian alphabet ; it is a synonym of the other, as used above and below *Rid.* 7, and such is its meaning in its later history. A far more potent reason for change of meaning lies in the circumstance that old names handed down by tradition become unintelligible in other times and among other peoples. The *C*- or *K*-rune, *Cēn*, which is described as "torch" in the Old English *Runic Poem*, 16-18, appears in the Old Norse *Runic Poems*<sup>15</sup> as *Kaun*, "boil." *Ūr* (the *U*-rune), the "bison" of English runic verse, 3-6, is glossed "noster" in the Domitian alphabet,<sup>16</sup> and becomes "dross" in one Old Norse poem, and "rain" in the other, keeping this last meaning until the days of Ole Worm and the Icelandic logographs (see my first article). The difficult *Y*-rune, *Țr*, has in one Norse poem its old meaning, "bow" side by side with the new connotation, "brittle iron," while in the other verses it is interpreted as "yew-tree." It is exceedingly significant that these three runes, *C*, *U* and *Y* are the ones in which Cynewulf's meanings differ from those assigned to the symbols in the English *Runic Poem*.

Either because the *C*-rune or *Cēn*, as it is called in every alphabet, was not associated with the idea of "torch" in the minds of Cynewulf and his public (such a connotation is confined to the *Runic Poem*), or because such a meaning, even though known to him, was quite unsuited to his purpose, Cynewulf used the symbol to represent that form and signification of its word-name which would occur to every reader, *Cēne*, "bold." This sense of the word is so thoroughly in accord with the context in the *Christ*, *Elene* and *Fates* passages,<sup>17</sup> that it has found wide acceptance. Trautmann's chief criticisms of this reading may

ments, II, 830. Hempl, *Modern Philology*, I, 135, presents a half-tone reproduction of the Domitian leaf, and discusses the relation of its alphabet to Hickes' printed copy of the *Runic Poem* (in the burned Cott. Otho B. 10).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Wimmer, *Runic Schrift*, pp. 275 f.

<sup>16</sup> That the *B*-rune, *Beorc* ("birch") is explained by the Domitian scribe as *Berc*, "cortex," is due to his lapse in second-hand knowledge.

<sup>17</sup> Moreover, *beaducāfa* is an exact synonym of *cēne* (*C*) in *Rid.* 1<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> See Sievers, *Anglia*, XIII, 6-7.

<sup>12</sup> *M. L. N.*, December, 1910.

<sup>13</sup> See *Rid.* 18<sup>2</sup>, 32<sup>14</sup>, 38<sup>1</sup>, 73<sup>22</sup>, 93<sup>22</sup> ; *Heiðreks Gátur*, No. 34 ; *Skáldskaparmál*, § 74 (*Snorra Edda*, I, 544) ; *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, II, 172, 272, 300, 327, 329.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Hickes, *Thesaurus*, I, 136 ; Stephens, *Runic Monu-*

be easily dismissed. His first objection that runes may stand only for substantives vanishes with his acceptance<sup>18</sup> of Gollancz's *yfel* as the equivalent of the *y*-rune. His second objection that *cēne* does not conform with the metre<sup>19</sup> topples over at a touch, as it has not the least foundation in fact. *Elene* 1258<sup>b</sup>, *cēne drūsende* (℥×/℥××) and *Christ* 796<sup>a</sup>, *þonne cēne cwacað* (××℥/×××) are usual forms of Sievers' D and B types. The *Fates* line (103<sup>a</sup>), as we shall see in considering the *Y*-rune, is also metrically impeccable. It is impossible to cavil further at this interpretation of the *C*-rune.

It would only confuse our treatment of Cynewulf's name of the Old English *Y*-rune, to enter now into a long review of the early history of the quite different symbol which represents the *y*-sound in Old Norse.<sup>20</sup> We may also avert needless discussion by recognizing that everywhere in Old English—in the Inscriptions and in the runic *Riddles* (20, 25, 43, 65, 75)—the same runes designate short and long vowels. So here in Cynewulf's religious poems, the *Y*-rune obviously represents a short *y*, just as the *U*-rune here indicates a short *u*. Now every shred of evidence points to *Țr* as the name of the O. E. runic symbol for *Ț*. Such is the testimony not only of the O. E. *Runic Poem* but of many early alphabets, either English or of English origin—the St. Gall ms. No. 878 of the ninth century (*yr, al bihabendi*),<sup>21</sup> the Vienna ms. Salzburg 71 (now 140) of about 900, and the Cott. mss. Domitian A 9 and Galba A 2.<sup>22</sup> The name, *Țr*, appears also in the O. N. *Runic Poems*<sup>23</sup> and in corrupted forms in later continental mss. (*ir, vyr, yur*, etc.). This evidence harmonizes with the supposed derivation of *Țr* from *Țr*, the name of the runic letter

*U*, from which the *Y*-symbol (which we meet on the very early Thames Knife) is formed. So we may with safety regard *Țr* as the name of the *Y*-rune at every period of its history.<sup>24</sup> To no Anglo-Saxon could the symbol have possibly suggested *Țst*, or *Țrmdu*, or *yfel* which has been generally accepted.

If we have little reason to hesitate over the name of the symbol *Țr*, we may well pause upon the interpretation of the name. What does *Țr* mean in our acrostics? Certainly this name-word has not here the meaning "bow," that it bears in the Old English and Icelandic runic poems or in the significations of the rune-names in *Arna-Magn.* 687, p. 3,<sup>25</sup> *Arcus er bogi, bogi er Țr, Țr er rāna-stafr*.<sup>26</sup> The required form of *Țr* must discharge the twofold function of an abstract noun and of a masculine adjective used substantively. No contemporary reader of our LWS. versions of the Cynewulfian poems would have had far to search; for the only word that satisfies the conditions of both form and meaning is *Țr(re)*, "anger," "wrathful," "confused." The shorter form of the word is found in a masculine adjective, *Gen.* 63, *Țr on mōde*.

Here a large dialectal difficulty confronts us. We cannot, it is true, determine definitely the original dialect of Cynewulf,<sup>27</sup> but we can feel sure that it was not LWS. And only in LWS. do *Țr*, "bow" and *Țr(re)*, "anger," "wrathful" bear a very close resemblance. In the EWS. of Alfred the adjective is *irre* or *ierre*;<sup>28</sup> in Anglian, in which Cynewulf probably wrote, the form seems to have been *iorre* (*Durham Ritual*) or *eorre* (*Vespasian Psalter*).<sup>29</sup> But we must not therefore allow ourselves to be forced to the con-

<sup>18</sup>BB, xxiii, 138.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>20</sup>Wimmer has proved conclusively (*Runenschrift*, p. 244) that the O. N. symbol for *Y* was, at an earlier period, applied to the final R (sometimes to the *æ* sound), and was then known as *elgR*. Later this O. N. runic letter displaced a *Y*-symbol, which had been formed by a modification of the *U*-rune, and then borrowed from the Old English alphabet the name of *Y* (or modified *U*), *Țr*. Professor Holthausen's argument, or rather assertion (*Anglia*, xxxv, 175-177) that O. E. *Țr* had the meaning "horn" seems to me quite unconvincing, and in any case has small bearing upon my discussion of the runic passages.

<sup>21</sup>See Wimmer, p. 236.

<sup>22</sup>See Stephens, I, 106 f.

<sup>23</sup>Wimmer, pp. 276, 282.

<sup>24</sup>C. F. Brown's statement (*Englische Studien*, 38, 208) that "Cook on the basis of Wimmer's researches, brings forward evidence to show that in older Anglo-Saxon the *Y*-rune did not represent *Țr* at all," rests upon a misunderstanding of Cook's imperfect summary (*Christ*, pp. 158-160) of Wimmer. Such third-hand dicta are always dangerous.

<sup>25</sup>Wimmer, pp. 287-288.

<sup>26</sup>The rune-name of *Y* is associated with *boga* (*bōgum*) in the word-play of *Riddle* 1.

<sup>27</sup>See my article, "The Philological Legend of Cynewulf," *P. M. L. A.*, xxvi (1911), 235-279.

<sup>28</sup>Cosijn, § 32, pp. 60-61.

<sup>29</sup>See Bülbring, §§ 186-187.

clusion that the inevitable Wessex interpretation of the Y-rune in our version was not that given to it by Cynewulf himself. Let us appreciate the exigencies of these acrostics. As the ordinary meaning of the established rune-name of the desired letter Y—*ȳr*, “bow”—would not serve, the poet was driven to seek some word sufficiently similar in sound to lie within the reach of readers trained to word-play. The form *i(e)rre* must have been perfectly familiar to him, whatever his dialect,<sup>30</sup> and even *iorre* would not have been disdained by an acrostic writer in sore straits. That neither *irre* nor *iorre* (granting that the later *yr(re)* was unknown to Cynewulf) began with *y* was of course an obstacle, but he was forced to overleap it. His choice was sadly restricted, for no other Old English word of similar sound furnished the necessary connotations.

The meanings of *yr(re)*—originally *i(o)rre*—accord exactly with the context in each of the three passages. *Christ*. 799–800, *þendan Yr(re) ond Nȳd ȳþast mehtan / frofre findan* may be rendered, “When Anger and Distress might most easily find solace.” This interpretation receives strong support from *Paris Psalter* 67<sup>1</sup>, *Hē* (God) *þā gehæftan hǣlēð sniome / ond þā tō yrre bēoð ealle gecigde* (“eos qui in ira provocant”). *Elene* 1260, *Yr(re) gnornade*, “He, wandering in error (“confused” or “disturbed”),<sup>31</sup> grieved,” seems more in keeping with the intransitive function of *gnornode* and with the *nȳdgefēra* of the next line than the renderings of those commentators who accept the arbitrary *yfel*, “He

mourned his woe.” Finally we may translate *Fates*, 103–104, *þonne Cēn(e) ond Yr(re) cræftes nēosað / nihtes nearowe*,<sup>32</sup> “Then shall the bold man and the man of wrath seek for strength in the narrow night-watches.”

There can be no legitimate objections to the forms and meanings, *Nȳd*, “need,” “distress,” *Eoh*, “horse” and *Wynn*, “joy,” “winsomeness” for the three runes, *N*, *E* and *W*, inasmuch as the traditional name-words are employed and the meanings accord with the context.

The *U*-rune or *Ȫr* certainly does not bear in the acrostics that meaning which is assigned to it in the *Runic Poem*, 4–6, but which occurs nowhere else in Old English,—“bull” or “bison.” The common connotation of *Ȫr(e)* suggested by the context, “our,” “ours” is confirmed, as Gollancz long since pointed out,<sup>33</sup> by the alphabet in MS. Domitian A 9 (see Hempl’s reproduction) where *Ȫr* is interpreted “noster.” To Trautmann’s fallacious objection that the runes can represent only substantives, the Domitian rendering is, as Krapp says,<sup>34</sup> quite sufficient answer.<sup>35</sup> In the objection of Brown<sup>36</sup> that this possessive use of the *U*-rune runs counter to the sense and grammatical construction of the several passages I can find no weight. Dr. Brown is quite unconsciously biased by his desire to exclude from the acrostics all subjective significance. *Ȫr(e) was gēara / geogoðhādes glæm*, “Ours was of yore the gleam of youth,” says Cynewulf finely in the *Elene*, 1266–1267. If he departs from the normal order of words here or elsewhere, it is obviously because he is forced to do so by the hard conditions of his task of introducing runes into proper places in the scheme of his alliterative verse. Under such circumstances a large liberty is per-

<sup>30</sup> The form *irre* creeps at least once into the *Durham Ritual* (12, 18) among many instances of *iorre*; and the unbroken vowel persists in several Anglian words in this category, *firr*, *cirnel*, *hirtan* (Bülbring, *Englische Studien*, 27, 85). *Eorre* and *yrre* run a parallel course in West-Saxon (*Christ* 620, *þurh yrre hyge*; *Elene* 685, *þurh eorne hyge*), indeed late into Middle English (Bradley-Stratmann, s. v. *irre*).

<sup>31</sup> This translation of *Yrre* is sustained by *Psalter* 75<sup>4</sup> *ealle synt yrre, þā þe unwise heora heortan hige healdað mid dysige*, “turbati sunt insipientes.” It is possible that the spirited picture (in this *Elene* acrostic) of the sorrows of ‘the man who gains treasure and whose horse measures the mile-paths’ (long supposed to be Cynewulf himself) was suggested to the poet by the account (in this very Psalm) of the helplessness of ‘the seekers after wealth’ (*þā þe welan sōhton*) and of ‘those who once rode on horses’ (*þā þe on horsum hwilon wæron*).

<sup>32</sup> The half-line, *þonne cēn(e) ond yr(re)* is of the same metrical type as the immediately preceding, *efne swā lago tōglideð*. *Cēne ond yrre* recalls the stock phrase, *yrre ond rēðe* (*Ps.* 77<sup>10</sup>, *Jul.* 140).

<sup>33</sup> Cynewulf’s *Christ*, pp. 181–182.

<sup>34</sup> *Andreas*, p. 169.

<sup>35</sup> It is noteworthy that *inc* is substituted for the seemingly unintelligible *Ing* as a rune-name, in the Domitian alphabet, and that in MS. Galba A 2, where new and scholarly runes are in the making, we meet the Latin words, “hunc,” “ego,” “ecce” as runic-names or, at least, as rune-equivalents.

<sup>36</sup> *Englische Studien*, 38, 213–216.

mitted to a poet. Brown's further objection that the meaning, "our" does not harmonize with the construction in the *Fates* passage, 100-102, because *æfter tōhrēosan* should rightly follow its subject, rests upon a complete misunderstanding of the sense of these lines. They should be so pointed and read:—

	Wynn sceal gedrēosan
Ūr(e) on ēðle,	æfter tōhrēosan,
lāne lices frætewa.	

"Our earthly joy shall fall and afterwards perish, the fleeting adornments of the body." This interpretation is supported by the double likeness to the *Christ* passage, 804-807. There as here *frætwa* is in apposition with the runic subject *Wynn*; and there *Ūr(e)* modifies *lifwynna dæl* in just such wise as it qualifies here *Wynn on ēðle*. A similar association of the two verbs, *drēosað ond hrēosað*, with one subject is found in *Dōmesdæg* 101. Now Trautmann and Brown ask us to believe that Cynewulf expected his readers to put aside all thought of the apposite word, *Ūr*, which in one meaning or another is always associated with the *U*-rune (even though in the immediately preceding runes, as Brown at least admits, he had suggested the usual rune-names, *Nȳd*, *Eoh*, *Wynn*) and to conjure up a word, which not only is never connected with the runic symbol, but which never appears anywhere in Old English poetry. The unhappy suggestion of these scholars is self-condemned, as soon as we pause and consider whether a prose word, *Unne*, in its most technical meaning of "legal grant" (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, iv, 276, 31) could ever have presented itself to the Anglo-Saxon mind, deep in the contemplation of a poet's portrayal of our latter end. No, the runic game was fairly played.

The interpretation of the two runes, *L* and *F*, gives small occasion for discussion until we come to the *Juliana* passage. *Lagu* and *Feoh* are unquestionably the readings in the *Christ*, the *Elene* and the *Fates*. Trautmann's suggestion that we take *Juliana* 707, *LF* (which is followed by singular verbs) as *lic-fæt* is open to the double objection that *lic* and *fæt*, having never at any time been associated with the runes, would never present themselves to Anglo-Saxon thought, and that they are not in accord with the meanings of the symbols in the other rune-passages. Brown's

*lago-flōd*, though it has this much in its favor that it concedes the proper rune-name to *L*, and is in keeping with the *lago-flōdum* (*L-flōdum*) of *Christ* 805, is really quite as objectionable as Trautmann's impossible *lic-fæt*, inasmuch as it requires the reader to interpret one letter as a word, the other as an initial. Let me repeat that the Old English runes are used in but two ways: either as substitutes for their traditional name-words or as letter groups spelling words or parts of words (so in the *Juliana*, *CYN* and *EWU*, and indeed in our acrostics viewed as wholes). Now it is clear that *LF* unlike *CYN* and *EWU* can spell nothing. The only other alternative, since a compound is dictated to us by the context, is to interpret the two runes as *lago-feoh*. The compound does not occur elsewhere (it is obviously made to order by the poet), but it is immediately suggested to the reader by the runes, and finds support in the meaning of *feoh*, "property in land," "estate," "share of earth" in the runic passage of the *Elene* (*Feoh* . . . *landes frætw*) and in the closing lines of the *Christ* acrostic:—

Ūre ( <i>U</i> ) was longe
Lagu ( <i>L</i> )—flōdum bilocen    lifwynna dæl,
Feoh ( <i>F</i> ) on foldan.

In his use of *lagufeoh*, "watery estate (earth)" Cynewulf is doubtless recalling that biblical passage, which, as Cook thinks,<sup>37</sup> furnished the inspiration of the lines in the *Christ*, 2 Peter, iii, 5, "terra de aqua et per aquam consistens Dei verbo, per quae ille tunc mundus aqua inundatus periiit." *Lagufeoh* and "terra de aqua et per aquam consistens"<sup>38</sup> are certainly exact equivalents. It is, of course, quite possible that, in his picture of a "watery world" at the Judgment, our poet had in mind such a conception of Doomsday as that presented in other Anglo-Saxon poems:—*Christ* 1143-6, *ond sēo eorðe ēac . . . beofode on bearhtme; ond se brāda sē . . . of clomme bræc | ūp yrringa on eorþan fæðm; Salomon and Saturn*, 320-321, *Sōna bið gesiēne, siððan flōwan mōt | ȳð ofer eall lond*, or in the *Exeter Book* version of

<sup>37</sup> *Christ*, p. 165.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Psalms* xxiv, 2, "Ipse super maria fundavit eam (terram)"; cxxxvi, 6, "Qui fundavit terram super aquam."

"The Last Judgment," *Dæt gelimpan sceal, þæt te lagu flōweð, / flōd ofer foldan*. Moreover, Cynewulf's use of *beofað* with *lagufeoð* ("the watery earth trembles") is entirely in keeping with the associations of the verb in other Old English sketches of the Judgment;<sup>39</sup> and the relation of *lagufeoð* to *seomað sorgcearig* is paralleled by the phrase of *Phoenix* 19-20, *se wong seomað eadig ond onsund*. We may now be sure that Cynewulf and his contemporary readers gave to the *LF* runes of the *Juliana* the same word-names as to the corresponding symbols of the *Christ*, *Elene* and *Fates*.

Now let us draw together the threads of our skein. I have made no attempt to deal with the inner significance of the runic passages of Cynewulf's poetry, nor to grapple with minor and perhaps insoluble questions of textual criticism, but I have tried to show very briefly that, in the poet's use of runes in his acrostics, he was following perfectly understood conventional principles that compelled the association of the symbols with certain traditional naming words and peremptorily forbade arbitrary and misleading substitutions.

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#### NOTES ON ORSINA

No character of Lessing is worked out with more care and presented with greater passion than is Orsina. Conti, the Prince and Marinelli all prepare the reader for her entrance; when she finally appears, she so over-shadows them and they have so misinterpreted her in their narrow way, that the reader is startled anew and marvels at the power of Lessing to prepare and yet surprise, to motivate carefully and yet constantly develop, to suggest by a word or phrase

the line of action and that that the characters have gone through in their off-stage intervals.

Under the surface, both the Prince and Marinelli are brutal and coarse and are sensually inclined, with a low attitude toward women. The Prince makes frequent attempts to maintain the standards of a gentleman but his newly awakened disgust for Orsina, after the affair is over, makes it difficult for him to observe the decencies of polite intercourse in speaking with her, while in speaking of her both he and Marinelli betray their fundamental misinterpretation of her character.

Orsina is for them the bookish woman, given over to a certain intellectual attitude of mind toward life which they, as essentially unintellectual men, do not understand and hence fear. That they are unintellectual is evident: the Prince has no real mind for the business of government or intrigue and Marinelli, for all his plotting, is an extempore villain, not of dash and courage, but rather of treachery, cowardice and opportunism, who rises and falls by a series of petty lies manufactured for the moment and current only in the face of a weakling like Hettore. Neither Orsina nor Appiani is deceived by them. In these scenes, especially in the scenes with Orsina, it is difficult to see in Marinelli any survival of the Mefisto of some lost Faust; even the Mefistofeleian comment of ironical semi-attention ("Lauter Bewunderung," Act IV., sc. 3) on the extravagant play of wit, fancy and despair in Orsina, is the remark of a limited courtier-nature.

For the Prince, there is more suspicion, more of a lurking feeling of discomfort, and this discomfort has always been present in the liaison with Orsina. It is not merely the result of the fostering of the affair by a court clique. The joy and freedom of the physical appeal are balanced by a certain contempt for Orsina's intellect. She knows how he feels. She knows that she is the woman who *will* think in spite of the men who would make a toy of her. As her main-spring of character is still her love for the Prince, she can feel that "that way madness lies." His interpretation of her, that her bookishness which had repulsed him

<sup>39</sup> In *Christ* 826-7, 881, 1143-4, *Domesdæg* 112 (cf. *Guthlac* 1299, *Har. Hell* 20, *Dream of Rood* 36, *Psalter* 81) *beofian* is used of a "trembling earth" (never of "trembling waters," as the reading *laguflōd* in our passage would demand).

would lead her mind astray, is only the ordinary interpretation of intellectual individuality by Abdera, Grimstad or Krähwinkel. It is incited by the uncomfortable feeling that in Orsina's intellect there is an implied assertion of equality which in a woman is repulsing. If Orsina makes Marinelli, the devil in human form, seem to be only a very stupid devil, she makes a most pitiful figure of the Prince, who sidles and backs away from her, taking refuge in trivialities to escape the responsibility of an interview. In her dealings with both these men, her superiority of fiber is at once apparent and only her love prevents her from being their superior in endurance. It is not, then, her intellect which has given her her impulse toward insanity, but love and sorrow and the knowledge that she is cast aside.

The contrast of the Prince's interest in Emilia with that in Orsina is at once apparent and significant. The constantly implied assertion of equality in the latter's pride of intellect humiliated the Prince. In Emilia he finds a woman of the other type, with less brains, more emotion and more instinct. The bond between them is made at once and Emilia's struggle against this bond, which she recognizes as of her lower nature, makes her tragedy. She feels it from the time of the *veggia* when the Prince showed his interest in her, to the interview in the church of the Dominicans and from there thru a series of bitter, tho half unconscious, struggles to what, for her, is a virtual surrender in the castle of Dosalo. It is idle to ask that Lessing should have made this struggle more apparent and that the abnormal sides of a mental state should have been more emphasized; the remarkable thing is that Lessing should have been able to suggest so much with so little material and to give so clear an idea of Emilia's love in so few words.

The bond on both sides is religio-erotic, but more especially does it affect the Prince thus. He feels himself a better man in Emilia's presence, has seen her recently only in holy places, where he feels at once in accord with the subtle sensuality of her nature. It is a sensuality for him filled with gentle regrets, with

a new sensuousness, and it has a novel melancholy note which was lacking in the amour with Orsina. Here passion was violent and the smiles were often bitter but they were never elegiac. Natures like his and Emilia's find themselves by a free-masonry of passion, and he has judged Emilia correctly and intuitively, whereas both he and Marinelli have failed in their estimate of Orsina. She is one whom neither understands, for she has a deeper life which is closed to them and which she has always been at pains to conceal from them.

Now in the interval between the *veggia* in the notorious Grimaldi's house, and the opening of the play, a change has come over Orsina, or, perhaps, a trait of her nature, latent before, has now become kinetic. This is the express trace of melancholy caught and pictured by Conti, who, like Sargent in this generation, had the gift of reading correctly each passing emotion and of fixing the subtlest gleam of character in the face of the sitter. These things remain hidden and foreign to the Prince. The dignity, the new smile, the tender melancholy which the Prince objects to in Orsina's look, have been developing there since the break of the intimacy. In moments when she was alone with him, the woman never let the Prince suspect that she felt deeply the passing of their love; with Conti she has relaxed, but the Prince does not recognize the justice of Conti's portraiture. A new light is thus thrown on the Conti scene. It is not merely an excursus on art or a side-light on the Prince's character, with well-calculated dramatic expedients to introduce the love-affair easily; it is rather a fine bit of delineatory motivation which may even give us a hint for the exposition of a play in which Orsina was to figure more prominently than she does in the present version.

There is nothing in the first act which predicates the *Kraftweib* or adventuress type, except the combination of sex and intellect which the type shows when elaborated into stock dramatic forms, and since Orsina herself does not appear, this can be only briefly indicated. The further elaborations of the character are generally wanting in Act IV., where alone Orsina

appears. These stock qualities are revengefulness, lack of remorse, a pathetic past and that ability in intrigue which preys on weaker natures. The paraphernalia, too, the idiosyncrasies of speech and the professional mannerisms, are all abandoned except for a brief explosion and a somewhat grandiose entrance on the scene.

Lessing permits Orsina one outburst into violent language; for the rest she remains within the bounds of the gentlewoman. Her wo is not one which is relieved by strong expressions and where she is excessive in her language, she is exhibiting the bravado of the losing cause; it is the sine of defeated love. Lessing has also cut out the pathetic past of the woman of decided antecedents just as he has eliminated all titanisms. Orsina neither swaggers with round oaths nor envelops her character in a veil of tears. For the swagger, Lessing has substituted real passion and for the pathetic past, a very subtly changed mood. Anything else would have been out of place in a play where the emotions are expressed with such lapidarian clarity. The introduction of the sine of the past, an illegitimate child, would not only have been a repetition after Arabella, but would have been unnecessary as a foil to so complete a character as Orsina. The melodrama naturally connected with such a child, introduced as these children were, would also have been out of place in this cool but tense play.

With the elimination of the child, one main reason for the remorse motif falls away. Another reason is that the relation of Orsina to the Prince is nowhere really represented as reprehensible. Indeed, the amour is not yet completely in the reflective stage with Orsina. Moreover, as the play is quite without didacticism, the struggle that Moore and Lillo had between their consciences and their art, in the face of the moral tone of the day, is wholly wanting in Lessing. The lack of a scene between Orsina and Emilia removes, profectiously, the last excuse for that remorse which would naturally take up a large part of the dramatic economy of such an interview.

The one dominant feature of the type which Lessing has left is the revenge motif. Orsina comes armed for the accomplishment of her vengeance. Lessing, however, does not treat this in any conventional way. The vengeance remains unaccomplished, not only because of the recrudescence of the Virginia tragedy in the fifth act, as has often been pointed out, but also because Lessing has deepened and made truer the character of Orsina by a delicacy of psychological interpretation which is highly individual and has its roots in the fundamentals of the nature of all womankind.

Danzel claims that Orsina displays a certain sophistry in her speeches. This is wrong: what Orsina really shows is the acme of the hysteria of passion, and wherever her fancy plays about an idea she indicates that what she is suppressing is the highest emotional state. The intellectual states which condition sophistry have been supplanted by the emotional, and what Lessing portrays and consistently portrays, is the spurred woman at the height of her paroxysm. She cannot throw off at once her former habits of expression, hence the setting of her speeches; but these are not merely the flow of words betokening a cool intellectuality, breaking forth now and again in expressions of biting contentment for herself and her opponents. Passion, rather, and grief and shame permeate all that she says. These emotions are working uncontrolled on a sensitive, high-strung nature, facing for the first time in its life a catastrophe with which it is not strong enough to cope out of its reserve store of mere intellect.

The anger at the resultant impotence is ever and again mingled with erotic frenzy. The psychological presentation of this by Lessing is masterly. Fleeting pictures from the past struggle up from the subconsciousness and demand recognition. The climax of the close interrelation of the erotic with the homicidal moods is reached in an access of nymphomania at the end of IV., 7. The fury is soon spent because of its very violence and then Orsina is done; all that remains for her in the play is to accompany Claudia to the city. Like Lady Macbeth she can plan better than she can execute.

cute, but unlike Lady Macbeth, she is spared the mental breakdown under the weight of crime. At the moment when external circumstances put a hindrance in her path, namely the mere physical difficulty of reaching the Prince, she grasps the relief from action afforded her by the appearance of Odoardo. Woman-like, she is glad to be able to shift the burden of her revenge upon the man, not as a tool but simply surrendering to the masculine in him. She is relieved of the necessity of taking the initiative. She is not fortified in her inner reasons as is Lady Macbeth, who says, "Had he not resembled my father as he slept . . ." She simply shows a reaction after the earlier scenes, the hysteria of which is accentuated to the *crise de nerfs* which has already been mentioned. Her raving, with its agonized wit, recalls the words of the Irish poet, Yeats, "There is no laughter too bitter, no irony too harsh for utterance, no passion too terrible to be set before the minds of men. The Greeks knew that." So did Lessing.

The objection that the scene between Orsina and Odoardo is too witty, too epigrammatic for the access of passion contained therein, is in part answered by the discussion just given. There are, however, external arguments which may be brought to bear on this which show that Lessing was writing out of himself, that his own practice in passion was quite as is Orsina's and that his and other great poets' theories of wit in the drama do not exclude the possibility of just such pointed, clearcut statements as the much criticized remarks of Orsina on "Verstand." Anyone who reads Lessing's letters after the death of his wife cannot fail to be struck by the sharpness, the epigram of expression. Surely, Lessing was here at the moment of his bitterest grief. These letters<sup>1</sup> are among the most heart-rending human documents the world has ever been given. They are the desperate cry of a wounded giant, but they have the same polish as the cries of the love-mad Orsina. With this clear proof out of Lessing's own life it hardly is essential to refer to his theoretical statement

in the *Litteraturbriefe*,<sup>2</sup> where he argues for wit in tragedy, provided only that the wit is natural to the person and to the situation: that this fits Orsina has been shown. And that Lessing is not alone in his feeling for the propriety of wit under such circumstances is proved by the remark of Novalis: "Den stärksten Witz hat die Leidenschaft."<sup>3</sup>

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#### A DISPUTED LINE IN WILLIAM TELL

In the first scene of the fourth act where Ruodi and Jenni are watching Gessler's boat tossing on the stormy lake, the devout Jenni begins to pray, whereupon the fisherman chides him for praying for the wicked governor. The boy replies: (lines 2181 ff.)

Ich bete für den Landvogt nicht—Ich bete  
Für den Tell, der auf dem Schiff sich mit befindet.

FISCHER.

O Unvernunft des blinden Elements!  
Musst du, um einen Schuldigen zu treffen,  
Das Schiff mitsamt den Steuermann verderben?

The point in dispute is, what is meant by "Steuermann" in the last line of the passage cited.

In Professor B. J. Vos' edition of the play (Ginn & Co., 1911) there is the following note on this line. "Steuermann: not Tell, who could hardly be called der Steuermann, but in a general sense; to punish one guilty head 'ship and crew have to perish.'"

<sup>2</sup> *L.-M.*, Vol. VIII, p. 219, l. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Blütenstaub* 40. Minor, Vol. 2, p. 119. Cf. *Blütenstaub* 69 (page 126): "Im höchsten Schmerz tritt zuweilen eine Paralyse der Empfindsamkeit ein. Die Seele zersetzt sich. Daher der tödtliche Frost, die freie Denkkraft, der schmetternde unaufhörliche Witz dieser Art von Verzweiflung. Keine Neigung ist mehr vorhanden; der Mensch steht wie eine verderbliche Macht allein. Unverbunden mit der übrigen Welt verzehrt er sich allmählich selbst und ist seinem Prinzip nach Misanthrop Misotheos."

<sup>1</sup> *L.-M.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 259 ff.

Professor W. H. Carruth gives this note for the same line in his edition of "Tell" (Macmillan, (1898): "... dem Steuermann, certainly meaning Tell; but does the boatman anticipate ll. 2247 ff.?"

Professor R. W. Deering's edition (Heath & Co., 1894) contains this comment on the line: "... The Steuermann is Tell, whom Ruodi had already seen handle a boat (cf. 151 ff., see also 2196 f.)."

When thought of only in connection with "Unvernunft des blinden Elements" a general statement seems quite natural at this point. But there is more to the context. Whatever may be the reference in "Steuermann," Ruodi, when he utters the words "einen schuldigen" is surely thinking of Gessler, over whose seemingly certain destruction he has just been gloating in lines 2172 f.; so at least a part of the statement has a personal and not a general reference, altho stated in general terms.

May not "Steuermann" have in Ruodi's mind quite as personal a reference as "einen Schuldigen," and so refer to Tell? Ruodi has the very best of reasons for thinking of Tell as a "Steuermann," because, as Professor Deering's cross-reference to lines 151 ff. shows, Tell had taken Ruodi's boat a little more than three weeks before the present scene and carried Baumgarten across the *stormy* lake to safety, a risk which Ruodi had refused to take. Naturally Tell's success in that crisis must have made a deep and lasting impression on Ruodi's mind, and when Jenni says:

Ich bete

Für den Tell, der auf dem Schiff sich mit befindet,

he awakens in Ruodi's mind the vivid memory-picture of Tell in a boat on a stormy lake, acting as "Steuermann." It seems to me psychologically sound to conclude that the sudden mention of Tell as being in the storm-tossed boat which they have just seen, should bring to Ruodi's lips the word "Steuermann" with a distinctly personal meaning.

The query as to whether the line in question may not anticipate Tell's narrative of how he was unchained and took charge of the helm

(2247 ff.), can be answered both affirmatively and negatively: that Ruodi does not have in mind a picture of Tell handling Gessler's boat, but is thinking of him as the man who took Baumgarten across during a storm: affirmatively, that Schiller makes clever and accurate use of the psychology of Ruodi's mind; and by having him call Tell the "Steuermann," and again by the remark in ll. 2195-96,

—Sie haben einen guten Steuermann

Am Bord: könnt' einer retten, wär's der Tell,

the dramatist prepares us for Tell's own narrative of how his skill as a helmsman delivered him from Gessler's power.

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*Lições de Philologia Portuguesa dadas na Bibliotheca Nacional de Lisboa pelo Dr. J. LEITE DE VASCONCELLOS, Primeiro Conservador da mesma Bibliotheca, Professor do Curso de Bibliothecario-Archivista. . . Lisboa, Livraria classica editora de A. M. Teixeira & C.<sup>ya</sup> 1911. xxiii + 519 pp.*

According to the *Prologo*, p. ix, this volume contains the materials of the first six scholastic years of the course of free lectures on Portuguese Philology organized by Dr. Leite in 1903, at the request of some of his students in the *Curso de Bibliothecario-Archivista*.

Since the character of these lectures depended, as we are told, upon the make-up of his audience, composed of regular students and more or less also of teachers and writers, Dr. Leite felt at liberty to give them such scope as seemed best to him "com tanto que não ultrapassasse as fronteiras da sciencia." (Cf. below the comment on p. 19, note 9.) Each lecture consisted of two parts, the first being devoted to the interpretation of old texts published in the author's *Textos Archaicos* (1st ed., 1905; 2d, 1907-1908); the second to various matters, such as replies to queries and notices of new books.

In order to avoid the repetitions and interrup-

tions contingent upon presenting the lectures in the exact order in which they were given, and to save himself, on the other hand, the labor involved in changing completely the plan of the respective groups of lectures, the author (*Prologo*, p. x) decided to "apresentá-las em ordem methodica, dentro de cada anno," and to supplement this arrangement with a synopsis of the topics discussed, and a word-index.

In view of the great variety of subjects, linguistic, archeological and other, touched upon in sundry parts of this portly volume, only some of the more important ones can be indicated in the space allotted to a review, others being mentioned below in the notes on points of detail :

- I (1903-1904) Noções preliminares. Evolução da lingua portuguesa. Fontes do lexico portuguez. Conspecto de phonologia historica. Explicação de textos antigos.
- II (1904-1905) Latim lusitanico, e portuguez archaico. Phenomenos archaicos no fallar hodierno. Observações orthographicas.
- III (1905-1906) Plano de estudos philologicas. Heraldica e linguistica.
- IV (1906-1907) O L latino em português.—Phenomenos de estilo e syntaxe.—Onomastico antigo e moderno.
- V (1907-1908) Erros de linguagem no uso quotidiano.—Euphemismos.—Nomes patrios e gentilicos.
- VI (1908-1909) "Vergilio," não "Virgilio."—A terminação atona *-ade* e *-ada*.—Noticia do idioma de Riodonor.

With the exception of Nos. II and III, these courses were made known in summary form in the year of their delivery, either in the Lisbon newspapers (Nos. IV-VI) or, as is the case with No. I, in the *Revista lusitana* 8, 159-170 (reprinted separately at Porto in 1904). This account of No. I, then, permits us to form some idea at least of the degree of conformity of the book before us with the sum and substance of the original lectures (see, *e. g.*, the note to p. 110). Portions of the volume are copies of articles and notes printed in *Rev. lus.* or elsewhere. The enlargement which the author has given the original material consists, as far as one may judge,

chiefly in references to comparatively recent scientific contributions introduced in the body of the text as well as in the notes. Thus No. I (p. 5, 17) refers to publications of 1909 and 1910, while No. VI (pp. 475 and 477) mentions some of 1908 and 1909. From this it must not be inferred, however, that the discussion of the subjects taken up is at all uniformly attuned to the pitch of contemporary research (see, *e. g.*, the notes to pp. 37, 129, 311-319), nor that even the older scientific literature, though accessible, is carefully consulted. As the author informs us in his *Prólogo* (p. x), it was not his intention to write a uniform treatise or compendium. We see, then, that while the *Ilições de Philologia Portuguesa* cover a wide range of learned matter, they do not offer the student either the systematic and advanced exposition of the subject, or the necessary guidance in strictly scientific methods of research which, to confine ourselves entirely to Portuguese examples, is afforded him in such works as Coelho's *Questões da Lingua Portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1874), a model of investigation for its time, or in Gonçalves Vianna's *Pronuncia Normal Portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1892), *As Orthographias Portuguezas* (1902), *Apostilas aos dictionarios* (2 vols., 1906), exemplary in every respect, or in J. J. Nunes' *Grammatica historica in Chrestomathia archaica* (1906).

Let us now pass on to the consideration of a few of the many points of detail which invite discussion : p. 12. "O latim vulgar, na essencia, não era differente do latim litterario, ou latim propriamente dito : o que não quer dizer que os escriptores escrevessem exactamente a lingua do povo."

Apart from the question as to the precise meaning of *na essencia* in this statement, we should carefully consider here, among other points, the well-known fact (*cf. e. g.*, Meyer-Lübke, *Grundriss* i<sup>2</sup>, 456) that the degree of difference between Vulgar Latin and the idiom, both written and spoken, of the cultured class was not the same at all periods of the Roman age of the Latin language. Comparatively slight at the beginning of the literary activity of Rome about 250 B. C., it must have been more appreciable not more than a half a century later when the epitaph ascribed to Naevius sounded the alarm *obliti sunt Romai*

*loquier lingua latina*; more tangible still in the days of Quintilian when the influence of Christianity and other factors lifted a host of words from the folk-speech and from Greek into the realm of literature, and, finally, quite substantial when the Roman age followed Boethius to the grave in 525. And the contrast between the two currents of Latin speech will scarcely be regarded as unessential by those who hold with Meyer-Lübke (*Einführung*, § 12, p. 9) that the syntax of the Romance languages in many respects appears more closely related to that of modern High German or Modern Greek than to that of Ancient Latin.

With regard to *felis* and *cattus*, which Leite, as Coelho before him (*Questões*, p. 90), would consider as designations of the cat existing beside each other at the same period, one in the literary idiom, the other in the vulgar speech, see Sainéan, *La création métaphorique*, in *Beihefte zur Z. f. r. Ph.* 1, p. 5.

P. 19, note 9, Dr. Leite says: "Do *Cancioneiro de el-rei D. Diniz* ha uma edição portuguesa feita em Paris em 1847 por Caetano Lopes de Moura; posto que inferior á de Lang, prestou contudo os seus serviços, e algumas vezes terei de a citar adiante."

Let us examine briefly the merits of the position to which the Lisbon writer thus commits himself. It is true that Moura's edition of the Lyrics of Denis, preserved in the Vatican Codex,<sup>1</sup> was used by F. Wolf (*Studien*, etc., 1859, pp. 700-707), by Diez (*Kunst u. Hoff.*, 1863), by Coelho (*Questões*), and perchance by others to whom no part of this only just discovered collection<sup>2</sup> was then otherwise accessible.<sup>3</sup> It is no less true, however, and well known by every one at all conver-

sant with such matters, that from the very outset this publication was recognized as a remarkably incompetent piece of work,<sup>4</sup> and that consequently, in accordance with the most elementary ideas of criticism, it ceased to be consulted in scientific discussion from the moment a better text became available.

Instead, therefore, of disturbing Moura's silent dust, Dr. Leite, if he preferred a Portuguese to a foreign work, should obviously have resorted either to Th. Braga's far more intelligent edition of the *Cancioneiro Portuguez da Vaticana* (1878) which, while not critical, nevertheless still answers a real need as the only available complete edition of the Vatican codex with its many songs well-nigh unreadable to one not a specialist in this subject<sup>5</sup>; or, if Braga, as it seems, was not to be thought of,<sup>6</sup> to the more carefully prepared *Chrestomathia archaica* of J. J. Nunes,<sup>7</sup> which, besides an able historical grammar and other aids, contains a judicious selection of some two hundred and fifty poems preserved in the *Cancioneros*, including fifteen by Denis, and is therefore distinctly worthy of recommendation to Portuguese students.

If, however, in the face of considerations so obvious as these, Dr. Leite nevertheless thinks his procedure correct, as he professes to do, it is only fair to ask why he did not adopt it in the *Notas* and *Novas Notas ao Cancioneiro de el-rei D. Denis* (Barcellos, 1894; published shortly before my *Liederbuch*); in the *Summula das Prelecções de Philologia . . . no anno lectivo de 1903-1904* (Porto, 1904; reprint from *Rev. lus.*, 8, 159-170), with which the account of the *anno lectivo*

<sup>1</sup> As shown in my *Liederbuch*, pp. vi-vii, and in the reference, at the head of each song, to the pages of his edition, Moura's transcription of the original is incomplete.—The ten other pieces of Denis, preserved in the codex Colocci Brancuti, were for the first time edited in my edition.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Wolf, *l. c.*, and Monaci, *Canzoniere portoghese della Vaticana*, p. vi.

<sup>3</sup> The same service was, however, rendered by the equally, if not more, meritorious editions of the *Ajuda*-collection by Lord Stuart (1823) and Varnhagen (1849 and 1870) which Leite nevertheless does not honor in the same manner.

<sup>4</sup> See, e. g., Da Costa e Silva, *Ensayo bibliographico-critico* (Lisboa, 1850-1856), 1, 64-5; Wolf, *l. c.*; Diez, *l. c.* 135-138; Mrs. Vasconcellos, *Literaturblatt*, 1895; *Cancion. da Ajuda* 2, 16-17. The import of the opinion last referred to might certainly have been understood by the Lisbon writer.

<sup>5</sup> See the just appreciation of Braga's literary and critical work by Mrs. Vasconcellos in *Canc. da Ajuda* 2, 44-48.—Braga's *Cancioneiro* proved invaluable for Jeanroy's illuminating investigation of the medieval lyric in his *Origines*, etc., 1889.

<sup>6</sup> Braga's text is cited only once in the *Lições* (p. 243), and even then without mention of the editor's name.

<sup>7</sup> See the notices of this book in *Romania* 36, 473, and *Z. f. r. Ph.* 33, 363.

I contained in the book before us purports to correspond in principle, and in which the reviewer's *Liederbuch* is the only edition of Denis quoted (see the note to p. 110); and, finally, in the *Textos arcaicos* (1st ed., Porto, 1905; 2d ed., Lisboa, 1907), embodying six songs of Denis confessedly taken over from the *Liederbuch*. In none of these publications is Moura so much as hinted at. It is clear, then, that the course adopted and adhered to by the Lisbon professor in the *Lições de Philologia Portuguesa* is inadmissible from every point of view, whether scientific or other.<sup>8</sup>

37. The explanation that the development of *Tejo* from *Tagus* is due to Arabic influence was given by Gröber, Wölfflin's *Archiv* 6 (1889), 118-119, and by Gonçalves Vianna, *Rev. lusit.* 2, 337; i. e., before the publication by David Lopes quoted by Leite.—The excellent article on *Phonologia historica portuguesa* by Gonçalves Vianna just referred to is omitted in the Bibliography given on p. 31, note.

54. In this discussion of *ti* in place of *tu* (cf. also Moreira, *Rev. Hisp.* 13, 596-597), no account is taken of my note in *Liederbuch*, pp. 129-131, in which for the first time the use of the objective form of the personal pronoun for the nominative form was illustrated by cases collected from all the oldest Portuguese texts then accessible to me, inclusive of some from modern writers.

77. Concerning the use of older *per* beside *por* in Old Portuguese, the author might here (as well as in *Textos arcaicos*<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *per*) have referred to Cornu, *Romania* 11, 91 ff., and Nobiling, *Mélanges Chabaneau*, 350-352. More recently, the subject has been discussed by Hanssen

(*Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, 1910), who does not seem to consider sufficiently the fact that an older and a new usage may exist beside each other in the popular and the literary idiom of one and the same period.

87. For the figurative meanings of *barba* here mentioned cf. Graal, p. 74, 17: *Teuerom que era ensinado a bôoa barba*, and the Spanish cases collected by the reviewer in *Transact. Mod. Lang. Assoc. Am.*, 3 (1887), 17-20. For the beard in legal symbolism see Grimm, *Deutsche RA.*, 2, Index s. v. *bart*.

90. "*i*, ahi. Lat. *hic* (outros propoem *ibi*)."

The author expresses no opinion with regard to the merits of the two etyma. Hanssen, *Span. Gr.*, § 18, 12, prefers the second, Ford, in his excellent *Old Span. Readings* (Boston, 1911), s. v., on phonetic grounds, the first. In his recent *Espicilegio* (Santiago, 1911) Hanssen adduces copious evidence from Latin documents for the prevalence of *ibi* over *hic* in Spain. It is most likely, therefore, that *ibi* developed to *i* either in the manner suggested in Hanssen's *Sp. Gr.*, or, as I am more inclined to think, in proclitic position, like *ende* (cf. *Romanic Review*, 2, 341-342).

"*assi*, *assim*. Do lat. *ad-sic*." (The same in Leite's *Estud. de Phil. Mirand.*, 1, 452.) This etymology is satisfactory as far as the change of intervocalic *ds* to *ss* is concerned, but hardly in other respects. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *RG.*, 3, 527, 655; also 2, 122, 596; and Ford, *Old Sp. R.*, s. v. < *eccum* + *ac* + *sic* or *ac sic*. For a conflicting treatment of intervocalic *ds* by Leite see the note to p. 359 on *quiza*.

107. "Á nossa poesia trovadoresca, segundo os recentes estudos da sr<sup>a</sup> D. Carolina Michaelis,<sup>9</sup> póde assignalar-se como comêço o seculo xii (reinado de D. Sancho i)." <sup>10</sup> In my *Liederbuch*, pp. xxv-xxvii, and again in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 10 (1895), p. 105, a number of arguments are especially presented to show that "the beginnings of the Gallego-Portuguese court-lyric cannot have been later than 1175."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See *Z. f. r. Ph.*, 28 (1904), 385.

<sup>10</sup> Sancho I, 1185-1211.

<sup>11</sup> This thesis is distinctly referred to by Mrs. Vasconcellos herself (*Z. f. r. Ph.*, 19, 583).—See further my article *Zum Canc. da Ajuda*, l. c., 32, 129.

<sup>8</sup> It is instructive to see what object these visits to Moura have been made to serve. Of a total of about twenty-four instances, five (pp. 56, 110, 276) correct errors which do not exist in the later editions of Braga and Lang, both of which are honored with silence; four (pp. 110, 149, 156, 276) ascribe to Moura readings not to be found at all in the passages cited, and which are thereupon gravely corrected; and quite as many other instances (pp. 113, 156), afford the opportunity for citing emendations proposed by Mrs. Vasconcellos in her review of the *Liederbuch* in *Z. f. r. Ph.* 19.—There is not, in the book before us, any observation betokening a careful study of the language, metre or subject-matter of the First Portuguese Lyric.

110. With regard to the poem by King Denis here printed, which according to the *Summula*, p. 13, preceded, instead of following, one from the *Canc. da Ajuda* (forming in the *Summula*, p. 14, part of lecture 22d, dated June 8, 1904), Dr. Leite says in note 1: "Do *Canc. da Vaticana*, no. 123 (p. 52). Cf. Lopes de Moura, p. 64, cuja lição foi reproduzida e melhorada por Diez, *Ueber die erste port. Kunst- und Hofpoesie*, Bonna 1863, p. 88."

In the *Summula*, however (p. 13), where the composition referred to forms part of the 20th lecture, we read as follows: "Análise de uma poesia dionisiana, segundo o *Liederbuch des Königs Denis*" etc.

Here, then, we have two conflicting accounts of what the *Summula* represents as the twentieth lecture of the course of 1903-1904. One of these must be wrong. Is the reader supposed to accept the one contained in the *Lições de Philologia Portuguesa* as the embodiment of Dr. Leite's purpose, stated in his preface (p. xi), to contribute with this volume "para o progresso dos estudos philologicos entre nós"?

129, note 3. The author is right in considering improbable Carnoy's explanation (*Le latin d'Espagne*, 1903, p. 154) that the transformation of *Callaecia* to *Gallaecia* is due to an intentional association of this name with *Gallus*; but his own concluding words are hardly more to the point: "A transformação de *c* em *g* é difficil de explicar, não o nego. Talvez de *Callaecus* se fizesse *Gallaeus* por dissimilação; em tal caso *Gallaecia* assentaria em *Gallaeus*." Both he and Carnoy overlook the fact that the change of *c* to *g* here is only one of the numerous cases, long familiar from the Romance as well as the classical languages, of the voicing of the initial guttural explosive, a phenomenon very ably discussed for his time by the great Portuguese savant, F. A. Coelho, in an article on *Callaecia* (in *Revista Archeolog.*, 1889, pp. 1-8) not mentioned by his successors.

As this is not the place for the fuller treatment which this question demands, it must suffice here to say that even after discounting the cases in Latin documents (inscriptions, etc.) which according to Schuchardt (*Vokalismus* I, 104; 124-125) may be due to mistakes caused by the similarity of the letters *c* and *g*; other cases, begin-

ning with *cl*, *cr*; still others explainable as the result of a crossing with words beginning with *gr*, as *e. g.*, *grassus* > *crassus* + *grossus* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grundriss* I<sup>2</sup>, 862), and even, as Meyer-Lübke would have it (*Italien. Grammat.* p. 96) words of Greek and Celtic origin—after discounting, we say, all these—we still have a respectable number of instances testifying to the operation of such a law in Neo-Latin speech. (Cf. for Italian Meyer-Lübke, *l. c.*, and for the Spanish Peninsula the reviewer's brief notes in an article on the metrical terms *caçafaton*, *gaçafaton* in *Revue Hispan.* 16, 23 ff., and also *Romanic Review* 2, 336.)

153. In the course of his remarks on the forms *dorido*, *doorido*, *door* from Lat. *dolore*, the author says: "No seculo XVI, ou antes, acceita-se na lingua o latinismo *dolor*, que ficou a coexistir com *dor* ou *door*, mas que nada tem com \**dolor*, fôrma extincta em tempos anteriores." It is true that our earliest known texts contain no example of *dolor* beside *door*, but it is not quite so certain that *dolor* was any more extinct than *color*, which happens to occur repeatedly in medieval texts, as *e. g.*, *Canc. Vat.* 74<sup>a</sup>, ll. 4, 13; 178, 9 (see *Liederbuch* s. v. and p. 124); 214, 10; 1062, 4, 9, 13, etc.; *Canc. Resende* 1, 63, l. 10. See the lists of more or less popular forms with medial *l* given by Coelho, *Questões* 255-257, and Cornu, *Grundriss* I<sup>2</sup>, 971, and add, *e. g.*, *solamente* (*Canc. CB.* 94, 18; *Rev. lus.* 3, 103, 113, 119; 5, 132); *malla* = *mala* = *maa* (*Graal*, p. 2, 35); *infeles* (*Canc. Res.* 1, 360). In the *Cron. Troy.* we find *collor* (*e. g.* 1, 110, 307); *dolorido* (*ib.* 342, 358), *solo* (2, 19), *solamente* (1, 102), *valia* (1, 360), forms which, to be sure, may be due to the influence of the Spanish original.

189. To the examples of the conjunction *em que* = *ainda que* collected by Mrs. Vasconcellos in *Z. f. r. Ph.*, 7, 107, as the author states, and also in *Misc. Caix-Canello*, 130, add the earlier instances from the *Canc. Res.* adduced by the reviewer in *Z. f. r. Ph.*, 32, 298, in the note to l. 4501 of the *Canc. da Ajuda*.

190. The locution *chus nem bus* has its parallel in the Spanish (*no decir*) *chus ni mus* (*e. g.* *Picara Justina*, ed. Ochoa, p. 15). See also *Romanic Review*, 2, 340, and for an entirely different explanation of *chus* in the formulas cited, the article by Baist in *Rom. Forsch.*, 4, 417.

220-250. We find here a plan of philological studies which in the author's opinion should be pursued in Portugal. To the subjects and problems here recommended to the student's attention, the following might be added :

1) The influence of the Church upon the phonology, phraseology and the customs of the people, as shown, *e. g.* in the names of the weekdays, in the conventional tone of the medieval love-song, etc. (cf. *Liederbuch*, p. lxxxviii-cii, etc.).

2) The influence of legal tradition, illustrations of which are given, *l. c.*, p. xcvi, 115, 136-137; *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* 163-164, 197-198 (cf. also *Romanic Review*, 2, 343, s. v. *que, ca* = 'but'). See note to p. 313.

The importance of the two subjects just mentioned is duly pointed out in J. Jud's instructive article (1911) on *Neue Wege und Ziele der romanischen Wortforschung*, pp. 12-14.

3) The systematic and detailed study of Latin and vernacular documents of medieval Portugal and Galicia, carefully distinguished according to their place of origin, and the comparison of the results with those obtained from the investigation of the modern dialects (cf. *Z. f. r. Ph.*, 32, 138). In this connection it is to be borne in mind that the division into provinces coincides to a considerable degree with the ecclesiastical organization of the country which latter was itself largely based upon a preceding division determined by geographical and political conditions. The importance of this point of view has recently been shown by Morf in his excellent treatise on *Die sprachliche Gliederung Frankreichs* (Berlin, 1911, pp. 31-32).

311. For examples of the archaic expression *dous tanto* = *duas vezes tanto*, the author refers to his brief note in *Rev. lusit.* 9, 73, and to Moreira, *Estudos* 1, 11-14, in neither of which places any mention is made of the collection of such cases from the oldest texts, and the scientific literature on this subject, given in *Canc. Gallego-Castelhano*, pp. 217-218. Cf. also *Z. f. r. Ph.* 32, 388, the note to l. 8908 of the *Canc. Ajuda*.

313-319. The alliterative formulas registered in these pages are interesting, as such poetic elements of speech always are, but they are not critically divided into those consisting of couples like

*coir' e carne* and those formed, *e. g.*, like *ás mil maravilhas*, nor into those forming part of the very texture of the language, and those created by the artistic poet, important distinctions carefully observed, *e. g.*, in Taylor's doctor-dissertation (New Haven, 1900, p. 33), which Dr. Leite cites, but apparently did not consult. Nor does the close relation of the alliterative formula with ancient legal and social custom receive any attention from the author, who consequently interprets in a very superficial way some of the older, very instructive, examples, though the formulas gathered from the oldest Portuguese and Spanish official and literary documents in *Liederbuch*, pp. 114-115, 140; *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* 197-198 (contributions not referred to by Dr. Leite) are treated from that point of view. Thus for *coiro e carne* he copies the interpretation of Moraes, *Dicc.* s. v. "levemente," and for *coiro e cabelo* he contents himself with the allusion to the barber's work found in the phrase *levar c. e. c.* of *Canc. de Resende*, 3, 277, cited in *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* p. 197, though the Latin *coria et carnem* (quoted under *coiro e cabelo*!) and the German *haut und haar* (cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltert.*, 1, p. 9) might have revealed to him a deeper meaning. Nor is there here, finally, any original collection from the medieval Latin and vernacular documents accessible to the Lisbon professor. Suffice it to mention, for illustration, *de sole a sole* (Muñoz y Romero, *Fueros*, 276), *de sol a sol* (*Canc. Res.*, 1, 258, 5), *corda et corpora nostra* (Berganza, *Antigüedades* 2, 375), more frequently *corpus et anima* (*Ib.* 399), regarding which cf. *Liederbuch*, p. lxi, note; also such riming formulas as *de dereyto e da feyto* (Doc. of Lugo, 1366, in *España Sag.* 41, 415; *Cron. Troy.* 1, 278); *accessu et regressu* (Berganza, *l. c.* 375, 378, etc.), *in montes et fontes* (*Ib.* 378, 380, etc.), *em montes como em fontes* (*Rev. lusit.* 5, 132); *oves et boves* (Berganza, *Ibid.* 375, 383, 389, etc.).

320-323. *Particularidades de collocação.* This paragraph contains some interesting cases of popular phraseology and syntax, such as ironical and elliptical locutions. *E. g.*, "Elle vae lá"—"Isso vae elle," a negative reply in which the repetition of the verb serves to emphasize the negation. Cf. Moreira, *Rev. Hispan.* 16, 1-2.

A systematic collection of such expressions, and of phrases *figêes*, as e. g., *vae n'isto* = 'entretanto' (Coelho, *Cont. pop. portug.* 69: *Vae n'isto veiu-lhe uma carta d'um amigo dizendo . . .*); *cadêle* < 'que é d'ele' = 'where is' (Nobiling, *Rom. Forsch.* 16, 145: *Cadêle ten pente de ôro, para pentear ten cacheado?*) and *mal haya* = 'maldicho' (Alarcon, *Niño de la Bola*, New York, 1903, p. 114: *Mal haya sea el dinero*), would be of great value to the student of syntax and semasiology.

359: "*Quizá* não pôde explicar-se por *qui sapit*, pois *s* não daria *ç* em português, nem o *z* ou *ç*, do hespanhol *quiza*, *quiza*; tem de se admittir *quid sapit*, onde *ds* davam regularmente esses sons, como em *Gongalo* e *Gonzalo*, de *Gund 'salvus*."

Here two important points are overlooked. In the first place, intervocalic *ds* does not regularly yield *-ç*, as is clearly shown by *adsatis* > *assaz* (cf. e. g., Ford, *OSp. S.* 104-107), to say nothing of Leite's different treatment of *ds* in his derivation of *assi* from *adsic* (see p. 90). In the second place, *Gund 'salvus* presents the group *nds*, and is therefore not a case in point. Hansen (*Span. Gramm.*, § 18, 8) conjectures influence of *qui scit* upon *qui sapit*; Morf (*Archivf. n. S.*, 1910, 125, p. 269), setting aside this view presumably on the ground that *qui scit* did not live long enough to affect the *s* of *qui sapit*, suggests influence of *quigas* < *quid sapis*, an attractive explanation based upon the conjectural development of intervocalic *ds* to *ç*. Zauner, in his review of Hanssen's book (*LB. f. g. u. r. Ph.*, Dec., 1911, 408) revives the formula *qui sapit* + *quem sapit* (also adopted by Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung* 47) which Ford (*Old Sp. Sib.* 72) hesitates to accept on account of the unexplained absence of *n* in *quiza*, *quigas*. Menéndez Pidal, in his *Manual*<sup>12</sup>, §§ 63, b; 128, 2, and in *Cantar de Mio Cid* I, 175 and II (1911) 815, adheres to *quī sapit*, ascribing in I, 175 the *-ç* for *s* in the examples there cited "á influencia dialectal, la del ceceo, que en la segunda mitad del siglo xvi se extendió visiblemente por Andalucía." <sup>12</sup> While some of the cases quoted may, as

<sup>12</sup> Baist, *Grundriss* I<sup>2</sup>, 898, would see in *quiza* an isolated instance of the influence of the Andal. *ceceo* upon the Castilian *s*.

he himself admits (cf. Ford, *l. c.* 68-72), be due to other causes, his theory will, in my opinion, be justified by a further collection and scrutiny of the evidence. It is in accord with the fact that Arabic writers of the twelfth century and the aljamiado texts represent the Spanish and Portuguese *-ç* by *šin* (see e. g., Gonçalves Vianna, *Rev. lusit.* 2, 333 ff.; Ford, *l. c.* 158 ff.; Menéndez Pidal, *Yúfuf* 24-25).<sup>13</sup>

363-396. The author gives us here a short but instructive list of incorrect modes of expression current in the every-day language, both spoken and written, of Lisbon. Such faulty usage, in his opinion, is due to the insufficient acquaintance of the people with its classical writers, the increasing neglect of Latin, and the influence of the French language, superficially acquired and translated. The only book on the use of Gallicisms in Portuguese which our author is able to recommend to writers for guidance is the *Glossario das palavras e frases da lingua franceza*, etc., published by Fr. Francisco de S. Luis at Lisbon in 1827, a work mentioned (with the earlier date of 1816) by Coelho in his very instructive chapter on *O Neologismo* (in *Questões* 50-65),<sup>14</sup> which Leite does not mention.

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*John Lyly: Contribution à l'Histoire de la Renaissance en Angleterre*, par Albert Feuillerat. Cambridge University Press, 1910.

Among the many scholars who of late years have been attracted to a searching study of Lyly's works, M. Feuillerat has easily taken first rank by reason of his recent prodigious volume, *John Lyly*. The work cannot, however, be viewed alone for the insight it gives into the life and genius of Lyly; as M. Feuillerat recognizes in his subtitle, its value lies also in the amount of light it can throw not only upon

<sup>13</sup> Ford, *Old Sp. R.*, p. 79, now proposes *qui te \*sapet* as a probable solution of the question.

<sup>14</sup> A new treatise on *Gallicisms* in modern Portuguese is therefore a desideratum.

the history of letters but upon the history of manners in the adollescening Renaissance.

The work shows, on the whole, comprehensiveness of view, thoroughness of research, and, especially in the more purely literary criticism, unusual range and mastery of detail as well as great critical acumen. And by no means our smallest debt to the author is for the charm of his own style. The first part of the volume, with its flood of new light on Lyly's life, deserves only the highest praise. M. Feuillerat's discovery of John Lyly's descent from the grammarian William Lyly is his most significant contribution to our knowledge of Lyly's life, and one follows with a good deal of zest his account of this literary family. In many other respects the author has vitalized our conception of Lyly's personality. Especially does his knowledge of the history of England and of the lives of her leaders during the period enable him to make Lyly a realistic figure in the court group. The second part of the work, also, contains a number of superior sections which might be pointed out. In particular, the study of euphuism is an admirably clear, rounded, and convincing presentation of the nature and development of the fad. In much of his work, M. Feuillerat is of course indebted to the researches of his predecessors, but there is little, one feels, which has not been mastered and presented with fresh power.

It is in interpreting Lyly's relationship to the great social and literary tendencies of the day that the author is confronted with his most difficult task; and here, in spite of his exceptionally broad knowledge of the field, it is at times impossible not to feel that he has looked too narrowly at the matter in hand, failing to weigh justly the probable influence of the larger literary movements of the age upon certain phases of Lyly's work. *The Anatomy of Wit* may be taken as an example. M. Feuillerat regards the *Anatomy* as a serious moral treatise, whose primary purpose was to sound a caveat to the young Englishman of the period against the degenerating influences of Italianism. This interpretation of the *Anatomy* helps to commit him to a view of Lyly as hostile to the Italian

influence, a view which colors his whole treatment. "Les attaques de Lyly contre l'Italianisme prouvent surabondamment qu'il n'était pas séduit par l'Italianisme," he declares (p. 60, n. 3). He is right in stressing Lyly's strong bent toward English ideals and morals; but I believe that Lyly came at an age when, for a writer of the court at least, a large debt to Italy, or rather to English Italianism, was well nigh inevitable. One who follows M. Feuillerat, however, is likely to lose sight of this indebtedness of Lyly's generation to Italy—a result which could hardly have been intended.<sup>1</sup> Certainly Lyly's type of fiction, in incident and in characters, is akin to that shown in stories translated from Italian; and there are too many contemporary allusions to manners of gallants and to customs at court as derived from Italy to doubt the influence upon the courtly custom and play depicted by Lyly. Further, M. Feuillerat, looking not so much to literature as to the follies in manners acquired by travelers and brought to court, is inclined to neglect the fact that the influence of Italy was noble and idealizing in many of its phases.

In explaining his theory that the *Anatomy* is a direct attack on Italianism, the author over-stresses, after all, the didactic nature of the work. The story, he tells us, is of secondary consideration with Lyly, a mere vehicle for moral instruction (p. 291, etc.). Then, hard put to it to explain this spasm of moral zeal on Lyly's part, he declares that the *Anatomy* is to be regarded as representing a brief period in Lyly's life when, whether in sincerity of heart or not, he allied himself with the more serious and moral Englishman, the work probably being in particular an effort to curry favor with the ruggedly Anglican and moral Lord Burghley. The difficulties of this position are manifold. M. Feuillerat himself recognizes the fact that the effect of the *Anatomy* was not to strengthen the bond with Burghley

<sup>1</sup> Here and there, of course, M. Feuillerat does take into account the influence of Italianism on Lyly (cf. pp. 67, 68; 151, n. 3; 194; 286; etc.), but he is inclined to minimize the relation (cf. pp. 60, n. 3; 378, n. 2; etc.).

but to cast in Lyly's lot more irretrievably with the Italianate and dissolute Earl of Oxford. It is in accounting for the popularity of the *Anatomy* that M. Feuillerat seems to me to strike at the root of the matter, when he says that, shorn of its tedious moralizing, "*l'Anatomy of Wit* apparaissait comme une de ces 'frivolités' italiennes, délices de la société polie, et qui se trouvaient, dit-on, dans tous les 'cabinets' des beautés d'alors" (p. 74). *The Anatomy of Wit* was first of all, I take it, a tale intended to please, betraying, in fact, the influence of the very Italianism which M. Feuillerat supposes Lyly to be attacking. Naturally, however, pleasure is bountifully interspersed with the profit so dear to the age. Indeed, it does not seem to me necessary to interpret the serious tone of the *Anatomy* in terms of Lyly's personal convictions or experiences at all; it was an inheritance, part of a writer's stock in trade around 1580.

But, if M. Feuillerat has overemphasized the didactic nature of the *Anatomy*, he has correspondingly slighted the didacticism that runs through the remainder of Lyly's work. In other words, there is to my mind no radical change in the underlying moral purpose of Lyly's work. M. Feuillerat rightly sees in the moral tone of the *Anatomy* the influence of the school to which Lyly's grandfather belonged. The kinship is readily apparent here, for Lyly was dealing with a literary genre which, as yet little developed in England, was naturally susceptible to the influence of the didactic prose writers whose note of stern morality had been dominant in the literature of the early Renaissance. But, though one of the best phases of the author's treatment is his claim for a strong Anglicism in Lyly's work, he does not make it clear that the moral seriousness of practically all English literature before Lyly lends an undercurrent of purposefulness to everything Lyly wrote, even the plays that seem to exalt the merest trivialities of social life. In *Midas*, for example, Sophronia is an abstraction typifying wisdom while the three councillors of Midas, with their single passions, are the tempters of the hero. Lyly is, in fact, a fore-

runner of Jonson in the comedy of humours, for his analysis of character almost always has as its purpose the exposure of folly. This is seen in the court women of his plays, who are usually treated satirically in name and in character. It is true that Lyly's didacticism is not always very convincing; his writings lack the ring of sincerity that characterizes the utterances of men like More and Ascham. But this air of self-conscious posing seems to me evident alike in Lyly's plays and in the *Anatomy*.

Again, in dealing with the problem of the allegory in *Endimion* M. Feuillerat has not taken adequately into account, I think, the force of the influence exerted upon Lyly by the tendency to moral symbolism in the Elizabethan age. He is inclined to interest himself almost exclusively in the personal and historical allegory of the play. His interpretation I need not discuss in detail. He has shown excellently the weakness of the theory which identifies *Endimion* with Leicester; but his own interpretation of *Endimion* as James, the future king of England and the son of Mary, or Tellus, though supported with exceeding ingenuity, seems to me weaker still. To my mind, the true interpretation of the personal allegory has not yet been found, except of course in the case of *Cynthia*, though a number of passages which seem to refer to actual persons make it probable that personal allegory does exist. Perhaps, to the far from unusual flattery of the Queen as *Cynthia* there are added local hits that were readily intelligible to Lyly's audience, and possibly some local happening gave Lyly the impetus for the play; but I am not at all inclined to believe that the primary purpose of the general plot of *Endimion* is to set forth in elaborate allegory political and social affairs at the English court. There is at any rate a moral allegory underlying the play which is of greater significance for an interpretation of Lyly's relation to the Renaissance. M. Feuillerat recognizes this allegory, of course,—indeed, some traces of it are universally recognized,—but only Mr. P. W. Long seems to me to have given it adequate attention, and even he has perhaps interpreted it too nar-

rowly. The central idea of *Endimion*, according to Mr. Long, is that Cynthia represents Heavenly Beauty, Tellus Earthly Beauty, and that Endimion's love for Cynthia is the reverential and spiritualized affection of the Platonic or courtly lover (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, March, 1909). But even the portrayal of Cynthia is suggestive of more than the typical courtly love for the Queen mixed with an allegory of the moon, and there is perhaps a stronger influence of the more strictly moral medieval symbolism than of Platonism. Such a mixture of moral allegory with physical and court-of-love allegory is to be found in a number of fifteenth and early sixteenth century writers.

The plot of *Endimion* involves the fundamental morality idea of the conflict between good and evil. Endimion, devoted to Virtue, compromises himself with Sensuality and falls under her power till in old age he returns to Virtue—such is the dim outline of the morality plot.<sup>2</sup> The world of Dame Nature with the conflict between Sensuality and Reason readily lends itself to the treatment of this theme. Such portrayals of the warfare between nobler and baser motives in love were innumerable, Pallas, Diana, Reason representing virtue as opposed to Venus, Cupid, the World, Sensuality, etc. Alain de Lille's *Complaint of Nature* deals with the power of reason to elevate and of lust to drag down to earth. The figure of slumber is here used for the effect of sensuality (translation in *Yale Studies in English*, p. 42), and Nature, says the author, "sweetening my lips with modest kisses, made me well, who was weak and sick with stupor, by the honey-flowing balm of her speech" (pp. 23, 24). Falsehood, one of the abstractions

of the work, whose "countenance was clouded with the soot of dishonor" and was repulsive with age (p. 92), recalls Dipsas. In Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods* Virtue, choosing Reason as her lieutenant, decrees that Sensuality shall be put under the restraint of Sadness—a suggestion of Tellus's imprisonment. The conflict is more elaborately set forth by Lydgate in *Reson and Sensuallyte*, where Pallas and Diana are ranged against Venus and Cupid. Pallas is described in terms suitable to Lyly's Cynthia, as of unfailing youth and beauty, and varying in stature from the height of the stars to the lowliness of men (ll. 1095 ff.). The well of Narcissus, described as reflecting marvelous sights for the beholder who "koude looke aryght" (l. 5760), suggests the fountain of *Endimion*, clear only to him who sheds the tears of a faithful lover. A dramatic treatment of the strife of Reason and Sensuality for the possession of man is found in Medwell's morality *Nature*, in which Nature, after idealizing Diana, who "reyneth as prynces | in euery yle and town," gives Man Reason and Sensuality as companions, with Reason as guide, explaining that by yielding to Sensuality he will "wax thrall" (l. 168). Concerning the "nonage" of Man Sensuality says to Reason (ll. 325 ff.):

I shall demean yt / as well as I can  
tyll he be passyd .xl. yerys and more  
and reason then / yf ye wyll vndershore  
Hys croked old age / when lusty youth ys spent  
Than take vppon you. I hold me content.

Innocence is then dismissed, and the World becomes the chief agent in turning Man away from Reason. I do not claim that Lyly knew all of these works I have mentioned or that he made definite use of any one of them; they seem worth mentioning only because the hints they furnish of conventionality in the symbolism of *Endimion*—and these hints could be almost indefinitely increased by a study of the literature of the period—suggest that medieval allegory is of value in determining the purport of Lyly's play.

Whether *Endimion* represents the elevation of the lover from a passion for Earthly Beauty to a worship of Heavenly Beauty, as Mr. Long

<sup>2</sup>This theme is varied by a favorite bit of Elizabethan symbolism of sensuality and chastity. The story of Endimion, enchanted through a sensual lover with command of magic and finally rescued through a faithful friend who learns from a hermit how to release the spell, is a complement of *The Old Wives' Tale* and *Comus*. In Shakespeare's Titania, essentially not of this earth, who by plant magic is bewitched and besotted of an earthly and beastlike clown, we have a similar folk fancy of Lyly's age.

claims, or the power of Sensuality until age brings the supremacy of Reason in Man with consecration to the ideal of purity and intellectual love, is largely a matter of point of view, for the ideals of Platonic love were based on the old conception of reason and sensuality. "As the soule and the bodye in us are two thinges," says Castiglione, "so is the soule divided into two partes: whereof the one hath in it reason, & the other appetite" (*The Courtier*, Hoby's translation, Essex House Press, p. 327). Furthermore, he speaks of "sense" as the source of appetite and of reason as the means by which man, attaining to "understanding," a gift which he shares with the angels, desires spiritual love.<sup>3</sup> But while Mr. Long's general conception of the allegory in *Endimion* is excellent, his effort to explain the separate characters and incidents as part of an allegory based on the idea of Platonic love leads him to too narrow and specific an interpretation, I think. Thus, for the spiritual ideal Heavenly Beauty may be the term best suited to Lyly's age, but Cynthia is also subtly suggestive of Virtue, Reason, or even Nature, and represents the part often taken by Diana or Pallas in court-of-love allegories. Tellus is the World, symbolic of sensuality or at least of the unspiritual life. Her agent in overthrowing Man is Dipsas, a type of dishonor suggestive of the spirit of sensual pleasure. Endimion, having fallen a victim to the "allurements of pleasure" which Tellus casts before his eyes, is succored in his sleep of sensuality by Eumenides, a type of honor or nobility, who restores him in old age to the love of Cynthia, virtue. It is hardly necessary to push the interpretation further. The allegory of *Endimion* seems, indeed, a plaything of Lyly's, full of inherited ideas and tantalizing suggestiveness rather than of direct moral teaching. The complexity of the play indicates Lyly's true position as a link between the allegory of the morality, the symbolism of court-of-love poetry, and the rigid types in

Jonson's comedy of humours. Moreover, into a drama of court life like *Endimion* many elements enter to confuse and obscure an allegory. We have, for example, the balancing of characters that belongs to life—court lover and mistress, court lady and confidant, the pair of friends, etc.

I must dissent, also, from the extreme position which M. Feuillerat takes with regard to Lyly's originality in fiction and in drama. As a writer of fiction, he asserts, Lyly was original, while as a playwright he was merely following men who had developed his type of drama and had perhaps excelled him in plays now lost to us. In fiction, however, Lyly's dialogue or monologue, his type of characters, his moral teaching,—indeed, the great part of his art, allowing for his conscious attempts at freshness and for his power of combination and adaptation,—are to be found in Painter's and Fenton's translations and in Gascoigne's and Riche's adaptations of the Italian novel. M. Feuillerat himself analyzes the relation of Lyly's novel to the work of Pettie. Undoubtedly Lyly made advances toward fresh fiction, but I believe that he made advances in the drama too. It is probable that the work remaining to us from the period is on the whole the best produced and has lived because it was the best. Pastoral and sylvan scenes, mythological figures with courtly and moral symbolism drawn from masque and court-of-love poetry, romantic treatment of classic figures, witty women, gallant men, rascally pages, had all been present before Lyly, but the same skill in portrayal does not show in other men if we may judge by the surviving plays. To take one illustration of the court entertainment preceding Lyly, "The Queenes Majesties Entertainment at Woodstocke," recently published by Prof. Cunliffe (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, March, 1911), contains a "comedy" that may supposedly be regarded as typical of the court plays in 1576, just before Lyly and Peele began their work. Allowing for some omissions, the play is about as long as Lyly's comedies; and it was reported "as well thought of, as anye thing euer done before her Maiestie, not onely of her, but of the rest" (p. 102). The "comedy" is evi-

<sup>3</sup> Castiglione's defence of kissing is interesting in connection with *Endimion*: "The separatinge of the soule from the matters of the sense and the through cooping her with matters of understanding may be beetokened by a kisse" (p. 367).

dently an allegory of the Queen's rejection of love at the call of duty to the state. Further, in the story introducing the play there are a number of details that mark the entertainment as belonging to the same age and much the same fashion as *Endimion*. And yet the "Entertainment at Woodstocke" is to be associated with such a play as *Common Conditions* rather than with *Endimion*. Certainly all my literary instincts fail me if the "Entertainment," while suggesting the conventionality of Lyly's type of play, does not uphold his literary supremacy.

Though I have given much space to amending some of M. Feuillerat's broadest conclusions, even these conclusions, except in his treatment of *Endimion*, are not altogether unfounded, but are rather the result of improper relative emphasis. Certainly it is better to see in *The Anatomy of Wit* a serious moral treatise than to disregard entirely the moral and satirical coloring of Lyly's work; and it is far better to neglect the Italian influence that prepared for Lyly than to forget the continual presence of a powerful English prejudice in his work. Though I believe that in view of his age Lyly deserves a higher rank than M. Feuillerat is inclined to allow him, no student of Lyly can afford to neglect an estimate based upon so thorough a study of details, so careful an analysis, and so masterly a knowledge of the man and his work.

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GILBERT CHINARD, *L'Exotisme américain dans la Littérature française au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle, d'après Rabelais, Ronsard, Montaigne, etc.* Paris: Hachette, 1911. xvii + 247 pp.

So many have already called attention to the great influence exerted by the Discovery of America on the development of religious and political ideas in the 16th century that it would be trite to repeat it here. Yet no attempt has been made to trace the growth and development of the *littérature américaniste* in this important

period. Only special studies have appeared until the present, such as that of Carlo Steiner entitled *Cristoforo Colombo nella Poesia epica italiana* (Voghera, 1891, 135 pp.) and Dr. J. A. Ray's dissertation on *Drake dans la Poésie espagnole* (Paris, 1906, 265 pp.),<sup>1</sup> but these do not serve to give a general conception of the extent of the influence of America on literature. For that reason, if for no other, we must welcome the volume of M. Chinard, which, notwithstanding certain shortcomings, represents an effort to supply this want.

M. Chinard writes in a very graceful style, and, although he indulges perhaps too frequently in digressions and repetitions, he has given us a work at the same time scholarly and readable—a gift that is peculiarly French. We feel, however, that the title of his work was unhappily selected and is apt to deceive the reader, for of the 247 pages contained in the volume, 30 are devoted to Rabelais, about 8 to Ronsard, and 25 to Montaigne. The remainder treat principally of different *révits de voyages*, the establishment of settlements by French explorers, their impressions of the morals and customs of the natives, etc., with the return-to-nature theory somewhat too strongly emphasized in the background. Here we think that the author has missed an excellent opportunity, that of showing how far these conceptions penetrated into the literature of this period. Unfortunately, with the exception of the chapters mentioned above, M. Chinard fails to touch upon this subject, and in that respect his interesting volume is a disappointment. But in justice to him, we must state that he makes no claims to being complete and has followed rather closely the sources given in HARRISSE'S *Bibliotheca Americana vetustissima* and a few other well-known works. Although it would have required very extensive readings and researches, we cannot help but regret that M. Chinard has not given us a more complete account of the influence of the explorations in America on contemporary literature.

<sup>1</sup>Neither of these works is mentioned by M. Chinard, although Dr. Steiner's work is very complete and Dr. Ray's thesis supplies some interesting details.

Without mentioning the important discoveries in regard to Montaigne of which we shall speak later, we feel very grateful to M. Chinard for having again called attention to the rare Americana contained in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, which in this subject deserves to be ranked among the leading libraries of the world. Few have heretofore taken advantage of this valuable repository of books. On the other hand, M. Chinard has possibly been too neglectful of the provincial libraries of France, many of which contain important Americana. And again, we look in vain for the names of Picot, Baudrier, Polin and Pellechet, whose bibliographies are an invaluable aid to one undertaking a work of this kind.

The opening chapter is entitled *La découverte et les premières traductions* and treats the subject in a more or less general way. We regret that the author has not noted the wonderful prophecy of the Discovery of America in the *Morgante* of Boiardo. And in speaking of Giuliano Dati's poem on Columbus, he states that some verses which he cites "montrent bien le sentiment d'enthousiasme qui s'empara alors de toute l'Europe" (p. 4). He might have added that the poem of Dati was only an arid and bare transcription in rhyme of the letter of Columbus announcing the Discovery to Gabriel de Sanchez.<sup>2</sup> The Italian poets not only considered that Columbus was in the service of a hated foreigner, as M. Chinard has neglected to point out, but also that the Portuguese who represented that they had found the *isole delle aromi* had made discoveries of much greater importance. Furthermore, all were seeking a route to India because of the increased commercial relations between that country and Europe. And as the poor results of the second voyage made them think that Columbus had imposed upon the credulity of

the European people, the poets hesitated to laud his discovery. This explains the obscurity in which Columbus died as well as the failure to find any important mention of him in Italian poetry of the 16th century.<sup>3</sup> So slight was the interest awakened in Italy by the discoveries of Columbus that Raffaele Volterrano in his *Commentaria Urbana*, written in the beginning of the 16th century, makes the following astonishing statement: "Nautae Hispani qui sub Ferdinandi regis auspiciis agunt, duce C. Columbo anno 1496 (*sic!*) a Gadibus solventes . . . plures invenierunt insulas inter se parum distantes ultra Fortunatas xx fere partibus sitas."<sup>4</sup> While Pietro Bordone, in his *Isolario* (Venezia, 1534), describes at length the islands discovered by the Spaniards, he fails to make any mention of Columbus whatever. So in spite of the large number of books devoted to America that appeared in Italy later on in the century, those poets who were seeking to give to their country an epic poem did not think of the Discovery of America, because, as has been stated above, the glory of that undertaking was attributed to the Spaniards. Hence we must wait until 1596 for the first poem in which this subject was treated heroically, and of which Columbus was the protagonist. This was the *Mondo nuovo* of Giovanni Giorgini, addressed "all'Invittissimò Principe di Spagna e sorelle sue, con gli argomenti in ottava rima del sig. G. Pietro Colini e in prosa del signor Girolamo Ghislieri."<sup>5</sup>

To point out a few details deserving of emendation in M. Chinard's volume, we might state first that there were two editions of the *Cosmographiae Introductio* of Waldseemuller (p. 5) published the same year, one in May and the other in September.<sup>6</sup> As for the *Paesi novamente ritrovati* etc. of Vespuccio (p. 10)—the title of which is incorrectly cited by M. Chinard—there were two other editions, one

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Uzielli, *Avvertimento*, Bologna, 1873, p. xix; Negri, *Istoria dei Fiorentini Scrittori*, Ferrara, 1722. For the letter of Columbus, cf. R. H. Major, *Bibliography of the First Letter of Christopher Columbus*, London, 1872. The title of this letter is incorrectly cited by M. Chinard.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 6 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Commentaria Urbana*, apud Claudium Marmium, 1603, p. 439.

<sup>5</sup> In Iesi. Appresso Pietro Farri, 1596.

<sup>6</sup> Picot, *Cat. de la Bibl. Rothschild*, II, pp. 423, etc.

at Venice in 1521 and the other at Milan. On page 12, M. Chinard states that "être épicurien ou stoïcien alors (*i. e.*, about 1516, when Du Redouer's translation appeared) est pire que d'être hérétique." It was only some years later that the question of heresy assumed such great importance in France, while hardly before the middle of the century was epicureanism identified with it. On page 16, "en 1532" should be followed by 1533 *n. s.*, for the translation of Pierre Martyr appeared in the month of January. In the long title of the Latin edition of Pierre Martyr given in the note, M. Chinard might have indicated that it forms a series of hexameters followed by pentameters. The author of the French translation of this work—of which the title is also incorrectly given—was without doubt Simon de Colines and not Antoine Fabre, as M. Picot shows (*loc. cit.*, pp. 435-6). In regard to the strange animals described in Pierre Martyr's *Décades* (p. 17), it is worth noting that we find similar monstrosities in the numerous *Décades de la description des animaux* etc., which were published during the course of the century, all of which, as M. Chinard notes in regard to Pierre Martyr, are merely an outgrowth of the bestiaries of the Middle Ages.

The date of the publication of the *Brief récit* of Jacques Cartier (p. 36, note 1) is not 1515 but 1545. On page 45, M. Chinard should have noted that the *Voyages auantureux* of Captain Jean Alfonse (published probably in 1559, and not in 1558 as given. Cf. Picot, *loc. cit.*, no. 1957) are simply an abridgement of his *Cosmographie générale*, which was finished in 1544 but remained unpublished until 1904.

In his highly interesting chapter on *Pantagruel*, M. Chinard accepts in the main the conclusions presented by M. Lefranc in his well-known *Navigations de Pantagruel* (Paris, 1905); but where he fails to do so, we feel that his judgment has served him well. The enthusiasm of the distinguished French savant for Rabelais, has led him at times, we fear, to conclusions, if not false, at least too ingenious. So we believe that M. Chinard is

right in not accepting his identification of the island of the Macreons with the island of the Demons and in insisting that here, as in many other instances, Rabelais enters into the domain of fancy. And this becomes more obvious when we compare the peregrinations of Pantagruel to other fanciful voyages so much in evidence at that time. In his *Alector, histoire fabuleuse* (Lyons, Pierre Fradin, 1560), Barthélemy Aneau gives an account of the wonderful voyages of the Macrobe Franc-Gal and his son Alector; and in his *Prémonition*, he is careful to state: "Si à quelq'un en aucuns lieux de la peregrination de Franc-Gal, la géographie des terres et mers semble estre inconsequente, et non directement continuée: sache que ainsi est, et autrement ne pouoit estre, pour l'errante et indirecte navigation dudict Franc-Gal et son Hippopotame allant et venant à l'aenture, et apres vn cours deuers l'Asie, ou l'Europe, soudain retournant à reprendre la coste d'Aphricque, et quelque fois rentrant, ou par les bouches des fleuves ou par terre, es parties mediterranees, ce qui faist sembler ses erreurs mal ordonnez." This work—one of the many imitations of Pantagruel—is entirely a creation of the fancy, and the nature of its composition permits us to suppose that the travels of Rabelais' hero were regarded as such by his contemporaries. Likewise Aneau introduces geographical data in his *Alector* in order to give to it an appearance of truth. It is to be regretted that M. Chinard was unable to discuss other romances of travel of this period in order to see in what they were indebted to one another and how far their influence extended into the other forms of literature.

The chapter devoted to the *Vulgarisateurs et Poètes*, consisting of about twenty pages, is probably the most disappointing in the work. Besides the sonnet of Saint-Gelais inserted in the *Voyages auentureux* of Jean Alfonse and the few eulogistic poems contributed by the members of the Pléiade and others to the *Singularitez* and the *Cosmographie Universelle* of Thévet, M. Chinard has unfortunately nothing else to offer. Of course to have supplied additional material would have necessi-

tated extensive reading, but it seems that, as this chapter is of great importance, it would have been worth while to make the researches as complete as possible. What ideas, if any, did America contribute to the poetic literature of this century—this question yet remains to be solved.

The next three chapters, which treat of Léry, the expeditions of Jean Ribaut, and the theories concerning the American savages,<sup>7</sup> are delightful to read. They are followed by the most important chapter in the entire work—that on Montaigne. In this M. Chinard has succeeded in showing that Montaigne made free use of Léry and Chauveton in composing his chapter on the Cannibals. Not only has the author of the Essays taken his material from them, but at times the phraseology is so strikingly similar that we might accuse him of plagiarism, were we not aware of the fact that such methods were common in the 16th century. Furthermore, M. Chinard is able to prove that Montaigne wrote his famous chapter after 1579, inasmuch as the first edition of Chauveton's translation of Benzoni appeared during the course of that year.

The concluding chapter on America in the literature of the 16th century deals with the subject in a general way. Here we may call attention to a few bibliographical details. As for Stigliani, M. Chinard is, in our opinion, too severe when he states that this poet was unequal to the task of composing an epic on Columbus (p. 223). Stigliani is without doubt one of the best lyricists in the 17th century. For a full account of the controversy that raged about him, see A. A. Livingston, *Gian Francesco Busenello e la Polemica Stigliani-Marino*, Venezia, 1910. The first twenty cantos of Stigliani's epic appeared in 1617. Another epic deserving mention is the *Copia del I e del II canto del Colombo*, *Poema eroico di Giovanni Villi-*

*franchi*, Firenze, 1602. And the *America* of Raffaello Gualterotti (1611) should not be omitted. The *Histoire generale des Indes Occidentales et Terres Neuues* etc. par M. Fumée (Paris, Sonnius, 1580), which is a translation of Gomara's *La Historia general de las Indias* (Saragossa, 1552/3), is also worthy of note. This translation was first printed in 1569. Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (2d ed., Paris, 1612) contains an account of the voyages of Verrazanno. For Portugal, cf. *Relação verdadeira dos trabalhos que o governador dom Fernando de Souto e certos fidalcos portugueses passaram no descobrimento da provincia da Frolida* (Evora, 1557), which contains an account of the history of Florida. The well-known work of J. J. da Costa de Machado, *Colecção de opusculos reimpressos relativos á historia das navegações, viagens e conquistas dos Portuguezes* (Lisbon, 1844-58, 3 vols.) should certainly have been mentioned. An account of Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe was published at Rome in 1524 in *aedibus F. Minitii Calui* under the title *Maximiliani Transylvani Caesaris a secretis Epistola, de admirabili et nouissima Hispanorum in Orientem navigatione* (Picot, *loc. cit.*, no. 1956). To the bibliography for Spain, we may add the following: *Conquista del Peru . . . embiada a su magestad por Francisco de Xeres . . . Salamànca*, 1547; *Armas antárticas, hechos de los famosos españoles que se hallaron en la conquista del Perú* of Juan de Miramontes Zuazola (cf. Ray, *ibid.* pp. 79 *et seq.*); *Las Guerras de Chile* of Juan de Mendoza y Montegudo (cf. Toribio Medina, *Historia de la literatura colonial de Chile*; and Ray, *ibid.* p. 124); and finally the *Romance*, treating of the capture of Carthage in Colombia by Drake in 1586, which was published by Dr. Ray (p. 136).

For Germany, the following works deserve to be mentioned: Michael Herr, *Die new Welt*, Strassburg, 1534, 58 ff., and Sebastian Franck's famous *Spiegel vn bildtniss des ganzen erdbodens in vier bücher, nemlich in Asiam, Aphricam, Europam, vnd Americam gestellt. Auch etwas von new gefundenen Welten vnd Inseln*,

<sup>7</sup> The title of Léry's work (p. 125) is given incorrectly. Cf. Picot, *loc. cit.*, nos. 1989 and 1990. On p. 149, 1662 should, of course, read 1562, and on p. 151, Jacques Ribaut should be changed to Jean Ribaut. On p. 178, note 1, there are numerous errors in the titles of both works.

of which the first edition appeared at Tübingen in 1534, followed by other editions at Göttingen (1542), Leipzig (1552), Jena (1567), etc.<sup>8</sup>

This entertaining study is, according to the author, mainly destined to serve as an introduction to more extensive works devoted to the following centuries, which, as we are aware, are much more indebted to America than the sixteenth. This is especially true of the eighteenth century, when the conception of society underwent a complete change. Rousseau—who owes more to his predecessors than we are readily inclined to believe—represents the climax of this undercurrent of philosophical development; and from him we have as a natural offshoot that most graceful of Munchausens, Chateaubriand. The later schools were unable to cast off the spell of this literary magician; and even to-day there is at times a tendency to return to the pages of *Les Natchez* for the ideal conception of the life of the savage. M. Chinard has a most interesting field before him, and, if we may judge by the present work, he will acquit himself in a brilliant and scholarly manner, provided that a little more care is taken in the preparation of his studies for publication. And it is well worth while for those who anticipate the pleasure of reading the forthcoming studies of M. Chinard to familiarize themselves with the *Exotisme américain au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### TWO NOTES ON SIR THOMAS MORE

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I. The publication of Mr. John S. Farmer's excellent facsimile of the *Sir Thomas More* manuscript in the British Museum (*Tu-*

<sup>8</sup> A few errors that might cause confusion may be noted: "mais l'un étant Espagnol" on p. 216 should read "mais l'un étant Italien"; on p. 229 *Centinera* should be changed to *Centenera*. Gaspar de Villagra's *Conquesta* (p. 229) appeared in 1610 and not in 1510. The French translation (1627) of Drake's voyage, cited on p. 234, note 1, is far from being the first, for the *Voyage de Messire François Drake aux Indes Occidentales* was published in Leyden in 1588, while another translation was issued in Paris by Jean Gesselin in 1613. And on p. 239, note 1, John Carter Library should read John Carter Brown Library, etc.

*dor Facsimile Texts*, Folio Series, 1910) makes the text of this most difficult and interesting writing generally accessible in a reproduction hardly less authoritative than the original. It is to be hoped that the vastly increased opportunity for leisurely study of the manuscript thus afforded will facilitate the deciphering of the difficult pages and thus lead to a more complete restoration of the true readings where these have not grown altogether illegible.

I desire to correct an error in my text of the play, to which Mr. Walter Faxon of Lexington, Mass., most kindly drew my attention some time ago. In Act III, scene II, ll. 20, 21 (*Shakespeare Apocrypha*, p. 399), I have inadvertently incorporated the following mistaken reading of Dyce, the first editor of the ms.:

"Is when the *thred of hayday* is once spoun,  
A bottom great woond vpp greatly vndonn."

A reference to Mr. Farmer's facsimile, folio 10, verso, two lines from the bottom, will show the proper reading to be, as Mr. Faxon says, "when the *thred of hazard* is once Spun." My text of the play was set up, not from a pen and ink transcription of the manuscript, but, as is usually the practice in such cases, from a copy of Dyce's printed version collated with the original. I regret that I overlooked the discrepancy just noted when I made my collation.

It follows from what has been said that the *NED.* is in error when, on the basis of Dyce's text, it cites the passage in question as its earliest instance of the word, "hey-day." "Bottom" in the second line of the quoted passage means, of course, a "ball of thread." Shakespeare alludes to the same common Elizabethan meaning of the word in the name of Bottom the Weaver.

II. Another mistake occurs in my note to IV, I, 298, referring to the words, "Mason among the king's players" (*Shakespeare Apocrypha*, pp. 406 and 437). "Players of the king's interludes" are mentioned as early as 1494, during the reign of Henry VII (see Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, etc., ed. 1879, I, p. 44), and they continued in favor under Henry VIII and Edward VI. As late as Twelfth Even, 1551 (Jan. 5, 1552, according to modern reckoning), during the sovereignty of the latter monarch, the Loseley mss. mention "John Birche and John Browne, the king's entrelude players" (*Loseley mss.*, ed. Kempe, p. 58). The most pertinent reference, however, is dated Jan. 6, VI Henry VIII (*i. e.*, 1515, N. S.) and is cited by Collier (*op. cit.*, I, p. 77):

"To the Kings Players in rewarde 3l, 6s, 8d.  
To John Haywood wages 8d per day.  
To John Mason wages 8d per day."

The juxtaposition of the names of the greatest playwright of Henry VIII's reign and the performer whom our play alludes to as the premier actor of the day is interesting in itself, and it offers one proof more of the extraordinary accuracy of the topical references in *Sir Thomas More*.

NOTE.—Since these paragraphs were written, Dr. W. W. Greg has published in the *Malone Society Reprints* an exceedingly careful rendering of the *Sir Thomas More* manuscript, which will doubtless be accepted as final in regard to palæographical details. In addition to the inaccuracy mentioned above, Dr. Greg finds two other instances in which Dyce's text, followed by mine, misreads words of the manuscript. Instead of "wrought" on fol. 4<sup>b</sup> of the manuscript, which is here rather damaged (p. 389, l. 184 of my edition), Dr. Greg reads "provokte," and instead of "leve cavell" on fol. 13<sup>b</sup> (p. 401, l. 250) "live Civell." Reference to the facsimile convinces me that the former alteration is certainly correct and the latter probably so. I have no doubt that Dr. Greg's edition is right also in the two hundred cases where he states that he has corrected Dyce's spelling or his representation of contractions. Since the new editor is inclined to hold rather heavily against me my failure to correct Dyce in most of these minutiae, it may be fair for me to say—without wishing to detract from Dr. Greg's incomparable superiority as a palæographer—that my reading, for instance, of "obedience" for "obedienc" or "laudant" for "lawdant" was not due in every case to carelessness or to inability to decipher the manuscript. I feel quite clear now that every such trivial deviation was a mistake, but at the time my text was prepared it was far from evident either to me or to the publishers of my book that a work destined for a rather wide circle of readers dare carry its fidelity to the letter of the original to the same final limit which is desirable in the private publications of learned academics.

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#### A NOTE ON THE *Critic*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In Sheridan's *Critic*, Mr. Sneer is somewhat surprised at hearing Beefeater exclaim,

"Perdition catch my soul but I do love thee."

Upon Dangle's remarking that he believed there was something like it in *Othello*, Puff replies:

"Gad! now you put me in mind on't, I believe there is—but that's of no consequence; all that can be said is, that the two people happened to hit upon the same thought and Shakspeare made use of it first, that's all."<sup>1</sup>

It is curious and interesting that a coincidence apparently of the same sort as the one alluded to by Puff, occurs in this same play. In the duel scene Whiskerandos falls, crying out:

"O cursèd parry! that last thrust in tierce  
Was fatal.—Captain, thou hast fencèd well!  
And Whiskerandos quits this bustling scene  
For all eter—"

And Beefeater continues:

"—nity,—he would have added, but stern death  
Cut short his being and the noun at once!"<sup>2</sup>

These lines are almost the counterpart in burlesque of a passage in serious vein from a tragedy (*La Mort de Daire*)<sup>3</sup> by the youthful French poet Jacques de la Taille who died in 1562, a passage which brought the author as much factitious celebrity as James Thomson has derived from the famous line in *Sophonisba*.

In La Taille's tragedy, Darius with his last breath utters the following prayer:

"Ma femme et mes enfants aye en recommanda . . .  
Il ne put l'achever, car la mort l'en garda."<sup>4</sup>

It seems very doubtful that Sheridan could have known the tragedy of La Taille, or that it could have been anything but the burlesque

<sup>1</sup> Sheridan, Works, ed. Bell, London, 1898, p. 476-477.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 480.

<sup>3</sup> So cited by Rigal in P. de Julleville, *Hist. de la Lang. et de la Litt. franç.*, Paris, 1901, III, 275. Cited as *Daire* by P. de Julleville, *Théâtre en France*, and by Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, *Le seizième Siècle en France*.

<sup>4</sup> P. de Julleville, *Théâtre en France*, Paris, 1901, p. 78. I have been unable to see an edition of *Daire*, but since writing the above note, Professor Armstrong of the Johns Hopkins University has kindly communicated to me the following variant:—

"O Alexandre, quelque part que tu sois,  
Ma mère et mes enfans aye en recommanda . . .  
Il ne peust achever, car la mort l'en garda."

(Bagenault de Puchesse, *Jean et Jacques de la Taille*, Orléans, 1889, p. 55.) In the second line of de Puchesse's quotation, the obvious error *mère* has been corrected by Petit de Julleville.

situation he was developing that suggested the idea. At any rate the coincidence seems worth noting.

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# BAYLE AND HIS BIOGRAPHERS

## To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In one of the more recent studies devoted to Pierre Bayle, the Rotterdam sceptic, there are so many cases of direct borrowing from a previous work, without the insertion of quotation marks, that it seems worth while to call attention to the fact. The book in question is by Albert Cazes and is entitled: *Pierre Bayle, sa vie, ses idées, son influence, son œuvre*;<sup>1</sup> the earlier production is Lenient's *Etude sur Bayle*.<sup>2</sup> In a foreword M. Cazes mentions several studies on Bayle which have been helpful, and, among other things, he says: "J'ai consulté avec fruit, pour cette notice, la thèse de Lenient." The results of such consultation may be seen by a comparison of the following passages:

CAZES, page 37.

C'est là qu'est la nouveauté et l'audace du système de Bayle. Jusqu'alors, on n'avait juré que par la *Vérité*, au nom d'un dogmatisme étroit et orgueilleux. Quand Luther et Calvin soulevèrent la moitié de l'Europe contre le Saint-Siège, quand Descartes renverse le vieil empire de la scolastique, quand Bossuet et Jurieu entassent réfutation sur réfutation, c'est toujours au nom de la *Vérité* qu'ils affirment. Avec Bayle, le spectacle change: il réclame pour l'*Erreur*, tant qu'elle est honnête dans le fond et modérée dans la forme, tant qu'elle n'excite ni violences ni séditions, le privilège de la propagande et de la publicité, la tolérance de l'opinion.

LENIENT, page 23.

C'est là qu'est la nouveauté et l'audace du système de Bayle. Jusque alors la *Vérité* seule a réclamé le respect des hommes. Quand Luther et Calvin soulevèrent la moitié de l'Europe contre le Saint-Siège, quand Descartes renverse le vieil empire de la scolastique, quand Bossuet et Jurieu entassent réfutations sur réfutations, au nom de qui parlent-ils? De la *Vérité*. Orthodoxes et hérétiques, conservateurs et réformateurs, tous inscrivent sur leur drapeau ce mot vénéré: la *Vérité*. Cette fois, le spectacle change: voici un philosophe qui se fait le patron avoué de l'*Erreur*, qui réclame pour elle la protection de la loi, la tolérance de l'opinion, le privilège de la propagande et de la publicité; . . .

Page 46.

L'année 1689 passa, et la France resta fermée aux protestants. Bayle se consola facilement de ce malheur, en songeant que la raison avait été vengée.

Page 58.

Il va même jusqu'à réclamer la protection des lois, la liberté individuelle, la sécurité domestique, pour ces mêmes hommes qui ont dispersé les cendres de son foyer, qui ont persécuté sa famille, et l'ont forcé lui-même à vivre sur la terre d'exil.

Page 54.

Au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Sébastien Castellion avait tenté de la proclamer: il faut lire le bel ouvrage que M. Ferdinand Buisson a consacré à ce hardi penseur, pour voir avec quelle vigueur il fut censuré et chassé de Genève par Calvin. En vain, Michel de L'Hôpital indiquait la tolérance à tous les partis comme le seul terme des guerres civiles: l'évêque de Metz l'accusa d'athéisme pour avoir osé soutenir une pareille énormité. Bourdaloue et Bossuet, à l'époque même de Bayle, célèbrent en chaire, comme une œuvre sainte, la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes; Jurieu, l'ardent ennemi de Louis XIV, ne fait qu'imiter ce despote et donner lui-même l'exemple de l'intolérance en dénonçant Bayle au consistoire de Rotterdam, et en provoquant sa destitution.

Page 64.

Enfin l'année 1689 s'écoula, et les portes de la France restèrent fermées aux protestants. Bayle se consola de ce malheur en songeant que la raison était vengée.

Page 60.

En un mot, il réclame la protection des lois, la liberté individuelle, la sécurité domestique, pour ces mêmes hommes qui ont dispersé les cendres de son foyer, qui ont emprisonné sa famille, et l'ont forcé lui-même à venir chercher en Hollande un asile et un morceau de pain.

Pages 45-46.

Au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Castallion avait tenté de la proclamer: il s'était vu rudement censuré et chassé de Genève par Calvin. Bodin n'était qu'un utopiste, quand il l'établissait dans sa République, à l'imitation de Rabelais dans son abbaye de Thélème. L'hôpital, avec son impartialité et froide raison, l'indiquait vainement à tous les partis comme le seul terme des guerres civiles: l'évêque de Metz l'accusa d'athéisme pour avoir osé soutenir une pareille énormité. Au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la question était encore peu avancée. Des esprits sérieux et élevés, tels que Bourdaloue et Bossuet, célébraient en chaire, comme une œuvre sainte, la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes; tous répétaient à l'envi la fameuse maxime de Juste Lipse dans son traité *De una religione: "Ure, seca."* Jurieu, l'ardent ennemi de Louis XIV, l'adversaire infatigable de Bossuet; Jurieu, qui n'avait pas assez de malédictions pour les dragonnades et les convertisseurs à contrainte, donnait lui-même l'exemple de l'intolérance en dénonçant Bayle au consistoire de Rotterdam, et en provoquant sa destitution.

<sup>1</sup> Paris, Dujarric, 1905. The book is listed, among the works on Bayle, in Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique*, no. 7272; it is also listed, without comment, in the *LBL*, 1905, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, Joubert, 1855. Cf. Lanson, no. 7264.

In the last instance a quotation from Lenient, with the quotation marks added and the indebtedness acknowledged, follows almost immediately. In the other cases there is no reference to Lenient. The first of the above excerpts from Cazes is cited, in part, by M. Th. Schoell in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*,<sup>3</sup> and Cazes is commended for "cette remarque fort juste."

Numerous further passages might be cited where a perusal of the two books reveals singular likeness and, at times, identity.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps it is worth adding that both Lenient (page 53, note 2) and Cazes (page 56) give a quotation as taken from Chapter VI of the second part of the *Commentaire philosophique*, when, as a matter of fact, it is found in Chapter V.<sup>5</sup> In another instance (page 57) Lenient gives two references at the end of a paragraph, and the paragraph closes with a citation from Bayle which is to be found in the chapter indicated in the second reference. The note reads as follows: "Comm. phil., 3<sup>e</sup> part., ch. 12.—Ibid., ch. 35," and the quotation is from chapter 35. Cazes (page 58) reproduces the same quotation but assigns it, incorrectly, to "Comm. phil., III, 12."

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## BRIEF MENTION

The first series of the studies by Professor Heinrich Morf entitled *Aus Dichtung und Sprache der Romanen* (1903) is now followed by a second volume (Strassburg, Trübner, 1911, xi, 387 pp.) which includes eleven articles. With the exception of no. 1 and no. 11, all have previously been published in reviews or as separate articles. The principal modification in this reissue is the elimination of nearly all bibliographical notes. There results a readable volume, especially attractive by reason of its clearness of thought and presentation, a volume in which the author shows anew the breadth of

his interests and of his investigations. Italian literature is represented by no. 1 ("Dante und Mistral," in which the *veïtro* of *Inferno* I and the *mestre pescadou* of *Mirèio* VI are interpreted as referring to popes) and no. 2 ("Francesco Petrarca": Petrarch differentiated from Dante by his humanistic and modern spirit). In no. 3 ("Das französische Volkslied") the religious and secular folk songs of France are passed in review. The succeeding four articles, which bear on French literature, are of diverse length and value. While no. 4 ("Frankreich zur Zeit Richelieus und Mazarins") may be regarded as a rather successful effort to distinguish the chief currents and elements in the social and intellectual life of the first half of the seventeenth century, no. 5 ("Pierre Corneille"), no. 6 ("Dalembert"), and no. 7 ("Jean Jacques Rousseau") contribute little that is profound or novel. No. 8 and no. 9 belong to the domain of Swiss linguistics ("Deutsche und Romanen in der Schweiz" treats of Zimmerli's studies, and the merging of the divergent German and French characteristics into the unity which has given rise to the Swiss nation; "Die romanische Schweiz und die Mundartenforschung" sets forth the diversity of the Swiss-French patois and describes the *Glossaire* and the *Atlas linguistique de la Suisse romande*). No. 10 ("Das Studium der romanischen Philologie"), especially for the linguistic side, is a penetrating effort to combine the direct and the historical method of study. The book ends with a noble and sympathetic *Lebensbild* of Adolf Tobler.

A. T.

*The American Year Book, a record of events and progress, 1911* (Edited by Francis G. Wickware, under the direction of a supervisory board, representing national learned societies; New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1912). This second number of an annual that has already won extended favor demonstrates with added evidence the wisdom of its founders. The plan and the method of its execution adopted for these volumes are now more clearly exhibited than was possible in the construction of the first volume, in which "a point of departure" had first to be attained by a retrospective and summarizing review of a number of important topics. All the reports are now confined to the year and are therefore pointedly serviceable. One eighth of the volume (one hundred pages) is generously assigned to reports on the "humanities" (religion, art, literature and lan-

<sup>3</sup> LVII<sup>e</sup> Année, 1908, p. 367.

<sup>4</sup> See Cazes, page 23, Lenient, page 6; C. 43, L. 28; C. 44, L. 29-30; C. 45, L. 34; C. 46, L. 62-63; C. 47, L. 77; C. 47, L. 78; C. 48, L. 86; C. 48-9, L. 92-3; C. 56; L. 53-4; C. 58, L. 56-7; C. 69-71, L. 221-3; C. 75, L. 226.

<sup>5</sup> At least I have found in Chapter V all of the quotation except a short, final sentence. Lenient's punctuation seems defective, and this last remark may very well be his, instead of Bayle's. In any case, the quotation is not in Chapter VI.

guage, education and educational institutions). To refer only to the articles on the modern language subjects, competent contributors recount with commendable discrimination what, in the various divisions of a subject, the year has brought forth that is indicative of the methods, tendencies, and positive gains in these studies. Very wisely no restraining pattern has been set for the form of these contributions. There is a consequent freshness and individuality in them that, it is hoped, will be maintained from year to year. Whatever the judgments of the contributors may be of the wider or the narrower significance of the work reported, these must, under a continuation of the present liberal policy of unfettered expression of expert opinion, become increasingly worthy of the attention of the technical student and instructive to the general reader.

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*The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, by Samuel Lee Wolff (New York, Columbia University Press, 1912). An old subject is here treated in a new and better way. The author is right in believing himself to be the first thus "to disengage the characteristics of Greek Romance and to trace them into English fiction"; and his own declaration justly gives an indication of the success of this new venture. "A distinct vein of influence in Elizabethan literature" has been discovered; and it has become clear "that Heliodorus and Longus are respectively a secondary and a primary source of Shakespeare; that Lyly's 'Euphues' probably occupies a place in a long tradition that goes back to Greek Romance; and that both Sidney and Green were steeped in the matter and the style of Greek fiction" (p. vii). Two facts simplify the problem: (1) only three extant Greek romances are involved in it; (2) and these are of the same *genre*, and may, therefore, be clearly analyzed with reference to general character, agreements, and differences. This is admirably done in the first chapters. Such clear results emerge as the following on the part played by Fortune: "All-powerful in Achilles Tatius, she is subordinated to Providence in Heliodorus, and in Longus, under the limitations of the pastoral theme, gives way almost wholly to the sway of Eros and of ordinary causation" (p. 126). Moreover, by restricting his view to the chief writers of Elizabeth's reign (p. 2), the investigator has gained additional precision of limits. These romances are not novels, because "not the forces of personality, but outward forces, Providence, or Fortune, keep the story alive" (p.

137). Begotten of Alexandrianism, they represent a degenerate, "new and unclassic view of life, and hence of literature" (p. 7). The most that can be said of personal character in this world in which education and environment are without influence and the law of cause and effect is set at naught is that something like character is sometimes exhibited in, for the most part, a despicable "wriggling and squirming out of the situations" imposed by Fortune (p. 138). The low characters, such as intriguing servants, fare somewhat better. Being less responsible, they are less incongruous in the complexities of impossible events, adorned with rhetorical extravagances, and were transmitted "to the *fabliau* and to Renaissance comedy and *novella*" (p. 149). The *Euphues* of Lyly may owe some traits of style to Achilles Tatius (p. 248, note), but it is independent of Heliodorus. The Greek tradition reaches it at second or third hand thru Boccaccio's *Tito and Gisippo*, which in its turn derives directly, it would seem, from the Old French *Athis et Prophilias*. Euphuism has its correspondences in the Greek Romances, but may owe little or nothing to them directly (p. 256, note). Passing to Sidney, there is a full analysis of the *Arcadia*, which has a value of its own; but it also exposes a "grandiose Heliodorian framework" (p. 308). The "New *Arcadia*" (contrasted with the "Old *Arcadia*") has the additional interest of representing an attempt "to domesticate the *genre*" (p. 353). The study of Sidney and Greene is especially detailed and instructive. But this brief manner of sending the reader to this valuable treatise excludes further details. A few statements from the author's general conclusion may be added: "Lyly feels it [the influence of the Greek Romances] as a tradition of certain conventions of form adapted to the treatment of the theme of Two Friends; and it thus economizes his effort in developing and articulating the plot of 'Euphues.' Lodge scarcely feels it; Nash feels it not at all. Greene gets from it a quantity of ornament and tinsel, and an abortive impulse towards structure. Only in Sidney does Greek Romance find a talent both receptive and constructive" (p. 61). Dr. Wolff has also left some problems, old and new, in an interesting state of suspense. His 'additional note' on *King Lear* (p. 366), in which the reach of tradition is by conjecture extended to Oedipus, is an example of the fresh suggestiveness that gives to this treatise an added value. The book is well indexed.

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## ERRORS AND INCONSISTENCIES IN DEFOE'S *ROBINSON CRUSOE*

### I

It is generally recognized that *Robinson Crusoe* is a triumphant piece of verisimilitude, that it is unsurpassed among fictitious narratives for its air of guileless veracity. It is not so generally recognized that in securing this realism and this appearance of truth Defoe was led not infrequently to violate actual "truth" or consistency. He sought his effect not by truth of characterization, plausibility of motive and sequence of events, and the other common devices for securing general convincingness, so much as by minute particularity of detail in his statement of facts. This method, together with his unconquerable fondness for making out coincidences in dates, put upon him a task too great to be accurately executed by one who, like him, wrote from hand to mouth. Some of his slips were triumphantly pounced upon by a hostile contemporary writer, Charles Gildon, in a rare pamphlet, *The Life And Strange Surprising Adventures of Mr. D—— DeF——, of London, Hosier . . . with Remarks Serious and Comical upon the Life of Crusoe . . . 1719*. Since then other writers have noted an error here and there. But many of Gildon's criticisms were petty or absurd, and some of the most important discrepancies have not been pointed out at all, so that it seems worth while to attempt a fairly complete statement of them here. However long the list, of course it cannot at all belittle the famous story.

The inadvertencies are of two kinds, confusions in the chronology of Crusoe's life and contradictory statements about Crusoe's situation and experiences. Gildon concerned himself almost wholly with the second sort of fault. The errors in chronology are, however, more im-

portant, because, besides the general light they throw on Defoe's methods, they furnish good corroborative evidence against the existence in the story of any precise and literal allegory of Defoe's own life, such as Defoe in 1720 alleged to exist. The best way to examine them is to review the outline of the story.

### II

Only the events of Crusoe's life before and after his years of solitude are precisely dated, and the chief difficulties are with them. We may deal first with the events of his life on the island, which are roughly figured from the time of the shipwreck. Crusoe was shipwrecked on September 30 (pp. 69, 76),<sup>1</sup> so that his "year" ends on that date, near the end of the wet season (p. 117). There are no great difficulties with the first four years, three of the four anniversaries of his landing being noted carefully (pp. 114, 124, 136, 142). There is a contradiction, however, in the two statements of the time of the disappearance of the wreck. In the general narrative of the shipwreck the storm which broke up the ship is said to have come on the fourteenth day after Crusoe's landing, *i. e.*, on October 14 (pp. 61, 62); but in the journal we are informed that the storm occurred on the night of October 25 (p. 77). Then after the reference to the 4th anniversary come eight pages of generalizations, followed by the statement that "after this [probably the anniversary], for five years" (p. 150) little happened. He first built a periagua, after "near two years" (p. 151) of labor; this would bring him to the summer preceding the end of his 6th year, but on "the 6th of November, in the sixth year of my reign" (p. 152),—*i. e.*, just at the beginning of his sixth year,—

<sup>1</sup> Page references are to Aitken's edition of Defoe's works, vol. I.

he makes his first voyage in the *periagua*. There is no reference to what happened at the end of the five years of quiet (cf. above, p. 150), which would fall at the end of the 9th year on the island. In his next allusion to time, when his ammunition is running low, he is "in the eleventh year" (p. 160). The next time indication is in connection with the discovery of the footprint. After seeing it he cogitates for "weeks and months" (p. 174), finally reflecting that he has "lived here fifteen years" (p. 178) without seeing anyone. He then spends "two years" in terror, working on fortifications, etc. (p. 181), which brings him to the end of his 17th year. He then makes a tour of the island and sees the signs of cannibals, upon which occasion he considers (p. 184) that he has "been here now almost eighteen years." This is going a little too fast. He "keeps close" nearly to the end of his twentieth year (p. 184), and then lives more freely for some time. He actually sees the cannibals at the end of another two years, in "the month of December . . . in my twenty-third year" (p. 201).

So far there have been only three slight errors, but what follows is difficult to untangle. On p. 205 Defoe writes: "I wore out a year and three months more before I ever saw any more of the savages, and then I found them again, as I shall soon observe; . . . in the month of May . . . in my four and twentieth year, I had a very strange encounter with them. . . The perturbation of my mind, during this fifteen or sixteen months' interval, was very great. I . . . dreamed always frightful dreams. . . . But, to waive all this for a while . . . it was the sixteenth of May" that the Spanish ship was wrecked. After the account of the wreck he reports living comfortably "near two years more" (p. 215), and two pages later says: "I am now to be supposed retired into my castle, after my late voyage to the wreck." In the next paragraph (p. 217) he continues, "It was . . . in March, the four and twentieth year," etc., that he dreamed of rescuing Friday. Then, in "about a year and a half" (p. 223) Friday is brought by the cannibals.

The first sentences of the first passage mean

that the savages came again, and Friday was rescued, in May of the 24th year (of course fifteen or sixteen months would give March or April). But the statements on pp. 217 and 223 substitute for the "frightful dreams" of the earlier passage a single dream, which comes at the end of the fifteen months precisely, and put off the rescue of Friday to the end of the 25th or the beginning of the 26th year. The "sixteenth of May" and the "near two years more" remain to be considered. At first glance Defoe seems to be setting the date of the wreck in May of the 24th year; what he really means is May of the 23d year, the May following the first sight of the savages. The "two years more" means nothing, for the dream concerning Friday occurred ten months after the wreck and Friday was rescued a year and a half after that. The "late voyage to the wreck" is an attempt impressionistically to bridge the gap between May and the following March.

Friday came in the fall, probably just at the beginning of the 26th year (p. 227). Defoe makes three references to the length of Friday's life on the island. The first is vague and impressionistic,— "during the long time that Friday had now been with me," etc. (p. 240),— when he had been with Crusoe considerably less than a year. The second runs: "the conversation which employed the hours between Friday and I was such, as made the three years which we lived there together perfectly and completely happy . . ." (p. 245). Crusoe and Friday, according to this statement, lived there from the beginning of the 26th to the beginning of the 29th year; *i. e.*, Crusoe's stay was a little over 28 years, as he says at the end. But the quoted sentence seems to imply that they were, for the three years, alone on the island. In the third passage this fact is assumed and the date of Friday's arrival is pushed back to fit the assumption: "I was now entered on the seven and twentieth year of my captivity in this place; though the three last years that I had this creature with me ought rather to be left out of the account . . ." (p. 255). As a matter of fact Friday had been with him just one year instead of three.

Now at the beginning of the 27th year,

"when the settled season began to come in" (p. 256), Friday's father and the Spaniard are rescued from the cannibals. About a year is spent in laying in a store of provisions, and then Friday's father and the Spaniard go to rescue the other Spaniards. It was "the first measures used by me, in view of my deliverance, for now twenty-seven years and some days" (p. 277), a statement which apparently means merely that he had been on the island 27 years and some days, as my computation indicates to be the fact. The rescuers left "on the day that the moon was full, by my account in the month of October"; and then follows a statement that Crusoe lost the reckoning of days, but "had kept a true reckoning of years" (p. 278). This remark can hardly save Defoe from criticism, though no doubt he intended it to do so. In this particular case Crusoe's computations would have been set right by the change in the season, which took place about October 15. It seems fair to assume, then, that the date on which the rescuers went away was not later than November 1. About a week later, "no less than eight days," as Defoe puts it (p. 278), the English ship which has been seized by the mutineers comes to the island. The action which follows covers five days. 1st day: Two boatloads of mutineers come ashore and are surprised. 2d day: Conferences; planning; midnight attack on the ship. 3d day: Ship taken at 2 a. m.; Crusoe packs up his goods. 4th day: Crusoe goes on board; the ship does not sail that night. 5th day: Crusoe leaves the island after he "had been upon it eight and twenty years, two months, and 19 days." Adding the "no less than eight days" and the five days of the final action, one finds that instead of leaving the island on December 19, Crusoe should have been leaving by the middle of November at the latest. Moreover, Friday's father and the Spaniard, who had been gone only a fortnight, left a few days after the end of Crusoe's 27th year on the island; so that the "eight and twenty years" is not consistent with the preceding details. In other words, according to the details of the narrative there is more evidence in favor of a "captivity" of

27 years than of one of 28. In favor of 28 we have this statement at the end of the story; the words of the title page, which are merely borrowed from the text; and one of the references to the length of Friday's stay (p. 245), which is virtually cancelled by the next reference to Friday.

The uncertainty on this point is important in its bearing on the consistency of the dates which Defoe gives for the chief events of Crusoe's life. The only point considered by the critics in connection with the chronology of the story has been the discrepancy between the statement that Crusoe was 28 years on the island and the statement that he was shipwrecked in 1659 and left the island in 1686. Mr. Thomas Wright suggested that 1686 was a misprint for 1687; Mr. Aitken replied (1, lvij) that the date was an error but that the mistake was Defoe's, not the printer's, because "in the next paragraph we are told that Crusoe reached England in June 1687, not 1688." Then in *The Speaker* for April 20, 1895, Mr. Quiller-Couch suggested that the error is in the date of the shipwreck, which should be 1658. This suggestion Mr. Aitken accepted, in a letter in *The Speaker* of May 4, 1895, and in a note prefixed to Vol. VII of his edition (p. xvii), and he pointed, as corroborative evidence, to Crusoe's statement (p. 147) that he was shipwrecked on his 26th birthday. But what is to be done with the statement that Crusoe set sail from Brazil on his ill-fated voyage to Guinea "the same day eight year" (p. 43) that he left Hull; when it is perfectly clear that he left Hull in the year 1651? Obviously no single change in the text can set all to rights.

To return to the dates. 1651 is fixed as the time of leaving Hull because Crusoe was born in 1632, wished to go to sea at the age of 18 (p. 5), but stayed at home "almost a year after this" (p. 6). This corroborates the date, September 1, 1651, which appeared in the text as early as the 4th edition but was left blank in the first edition (p. 6). It is interesting to note that in the first edition the date of Crusoe's departure for Guinea, September 1,

1659, is also omitted (p. 43). This omission of dates which were to be chosen later so as to accord with later statements does not weaken the standing of the date 1659, for Defoe twice uses it in the first edition in referring to the date of his shipwreck, on pp. 70, 76. Leaving Hull, then, on September 1, 1651, Crusoe in six days reaches Yarmouth Roads, remains there eight days, is caught in a storm on the eighth day and shipwrecked on the ninth (pp. 9, 11, 12). The wreck should have occurred on September 16. But on p. 147 he says that he escaped from that wreck and from Sallee on the same day of the year, and on p. 311 he says that the day of his leaving the island,—i. e., December 19,—was the same day of the month that he escaped from Sallee. This means that he escaped from the wreck and from Sallee on September 19. Here is a discrepancy of three days in the two statements of the date of the wreck in Yarmouth Roads. After going to London, at the end of September 1651, he makes two voyages to Guinea, and on the second he is captured by the Moors, on September 1 (p. 147). The year is uncertain. It seems hardly likely that he could pick up his captain in London, make one voyage, and start on a second one, between October 1651 and August 1652; yet this would be necessary if he were to be captured September 1, 1652. If he was captured in 1653, the two years he remained a slave in Sallee (p. 20) before his escape on September 19 [1655(?)], and the four years he spent in Brazil as a planter (p. 41), would bring him just to September 1659, the time named in the text for the voyage to Guinea and the shipwreck on the island. But there is one more complication. He said on p. 311 that he “arrived in England, the 11th of June, in the year 1687, having been thirty and five years absent.” This makes the year in which he started his second trip to Guinea 1652. I have just mentioned the difficulty in assuming this date. It would, of course, make 1658 the year of his shipwreck. If one is anxious, however, to establish some consistency in the dates, apparently the simplest thing to do would be: (i) assume that twenty-eight years is a mistake

for twenty-seven; (ii) assume that thirty-five years is a mistake for thirty-four, made under the influence of the miscalculation just before it (the two statements occur in successive sentences); (iii) assume that twenty-six, on p. 147, is a mistake for twenty-seven. These three changes, the first two of which are virtually one, would make the main outline of the chronology, I think, consistent. Of course they will not remove the lesser slips; but they are at least more satisfactory than the simple changing of 1659 to 1658. As a matter of fact, the text should be recognized to be inconsistent and then left unchanged.

### III

Gildon, in his scurrilous attack on *Robinson Crusoe*, makes some general criticism of the book in addition to pointing out particular slips. “If the faults of it,” he says, “had extended no farther than the frequent Solecisms, Looseness and Incorrectness of Stile, Improbabilities, and sometimes Impossibilities, I had not given you the trouble of this epistle.” But he objects to the lack of patriotism which compares Englishmen with Spaniards to the latter’s advantage; to the unfair treatment of English seamen; to the impieties and superstition and too great tolerance of Catholics. And if he can prevent the spread of these ideas, “I shall not think my Labour lost.”

Most of Gildon’s general remarks and many of his specific complaints are petty enough, as the above quotation indicates. In my list I shall include only those which seem pertinent.

P. 14. “telling his father who I was,” etc. Gildon observes that Crusoe “got on board a ship, without so much as ever saying one Word to the Master of her, who we must suppose never saw him for about three Weeks, till, after his Ship was cast away, he met him in *Yarmouth*, and was there inform’d by his Son, who, and what he was; tho’ presently after he had heard this, he asks him, who, and what he was, as if he had known nothing of the Matter . . .”

P. 15. “not tempt Providence to my ruin,” etc. Gildon remarks most seriously: “If Storms are sent by Providence to deter Men

from Navigation, I may reasonably suppose, that there is not one of all that vast Number I have mention'd, to whom Providence has not sent the same Warning."

Pp. 52-54. "I pulled off my clothes . . . and took the water . . . I went to the bread-room and filled my pockets with biscuit . . . I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat . . . swim away; as for my breeches . . . I swam on board in them, and my stockings." Gildon observed: "I shall not take Notice of his striping (*sic*) himself to swim on Board, and then filling his Pockets with Bisket, because that is already taken Notice of in Publick; and in the last Edition, at least, of the Book, you have endeavour'd to salve this Difficulty, by making him keep his Breeches on . . ." Aitken points out that "as for my breeches," etc., appeared in the first edition; he is hardly fair, however, in finding no fault in Defoe's method, for certainly it looks as if the detail were tucked in as an afterthought; the reader finds contradiction enough in the first two statements.

P. 69. "for want of books and pen and ink." On p. 70 he possesses ink.

P. 70. "three . . . Bibles." Gildon wonders "why *Robinson* should put three on Board for his Voyage to *Guinea*, when one was likely to be more than he would make use of, if we may believe his own Account of the little regard he had to any Religion."

P. 104. "certainly I lost a day in my account." This remark seems to be introduced merely for the sake of the immediate incident. Later he makes two other statements concerning errors in his reckoning which are inconsistent with this and with each other, and the second of which seems to be intended to cover up possible discrepancies in his statements: (i) p. 115,—"I found at the end of my account, I had lost a day or two in my reckoning"; and (ii) p. 278,—"as for an exact reckoning of days, after I had once lost it, I could never recover it again"; etc.

P. 116. "it grew as if it had been but newly sown." This is inconsistent with statements in this sentence, in the next sentence, and in the sentence on p. 127 beginning "The ground I had . . .," all of which are to the effect that the seed first sown was lost altogether.

P. 131. "I wanted . . . salt." But on p. 236 Crusoe tries to get Friday to eat salt with his meat.

P. 136. "How I did afterwards," etc. Defoe forgets his promise.

P. 145. "falling early into the seafaring life," etc. Gildon estimates that Crusoe "never

kept Company with Seamen above three Weeks in all his Life, and that was from *Hull* to *Yarmouth*." On his other voyages he associated only with the Masters of the vessels, and on his first trip to Brazil he knew so little of the language of the crew that he could not have picked up much evil. He must have had "a strange *Alacrity in Sinking*," etc.

P. 160. "there were pipes in the ship," etc. Defoe has forgotten that Crusoe saved a pipe from the wreck; cf. p. 51.

P. 175. "I had not stirred . . . for three days," etc. Gildon asks what happened to the goats when Crusoe went off for a six days' trip (p. 166), if they were "almost spoiled" by three days' neglect.

P. 196. "looking farther into the place," etc. Gildon asks how Crusoe could see the goat's eyes if the place was "perfectly dark," and adds that the "dim light" mentioned later in the sentence does not help the situation, because if there was a dim light it was not perfectly dark.

P. 213. "if I may guess . . . she must have been bound . . . to the Havanna." This conjecture in regard to the ship,—since, as the "may" shows, it is made at the time of composition, after all the events of the story have taken place,—is inconsistent with the fact that he had exact information from the Spaniard; cf. p. 272.

P. 224. "he outstripped them." Aitken mentions "the improbability that the savages who pursued Friday would be unable to swim across a creek, or would not shoot at him with an arrow when they saw he was gaining upon them."

P. 227. "the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard . . . for above twenty-five years." Aitken quotes "critics" to the effect that "Crusoe could hardly have lived by himself for so many years without becoming insane; he certainly would not at the end of the time have been quite as intelligent as he was at the beginning, nor would he have remembered such Spanish as he had once known" (i. lxiv).

P. 272. "and Portuguese." No Portuguese are mentioned afterwards in this part of the story or in the *Farther Adventures*.

P. 274. "fourteen, still alive." This is apparently a slip for "sixteen." We might assume that there were fourteen Spaniards and two Portuguese, in keeping with the statement made just before, but in the sequel of the story the number of Spaniards is twice at least given as sixteen; cf. *Farther Adventures*, pp. 50, 93.

P. 277. "I gave him a strict charge in writ-

ing." Gildon points out that Crusoe's ink had been exhausted long before.

P. 302. "Our strength was now thus ordered for the expedition." In the first edition the latter part of this paragraph read as follows (spelling and punctuation modernized): "3. The other two whom I had kept till now in my apartment, pinioned, but upon the captain's motion had now released. 4. The single man taken in the boat. 5. These five released at last; so that they were thirteen in all, besides five we kept prisoners in the cave and the two hostages." Here, as elsewhere, Defoe succeeds in getting an effect of verisimilitude with his figures, but here at least his use of them was only "impressionistic"; in reality he was rather badly muddled. He evidently felt that something was wrong, for in the table of errata at the end of the first edition he attempted to patch things up by the following changes: "for *apartment* read *bower*; dele *the single man taken in the boat* 5; for *thirteen* read *twelve*; [for] *and the two* read *for*." These changes, which have been followed in all subsequent editions I have seen, only make the muddle worse, as can be shown by a brief review of the narrative.

18 mutineers came ashore, 8 in the first boat and 10 in the second. Of the first 8, 2 were killed, and 6 surrendered, of whom 2 at once joined the captain's party, 2 were sent to the cave, and 2 were "pinioned," in a place not specified. Of the 10 men of the second gang, 1 was "knocked down" by the captain and apparently killed (at least, there is no reference to him later); 1, "the single man taken in the boat," joins the captain's party at once; 2 are shot and killed by the captain and Friday; 6, therefore, remain to be made prisoners. Of these 6, 3 are sent to the cave; "the other[s]," number not given, are pinioned in the bower. The situation at the end of the day is, then, as follows: there are 10 prisoners, of whom 5 are in the cave, 2 pinioned in a place not named, and 3,—in regard to whom it is to be noted that Defoe does not give their number directly,—are in the bower; there are 8 in the captain's party, Crusoe and Friday, the captain and the two passengers, the 2 men from the first gang of mutineers, and the "man taken in the boat"; the total number of men alive on the island is 18.

Defoe's mistakes begin to appear when Crusoe rearranges the men for the expedition to the ship on the second day. The paragraph beginning "However, that we might be very secure" is entirely inconsistent with previous

statements, and the references in it cannot be satisfactorily interpreted. It is clear, however, from the original form of the paragraph enumerating the attacking force, that Defoe has swelled the numbers on the island from 18 to 22, 20 named in the paragraph and Crusoe and Friday besides. The corrections in the table of errata reduce the total number to 19, but this is not the 18 of the previous night. Moreover two inconsistencies are involved in the changes: first, "the single man taken in the boat," if not listed separately as in the first version, must disappear altogether; second, the two following paragraphs of the text indicate that after the 12 of the attacking force had left there were 7 on the island besides Crusoe and Friday, making a total of 21. Defoe has apparently at one time counted two of his dead mutineers as living and at another time resuscitated four of them; and in trying to patch things up, he has involved himself worse by erasing altogether the man in the boat. There is no feasible way of securing a consistent text, and the original reading had best be left intact.

P. 326. "two hours before night." Gildon remarks that if it was so near nightfall, if they had three leagues to go, and if the traveling was bad on account of the snow, it is highly improbable that they would stop to give Friday a chance to "make laugh" with the bear.

P. 341. "1694." In the *Farther Adventures* the date is given as 1693.

#### IV

There is perhaps no more appropriate way of concluding these notes than by quoting, from Defoe's Preface to the *Farther Adventures*, his impartial "Editor's opinion" of the first volume.

"The success the former part of this work has met with in the world, has yet been no other than is acknowledged to be due to the surprising variety of the subject and to the agreeable manner of the performance.

"All the endeavors of envious people to reproach it with being a romance, to search it for errors in geography, inconsistency in the relation, and contradictions in the fact, have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious."

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## ZUR SPANISCHEN GRAMMATIK

III.<sup>1</sup> IMPERATIV ANAKOLUTHISCH IM ABHÄNGIGEN SATZE

a) Afz. Beispiele für den Imperativ "in einem Satze, der als von einem Ausdruck des Wollens abhängiger Objektssatz mit *que* anhebt, im weitem Verlaufe aber anakoluthisch die Gestalt der direkten Aufforderung annimmt," sind Tobler, V. B. <sup>2</sup> I 27, gegeben.<sup>2</sup> Dasselbst auch zwei aprov. Belege. Ich füge aus dem Span. hinzu: Vida S. Maria Eg. (1907) 358 *Por dios vos rruego e por caridat que conbusco me leuat*. Plácidas 132 *Buen sennor, rruégote que sy asy es que yo non puedo escusar las tentaciones asy commo las tú deuistaste, dámelas luégo*. Autos (Rouanet) II 124, 424 *Y ved que os digo otra cosa: que de gente sospechosa y su casa os apartad, y, los mis frailes, mirad que . . .*

Dagegen haben nichts Auffälliges: Vida S. Maria Eg. 1202 *mas huna cosa te ruego mucho: En vaso que seya limpio mete el cuerpo de ihesu christo*. Autos IV 419, 502 *te suplico por tuyo me ten*. etc.

b) Wird einem durch die Konjunktion *que* eingeleiteten Finalsatz ein zweiter angereiht, so pflegt auch an dessen Spitze *que* zu treten und das Verbum im Subjunktiv zu folgen. Nicht selten aber erscheint statt *que* + Subj. der Imperativ: S. Lorenzo 10 *Ruegote, mi amigo, por Dios è karidad Que recibas mi ruego è fes esta bondad*. Appollonio 501 *Mas avn te lo ruego e en amor te lo pido, Que tornes a él e mete hi tu son complido* (ich möchte *Que* streichen und *el tu son* lesen). 510 *Ruégote que non cansses e tente por guarido*. Estoria S. Maria Eg. (Knust) 340 *Buen sennor padre, yo te rruego que tu oyas mi oracion, e dame tal guarladon de mi servicio qual te proguier'* (fz. Text: *ge te pri qe tu oies m'oro[i]son e me rendes<sup>3</sup> mon guerdon de mon service qant*

*il te plera*). J. Ruiz 708 *Ruego vos que alla vayades, E fablad entre nos (G vos) anbos lo mejor que entendades, encobrid todo aquesto*. Ayala, Crónicas I (1779) 41 *Rui Ferrandez amigo, ruego vos que vayades á Doña Leonor mi muger, é traedme una carta del Papa de absolucion, que ella tiene*. 493 *E yo vos pido por merced que me conozcades quanto vos he dicho: é me perdonad lo que contra vuestra voluntad dixé*. Im folgenden Beispiel ist der (erste) Finalsatz asyndetisch angereiht: Autos III 511, 341 (die Hirten zu den Aposteln) *Todos juntos os rogamos, pues nos dejais en el suelo, nos dejeis algun consuelo, y el dia que nos muramos nos dad socorro en el cielo*.

Die Anakoluthie tritt erst in einem dritten, koordinierten Finalsatz ein: Prim. Crón. Gen. 390 b 9 *Sennor, ruegote que me ualas et que me ayudes en tal guisa por que te yo pueda servir et sacar Castiella de la premia en que esta, et dame seso . . . como lo pueda fazer*. Ebenso in einem port. Beispiel: Textos archaicos 50, 14 (s. xv) *praza-vos que por o seu amor vos bautizees e vos cõuertaees aa fee catholica, e exalçade a santa christindade e fazee bautizar toda a gente*.

IV. DER IMPERATIV *fes*1. *fes*

Diez 537 (= II 185) sowie Menéndez Pidal, Manual § 115, 3 und Cantar de Mio Cid I 272, erwähnen die Form überhaupt nicht. Meyer-Lübke, II § 234, konstatiert sie als Imp. Sing. für Berceo (Duelo 11, 4). Ebenso Baist § 84; er schreibt aber *fez* und bezeichnet die Form als "ganz unklar." Hanssen, Span. Gramm. 73, bemerkt unter Präs. von *hacer*: "Dialektische Nebenformen: *fes* 2. s. präs. subj. (Berceo, S. Laur. 10) nach *des* gebildet." Endlich Rydberg, Facere 125, betrachtet *fes* als Imp. Sing., giebt 4 Beispiele aus Berceo und erklärt: "*Fes, fet* sont évidemment de provenance analogique."

Ich habe *fes* notiert: S. Domingo (Fitz-Gerald) 405 *dizia* (l. mit V *dicie*): "*Ay Rey de Gloria, Tu fes y piadat*" (HV *faz tu pia-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mod. Lang. Notes xxvi 97.

<sup>2</sup> Auch z. B. Mod. Lang. Rev. iv 213.

<sup>3</sup> Die beiden letzten Buchstaben sind kursiv gedruckt, also vom Hrsg. hinzugefügt. Unnötigerweise.

*dad*).<sup>4</sup> S. Lorenzo 10 *Ruegote, mi amigo, por Dios è karidad Que recibas mi ruego è fes esta bondad*. 15 *Prendi qual tu quisieres, tu fes la descogencia*. 60 *Tu fes en esti ome la tu consolation*. Milagros 526 *Fes en aquesta cuyta alguna piadat*. 527 *Madre, si falllesciero, fes en mi tal venganza, . . .* 658 *E tu como que quiere feslo à el pagado*. 866 *Tu fes por el, Sennora, preces al Criador*. Duelo 11 *Mas tu busca conseio, fesme esta amor*.<sup>5</sup> Alex. 48

<sup>4</sup>V hat nicht selten die bessere Lesart; cf. z. B. Fitz-Gerald XXIX und Mod. Lang. Notes XXIV 163 Anm. 3. Auch in diesem Fall? Hat Berceo nur *faz* oder nur *fes* oder beide Formen gebraucht?

Im Reime kommen, soweit ich sehe, weder *faz* (Imp.) noch *fes* vor. Und wenn *faz* allein im Reim erschiene, so wäre damit nur bewiesen, dass Berceo diese Form sicher gebraucht hat, nicht aber, dass er *fes* nicht gebraucht haben könnte. Und umgekehrt.

Innerhalb des Verses habe ich *faz* noch zweimal gefunden: Milagros 693 *fas* (das hier und sonst natürlich *faz* zu schreiben, es sei denn eine Kreuzung von *fes* und *faz*) und 818 *Faz*. Betreffs des Textes der Milagros heisst es Hanssen, Misc. 4: "a mi modo de ver, el testo de Gonzalo se conservó mejor en los Milagros de Nuestra Señora."

Den drei Fällen von *faz* stehen neun von *fes* gegenüber, davon vier in den Milagros. Doch lege ich diesem Umstand nicht allzuviel Gewicht bei. Mehr der folgenden Erwägung. Berceo's Geburtsort ist nach seiner eigenen Angabe (S. Millan 3) "dos leguas," nach der von Madoz "tres" von Nájera entfernt. Diese Stadt liegt unweit der Grenze von Navarra und hat politisch öfter, wenn auch vorübergehend (so noch im 12. Jahrhundert, in dessen zweitletztes Zehntel die Geburt Berceo's gesetzt wird) zu Navarra gehört. Nun weisen die Beispiele, welche ich oben gebe, *fes* entschieden dem Osten zu. *fes* ist daher ohne Zweifel dem Dichter vertraut gewesen. Er mag *faz* und *fes* gebraucht haben.

<sup>5</sup>Dies und andere Beispiele für weibl. *amor* bei Cuervo, Dicc. s. v. Ich füge hinzu Mem. hist. I 159 (1260—Carta de D. Jayme I, rey de Aragon) *per la amor que el nos faz*. (Ib. *la maior valor*.) F. Navarra 33b *la amor que te han tus parientes*.

Daran mögen sich ein paar Beispiele für *la dolor* und *el labor* anschliessen, die Menéndez Pidal, Cantar I 236, als selten bezeichnet. (Er giebt für jedes einen Beleg.) *la dolor*: Lapidario fo. 74 ro. a. 87 vo. a *dela d*. 91 vo. a *ala d*. 113 ro. a item. 114 vo. a *ninguna d*. Nach Cuervo, Notas 38, noch bei Santillana. *el labor*: Staaff, L'ancien Dialecte léonais 20, 25 (1235) *con otro tan bon lauror*. (Ib. 30 *la honor*.) 90, 44 (1267) *de todos sos laoures*. Alex.

*Siempre faz* (Morel-Fatio 52 *fes*) *con conseio quanto que fer ouieres*. 68 *Esforçia los delantre, assi faz* (M.-F. 73 *fes*) *los de gaga*. Besondere Erwähnung verdient der Umstand, dass der Schreiber der von Morel-Fatio herausgegebenen Hs. ein Aragonese war.<sup>6</sup> (Es wäre nicht ohne Reiz, weiter zu verfolgen, wie sich dieser Schreiber zu *fazer, far, fer* stellt.) F. Navarra 42 b *fesme casa*. 44 b *fesme dreyto*. Crón. S. Juan de la Peña 157 *Señor verdadero todo poderoso, fet hi nos menospreciar las prosperidades daquesti mundo, et fes nos Señor por la tu merce que non ayamos temor de las contrariedades de aquesti mundo* (lat. Text: *Domine, Deus Omnipotens, fac me prospera huius mundi despicere et non temere aduersa*).

Häufig in Aljamiátexten und zwar *fes*: Leyendas Mor. I 270 *Y fesle á saber*. II 42. 235 *Feste muslim*. 353. III 258. 274. Leyendas José 36 *Fes lo que querrás*. 42. 65. 172 *Fesme á saber*. *fez*: Leyendas Mor. I 276 *fezte muslima*. II 29 *Fez conta*. 84 *Fezme á saber*. III 206. 294. Leyendas José 38 *Fez lo que querrás*. 39. 119 *Fezme gracia*. 173 *Fezme á saber*.

Ich halte *fes* für älter als *fez*. Das letztere schrieb man mit *z* wegen *faz*, das daneben bestand.<sup>7</sup>

2169 *los laoures los que . . .* (Morel-Fatio 2311 *sus laoures las que . . .*). Prim. Crón. Gen. 268 a 19 *del lauror*. 317b 15 *grandes laoures et antigos* (*antigos E, antiguas CBUOLT*). 348 a 17 *en todos estos laoures*. 460 a 2 *de cuyos laoures (cujo (!) lauror A)*. Concilio de Leon (Muñoz) 82, 5 *el labor—del labor*. 7 item. Vigil 67b (1274) *sobrelos laoures . . . lauror nenguno*. 68a *sobrel lauror*. 85a (1283) *el lauror*. Caveda 76 (s. xvii) *al so llabor*. 169 (s. xviii) *estos llabores*. El Tiu Xuan, 1909, 59 *Pocos llabores*. Vielleicht nur nordwestlich.

Nirgends erwähnt ist *la licor*: Lapidario fo. 10 ro. a *con alguna l*. 13 vo. b item. 107 vo. a *en alguna l*. 109 ro. b item. (Dagegen *el licor*: fo. 13 ro. b *con algun l*. 14 vo. a item. etc.)

Endlich noch ein paar Beispiele für *la arbol*: F. Juzgo 138 a, 2 *Si algun omne taia arbol* (B. R. 3 *aiena*. Esc. 6 *la arbol*). (Vgl. auch Z. 9 und 10.) Ib. 11 *otras* (V. L. *otros*) *tales arboles*. Ib. V. L. 24 *aquella arbol*.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. El Libro de Alixandre, p. p. A. Morel-Fatio, 1906, xxv.

<sup>7</sup>Umgekehrt wohl auch einmal *fas* wegen *fes*: Leyendas Mor. II 42. Vorausgesetzt, dass kein Fehler

Es liegt nahe, *fes* zu dem Inf. *fer* zu stellen. Hier sei zunächst eine Übersicht über *fer* und etwa davon abgeleitete Formen gegeben. So klein sie ist, dürfte sie zur Berichtigung, bez. Ergänzung dessen dienen, was bei Baist, Menéndez Pidal und Hanssen zu lesen steht.

a) *fer* (*her*)

Aragon-Navarra. Vida S. Maria Eg. 46. 66. 91 *ffer*. 133. Mem. hist. I 159 (1260—Carta de D. Jayme I, rey de Aragon). 304 (1274—Carta del Rey de Aragon). Crón. S. Juan de la Peña 19. 24. 31. Libro de la Morca 1. 3. 6. 7. 8. etc. Gestas D. Jayme 93. 124 *satisfes*. 167. 178. 184 *de fazer cosas que fer non deuien*. 226 *querie fer fazer vna tienda*. Ord. Çaragoça I 276 *satisfes*. Borao 238: “*fez* (I. *fer*), *hacer*; en el uso del vulgo.” Ann. Éc. H. Ét. 1898, 90 *fé* (Graus). 1901, 114 *fé* (Ansó); *fer* (Echo).—Altspan. Glossen (ZrP XIX 5) 42 *por fere ke faciat omiciero*. F. Navarra 4a. 17b. 21a. etc.

Asturien-Leon-Extremadura. F. Avilés 100, 62. F. Juzgo 114a. 156 V. L. 23 B. R. 1 und S. B. Staaß 149 (1247). Häufiger in späterer Zeit: Caveda 60 (s. XVII). 62 *fello* = *ferlo*. 68. 121 (s. XVIII). 123. Munthe, Anteckn. 48: “Jämte *fayer* hörde jag äfen infinitiven *fer* (som det tycktes i mera stående uttryck: ‘*fer baili*’ ‘*fe*’ la cama’). [B[able] L[iteraturen] har infiniterna *facer* och *fer* (*fer* äfven

gsp. och *deshes*, *her* vulg. enl. Cobarruvias), hvilket senare kan utgå från ett *faer* (så enligt uppgift faktiskt i Pesoz), hvartill också närmast vårt *fayer*, vidare *traer trayer* och *trer*, *caer cayen*; . . . Jfr härtill gal. *facer fer* . . .]” —Torres Naharro I 134 *her*. 136. II 299. 350. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I 216 *hacen her*. II 18 *her*.

Kastilien (nur Westkastilien, Mittel- und Südspanien sind berücksichtigt). Wenn *fer* hier überhaupt zu finden ist, so jedenfalls selten. Dokumente aus der Kanzlei Alfonso's X und andere hierhergehörige Texte, die ich noch einmal überflogen, haben nur *facer*.

Öfter dürfte *fer* (*her*) ungefähr seit dem 15. Jahrhundert vorkommen. Gonzalo Martinez de Medina, [“gentil sevillano”] (C. Baena 387) *fer é desfer*. Valdés, Diálogo de la Lengua 391, 28: “*Deshes* por *deshazer* hallareis algunas vezes en metro, pero guardáos no lo digais hablando, ni escribiendo en prosa, porque no se usa.” Primavera I 188 *al libre her*<sup>8</sup> *tributario*. Juan de Pedraza, [“vecino

<sup>8</sup>Der letzte Herausgeber dieser Romanze, Morley (Spanish Ballads, 1911, S. 87, 11), hat mit Unrecht *hacer*, die Lesart der Silva de 1550, in den Text gesetzt. Denn um 1550 las man noch *libre* | *hacer* und nicht *libre* *hacer*. Der Vers wurde also um eine Silbe zu lang.

Noch eine bei läufige Bemerkung gelegentlich dieser Romanze und ihres Herausgebers Morley. Clemencin hat die Schlussworte der Romanze (“*El bien de la libertad Por ningun oro es comprado*”), die er aus Depping's Sammlung kannte, für seinen Kommentar zu D. Quij. I (1833) L benutzt, dabei aber fälschlich den Helden des Gedichts, Diego [de Haro] zu seinem Verfasser (er nennt ihn Diego López de Haro) gemacht. Ich selber habe den Irrtum Clemencin's in meinen Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sentenz, Mod. Lang. Notes 1909, S. 55, übernommen, nicht ohne jedoch ausdrücklich in einer Fussnote betreffs Depping's zu erklären: “Not accessible to me.” Morley nun, in seinem Kommentar (S. 169), erklärt, ich folgte “the curious blunder of Clemencin,” lässt aber unerwähnt meine Bemerkung betreffs Depping's, mit der ich doch die Verantwortlichkeit für etwaige Fehler Clemencin's ablehne.

Übrigens ist der Gedanke bereits Prim. Crón. Gen. 46b 27 ausgesprochen: “*libertad es una de las mejores cosas del mundo, ca no a auer que la uala ni la pueda comprar*.” It. Parallelen bringt Novati, Giorn. stor. lett. it. LV 277.

des Herausgebers oder des Schreibers vorliegt. Der Vollständigkeit wegen sei angeführt, dass auch *hazo* in den Leyendas Mor. begegnet: I 195 *házeme á saber*. Weitere Beispiele dieser Neubildung sind: Libros de Astr. II 10 *et faze en la faz desta tabla . . . una linna drecha*. 22, 32 *et faze una sennal*. (22, 33 *faz*) 23, 7 *Et faze un cerco en la faz de suso desta armella que . . .* (23, 6 *faz*) Castigos 124 a *Lo que puede facer la tu mano á tu salvacion, luego lo face por ejecucion é por obra*. S. Catalina (Knust) 255 *Tu non as sobre nos a meter ley, mas faze lo que as de faser*. Libro de Exemplos (Morel-Fatio) 498 *si tu quieres que yo cumpla tu voluntad, faze vn escrito*. (Gayangos) 530b *El sancto hombre le respondi6: “Face lo qu6 te dije . . .”* Boc. de Oro (Toledo 1512 [I. 1510]; apud Knust, Dos Obras didácticas 44) fol. XIX<sup>23</sup> *Faze á los otros como querrias que fiziesen á ti* (die Hss. scheinen sämtlich *faz* zu lesen; cf. Knust, Mittheilungen 195).

de Segovia"] (BAE LVIII) 41 b *her*.<sup>9</sup> Autos I 28, 175 *her*. 58, 206. 328, 363. etc. (cf. Glossaire.) Alcázar, Poesías (1910) 113, 70 *herse* (zitiert unter Vocablos del tiempo viejo). Lope (BAE XLI) 451 b *her* (zitiert zusammen mit *trújon* und *crego* als Beispiele bäuerlicher Sprache). Tirso (Clás. Cast.) I 28. 49.

Schliesslich ein Wort über den Ursprung von *fer*. Neust. *fer* < *faer* (so Munthe supra) wäre nicht unmöglich.<sup>10</sup> Doch wünschte man Belege für *faer*. Für altes *fer* in Asturien und sonst wird man nach einer andern Erklärung suchen müssen.

Nach Baist § 84 sind *far* und *fer* "weder als *facre* noch *facere* regelmässig."

Menéndez Pidal, Cantar I 264, sagt: "El único resto de la conjugación -ère es *fác're*, *fáire*, que ya debía existir en la forma \**fère* en el latín vulgar de España é Italia (Rom. XXIX 435), 'fere' Gl Sil 42, *fer* 84, 1299, 1886, . . ." Abgesehen davon, dass eine Annahme *fer* < *fáire* < *fác're* überflüssig ist, wenn vulglat. *fere* vorhanden war, glaube ich an das letztere nicht. Ein so häufig gebrauchtes Wort sollte doch in den Jahrhunderten wenigstens eine Spur hinterlassen haben. Das ist nicht der Fall. *fer* < *fáire* ist einwandfrei, dagegen *fáire* < *fác're* kaum möglich.

Nach Hanssen § 30, 3 wäre *fer* "wohl \**fagere*." Aber auch vulglat. *fagere* ist nirgends bezeugt. Ferner was *femos*, *feches* und *fech* anbetrifft, die Hanssen, §§ 27, 15 und 29, 4, auf \**fagimus*, \**fagit*, \**fagite* (nach Analogie von *agimus* etc.) zurückführen möchte, so könnte *femos* allerdings aus *fagimus* entstanden sein, muss es aber nicht. Dagegen hätten *fagit*, *fagite* schwerlich etwas anderes als *fedes*, *fed* ergeben können. Endlich lassen sich

*fedes* ebenso wie *fed* noch auf andere Weise erklären.

*fer* wird daher entlehnt sein. Wohl aus dem Katalanischen.<sup>11</sup> Dort ist nach Rydberg 27 *fer* lautgesetzlich.

#### b) *feré*; *fería*

P. Cid 1418 *fere*. 2033. 2990. 3408. 1958 *fera*. 2362. 584 *feremos*. 1055. 2050. 2547. 896 *feredes*. 1080 *ferie* (3). Menéndez Pidal, Cantar I 265, hält es für "probable que *fer* se haya introducido por Per Abbat." Ich wäre geneigt, auch *fere* etc. dem Schreiber zuzuweisen. Die Form dürfte jedenfalls nicht allzu häufig vorkommen. Ich habe noch angemerkt *fera* Brutails 64 (1357). (Ib. 101; 102 [1365?], aber in einem gaskognischen Dokument.) In altarag. Texten, wie Libro de la Morea, in dem *fer* fast auf jeder Seite zu finden, kenne ich nur *faré*, *faría*. Dagegen bietet Gascón, Hist. bat. III 21 *Eso tamién lo fería yo*. 22 ¿ *lo ferías tú* . . ?

#### c) *fendo*, *fiendo* — *hiendo*, *hendo*

Libro de la Morea 34 *fendole conuides & grandes honores*.—*fiendo* Caveda 61 (s. XVII). 76. 109 (s. XVIII). 120. 123. 280 (s. XIX). Munthe, Antekn. 48. *hiéndome* Diego Sanchez de Badajoz I 288.

*hendo* Primavera I 278. Salazar (Gallardo IV) 392. Autos II 218, 72. 521, 202.

Zweifelsohne sind *fendo* etc. Neubildungen aus *fer* wie das it. *fando* (Nannucci, Verbi it. 635) aus *fare*. Sicher ist wohl auch, dass *fiendo*, *hiendo* in Asturien, bez. Extremadura gebildet worden sind. Endlich ist es mir wahrscheinlich, dass *fendo*, *hendo* arag., bez. kast. Boden entsprossen sind. Das Fehlen des Diphthongs in dem einen Beispiel des arag. *fendo* ist nicht verwunderlich; wäre es erst, wenn noch mehr Beispiele beigebracht würden, die sämtlich keinen Diphthong zeigen. Kast. *hendo* kann man aus der Aussprache von *h-*

<sup>9</sup> Hrsg.: "Her, por hacer, era entonces voz de frecuentísimo uso entre gente rústica."

<sup>10</sup> Zu den Beispielen für *ae* > *é*, die ich Mod. Lang. Notes XXVI 103 gegeben (daselbst auch zwei Belege für *trer*), sind hinzuzufügen *Rafel* und *quer* (*caer*) Cuervo, Apuntaciones §§ 79, 764 (mit anderer Auffassung). Vgl. port. *raer* > *rer* Rev. lus. IV 132, XIII 365. Ähnlich *ea* > *á*: *ral* Caveda 58 (s. XVII). *Ral y medio* Rimas inf., Rev. Extremadura V 501. *rales* Rodríguez Marín, Cant. pop. III 424. Vgl. *sa* < *seá* § 3.

<sup>11</sup> Für den Fall, dass Rydberg im Unrecht, wäre noch Entlehnung aus dem Normannischen zu erwägen. Betreffs der frühen Beziehungen Spaniens zu Nordfrankreich sehe man z. B. Baist, Span. Litt. 386.

(<f-) im 16. Jahrhundert erklären. *hendo* verhält sich zu *hiendo*, das sich auch noch in Kastilien finden dürfte, wie *dijeron* etc. zu *dijeron*.

d) *fe*; *femos*; *feis*, *fez*

a) *fe* (1) Staaff 34, 42 (1245?). Staaff bemerkt (S. 314): "formation analogique sur *femos*. Cette forme (sc. *fe*) se trouve dans le supplément, qui est empreint d'une couleur occidentale." Auch ich halte die Form für analogisch, aber nicht nach *femos*, sondern aus *fer* nach *he* oder *se*.

β) *femos* Mem. hist. I 159 (Carta de D. Jayme I, rey de Aragon—1260). 304 (Carta del Rey de Aragon—1274). II 99 (Carta de D. Pedro III—1283). 100. Rios II 588 (Montearagon—1276). Marco Polo 22, 19. Casañ y Alegre, Col. de Doc. inéd. del Arch. gen. del Reino de Valencia 178 (Carta de D. Pedro IV de Aragón—1366). 188. Crón. S. Juan de la Peña 98. Noch heute ist *femos* gebräuchlich in Bielsa (Gröber, Grundr. I 847), *fem* in Plan (Gröber, l. c.), *fén* in Graus (Ann. Éc. H. Ét. 1898, 92).—*femos* Staaff 9, 10 (1211). A[rehiv.] H[ist.] Sahagún nr. 1841 (1214).<sup>12</sup>—P. Cid 1103. S. Lorenzo 76 *femos muy mal seso* (*muy* zweisilbig, cf. Hanssen, De los Adverbios mucho, mui i much 35).

Nach Baist § 84 ist *femos* < *facmus* "nur möglich." Menéndez Pidal, Manual § 106, 4 c ebenso wie Cantar I 271, leitet *femos* ohne Bedenken von *fác(i)mus* ab. Desgleichen Staaff 314. Doch ist—*c'm*—> *im* ohne sonstigen Beleg. *femos* ist m. E. direkt aus *fer* gebildet. Wegen *fem* s. unten.

γ) *feis*: José (Schmitz) 83 ¿*Qué feis locas sin cordura* . . ?—Caveda 85 (s. XVII) *si feis esto Tan sanu habeis quedar como* . . . 96. 237 (s. XIX?). Munthe, Anteckn. 48.

*fez*: José (Schmitz) 82 ¿*Que fez, locas, de sin cuidado* . . ? Leyendas José 14 ¡*Oh mis hermanos! si fez* (Text *haceis*) *mi dicho* . . . Noch heute spricht man *fets* in Benasque, *feç* in den übrigen arag. Tälern (Gröber, Grundr. I 847).

<sup>12</sup> Zitiert von Menéndez Pidal, Cantar I 271.

Auch *feis* möchte ich aus *fer* herleiten. Ob es auf *fedes* zurückgeht oder späte Neubildung ist, diese Frage lässt sich mit meinem unzulänglichen Material nicht beantworten. Wegen *fez* s. unten.

e) *fe*; *fed* (*hed*), *fei*

a) *fe*. Das Glossar zu F. Navarra hat (S. 174): "Feme casa . . . Hazme casa." Leider wohl ein Druckfehler für 42 b *fesme casa*, das ich oben zitiert. Ich weiss nur von einem Beleg, aus späterer Zeit, Leyendas José 273 *Fenos á saber* (Text *Hazos s.*).

*fe* ist aus *fer* zu *fed* gebildet, wie *í* (Cuervo, Apuntaciones § 258) zu *id*.

β) *fed*: Reyes de Oriente 320 b *fet*. Crón. S. Juan de la Peña 157. Leyendas José 156 *Fedme á saber*. S. Orosia 1529 *No 's lleguéis, hedme placer*. 1536 *Heus allá*,<sup>13</sup> *é quitad las manos de la pelliza*. 2182 *Heus allá*,<sup>14</sup> *que me espantáis*.—P. Cid 2107 *fet*. 2629 *fed*. Autos I 205, 145 *heldo presto endeliñar*. II 234, 534 *y si quisierdes batalla, hecha manos y heos alla*. Mira de Amescua, El Esclavo del Demonio (Buchanan) 1909 *Hed*.

*fei* Munthe, Anteckn. 48.

Menéndez Pidal, Cantar I 272, meint: "fácite llegó regularmente á 'fech' SMill 277; Milg 863; luego se proveyó este imperativo de la dental final de todos los demás, para dar al infinitivo *fer* un imperativo igual al de 'ser, ver,' y se dijo *fed* 2629 . . ." Das ist möglich. Ebenso möglich aber, und weil einfacher, umso wahrscheinlicher, ist Neubildung direkt aus *fer*.

Für das neuast. *fei* ist nicht notwendigerweise älteres *fede* vorauszusetzen. Es könnte späte analogische Neubildung sein.

f) *feba*

*feban* (Text *hacían*) Leyendas Mor. III 158. *feba* Leyendas José 6. 31. *feban* 272. Noch

<sup>13</sup> Hrsq.: "Heus allá. Haceos allá, apartaos de aquí, no os arriméis á mí. Aragonismo." Die Besprechung des *u* sei auf eine andere Gelegenheit verschoben.

<sup>14</sup> Hrsq.: "Heus allá. Haceos allá."

heute im Gebrauch in Sobrarbe und Ribagorza, s. Menéndez Pidal, Yúguf 50.

*feba* kann nur von *fer* aus erklärt werden. Es ist auf eine Stufe zu stellen mit *podeba*, *queriba* in Graus, auf welche Formen zuerst Saroïhandy, Ann. Éc. H. Ét. 1898, 91, aufmerksam gemacht hat.<sup>15</sup> Derselbe Gelehrte bemerkt (l. c.): "Les formes en *-eba* et en *-iba* ont été formées par analogie sur les formes de la première conjugaison."

\* \* \*

Einige dieser Formen begegnen auch im Kat. So ist *fer* alt- und neukat., *feré* ("forme . . . très peu usitée," Rydberg 56) alt, *fem* (Präs. 4) alt und neu, *fets* (5) alt, *fe* (Imp. 2) alt, *fet* (5) alt, *feva* neu (Dialekt von Alghero — "probablement modelé sur la forme italienne," Rydberg 151).

Sp. *fer* ist m. E. ein kat. Lehnwort. Dagegen braucht *fem* in Plan, wenn ich Saroïhandy (Gröber, Grundr. I 847) recht verstehe, nicht notwendigerweise aus dem Kat. eingeführt worden zu sein. Betreffs *fez*, zu dem ich *fets*, *feç* stelle, ist gleichfalls auf Gröber, Grundr. I 847, zu verweisen: "in den spanischen Pyrenäen, vom Mittelmeer bis zum baskischen Gebiet, [waren] lat. *cantatis*, \**bibetis*, *dormitis* überall *cantats*, *bebets*, *dormits* geworden." Auch die übrigen Formen, die mit den kat. gleichlauten (*feré*; *fe*, *fed*; *feba*), möchte ich als span. Neubildungen aus *fer* in Anspruch nehmen. Der Infinitiv war, besonders im Osten, häufig genug, um sich zu Neubildungen zu leihen. Et was bedenklich bleibt immer die relative Seltenheit der Formen. Daran könnte jedoch meine unzureichende Lektüre schuld tragen. Sind sie aber tatsächlich nur sporadisch, so scheint es einfacher, sie für entlehnt zu halten. Und

<sup>15</sup> Darnach Menéndez Pidal, Yúguf 50, wo er die Formen noch für das westlichere Sobrarbe in Anspruch nimmt, dann im Manual § 117, wo er sie für Salamanca bezeugt und zum Vergleich auf die kreolischen *chobéba*, *tenéba* in Afrika verweist, endlich Cuervo, Bull. hisp. III 50, nach dem sie auch am La Plata vorkommen. Bei Cuervo noch ein Beispiel aus Ramón de la Cruz. Ich füge aus Murcia hinzu: *queriba* Canc. panocho 38. *moriba* 44.

dann sammt und sonders d. h. einschliesslich *fendo*, *femos* etc. Darüber weiter zu reden wird es zeit sein, wenn die Seltenheit der Formen feststeht.

\* \* \*

Um endlich auf *fes* zu kommen, so hat m. E. Hanssen's Erklärung (s. oben § 1) wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. Abgesehen von anderen Gründen, die gegen einen Einfluss von *dar* auf *facer*, *far* sprechen, so ist *fes* kaum je als Subjunktiv, sondern immer als Imp. gefühlt worden.

Vielleicht möchte man sich *fes* aus *fe* entstanden denken, indem zu Imp. 2 das für die zweite Person charakteristische *-s* hinzutrat, wie im Volksmunde *dijiste* etc. zu *dijistes*<sup>16</sup> wurde, wie fz. *fai* etc. zu *fais*. Nur leider ist die Tendenz im Franz. wie im Span. zu späten Datums; ferner sieht man nicht, warum sie nur *fe* und nicht auch andere Imp. ergriffen haben sollte; endlich wünschte man mehr und vor allem ältere Beispiele von *fe*.

So, meine ich, müssen wir auch in *fes* ein Lehnwort, wieder aus dem Kat., sehen. *fes* (Imp. 2) ist alt- und neukat. Aber auch kat. *fes* kann weder auf *face* noch auf *fac* zurückgehen. Wohl jedoch auf *facis*. Nun findet sich in der Tat *fes* in der alten Sprache als Präs. 2, aber wieder "assez rarement" (Ryd-

<sup>16</sup> Bello § 610 hat die Form längst als "provincialismo" bezeichnet. S. auch Cuervo, Apuntaciones § 267. Arag. Beispiele: Leyendas Mor. I 218 *tú me escribistes*. 356 *Si cuando dixistes á los cielos y á las tierras: Venidme graciosamente ó por fuerza, y no hubiesen querido obedecerte, ¿qué les habrías fecho?* II 370 *cuando me feristes tenía descubiertas mis espaldas; descúbreme las tuyas*. III 191 *y embriagáste, y entráste en casa de una mujer . . . y la forzastes*. García-Arista, Cantas baturras 35 *Por quererte cutio, cutio me plantastes en la calle*. 68 *Te puse sitio y me hicistes lo que al francés el año ocho, que conseguistes echarme después de estar en el Coso*. Auch port., Leite de Vasconcellos, Esquisses 133. Das älteste Beispiel, das ich notiert, ist J. Manuel (BAE LI) 299 a (der Engel zu Maria) *Bienaventurada cres porque creistes; ca todo lo que te fué dicho de parte de Dios se cumplirá en tí*. Da Baist, Libro dela Caza 181, die Stelle ohne Anm. lässt, so wird der Text in Ordnung sein.

berg 83). Die Lösung des Rätsels sei einem Katalanisten überlassen.

\* \* \*

Im Anschluss an *fes* noch einige Bemerkungen über ein paar andere Imperative des Singulars auf -s. *ves* < *vides* und *oyes* verspare ich mir für später.

## 2. *ves* = *ve* < *vade*

Drei Belege (Libro de los enxemplos [Gayangos] 456 b;<sup>17</sup> Corvacho 165; Valdés, José XII) habe ich Mod. Phil. II (1904) 208 gegeben. Ich war der falschen Meinung, *ves* sei aus einer Kurzform (\**vais*) entstanden und sei ein Indikativ in der Funktion eines Imperativs. Seitdem ist das Folgende von mir gesammelt worden:

Leyendas Mor. I 154 *Pues vé y dile*. 228 *Vés, que yo te do(y) poder sobre sus bienes* (sc. de Job). 233. 237. 238. 258 *dáme tu mano, y ven* (Hs. *ves*)<sup>18</sup> *conmi(go)*. 268 *Ven*

<sup>17</sup> Dies Beispiel ist zu streichen. Wie mir Dr. Buchanan freundlichst mitteilt, liest die Madrider Hs. nicht *ves*, wie Gayangos hat, sondern *ve he* (< *et*), die Pariser *ve e*.

<sup>18</sup> Der Hrsg. hat, wie oft, unnötig korrigiert. Wie *apprehendere* und \**insignare* etc. verwechselt werden, ein Kapitel, zu dem manche Beiträge vorliegen, die einmal zusammengestellt werden sollten, so *venire* und *ire*. Nach Meyer-Lübke's Worten (ZrP XII 563) hat Schuchardt, Rom. XVII 417, auf die Möglichkeit einer Vermischung der Begriffe "gehen" und "kommen" aufmerksam gemacht. Meyer-Lübke verweist dazu "auf span. *venir*, vgl. Cervantes Dos Donc.: *quise venirme á Italia*, wo der Sprechende in Spanien weilte: 'ich wollte nach Italien gelangen.'" Hier noch ein paar Beispiele: Appollonio 215 *El Rey vuestro padre sallóse ha deportar, Fasta que fuesse hora de venyr ha yantar*. Boc. Oro 100 *E preguntaronle: "¿Porque vienen (van TV) los sabios a las puertas de los rricos mas que los rricos a las puertas de los sabios?"* Knust zitiert dazu in der V. L.: "la duquesa . . . le pidió licencia para que ella y Altisidora viniesen á ver lo que aquella dueña queria con D. Quijote, D. Quij. II, L." (Clemencin: *Viniesen á ver por fuesen á ver.*) D. Quij. I, XIV *don Quijote se despidió . . . de los caminantes, los cuales le rogaron se viniese con ellos á Sevilla*. Rodríguez Marín bemerkt: "Si el verbo *venir* hubiera de entenderse invariabilmente como quería D. José M<sup>a</sup>. Asensio, docto cervantista sevillano, ¡qué buena prueba sería esta frase de que la primera parte del Quijote

(Hs. *Ves*) *con nosotros*. 328 *Vés á buscarlo*. II 172 *Ves á casa de Aira*. 197 *Ves al portero, y dile*. 219 *ves camino de Siria*. 315 *Ves á Mahoma, . . . y salúdale*. 344. 349 *ves tú á tu hueste, y iré yo á la mía*. III 115 *Ves y mira*. 132 *Ves á la hueste de los alárabes*. 263 *Ves ¡oh Alí! y criébala*. 264. 292 *ves más adelante*. 293. 294. 296. 297. 299. Als in Graus gebräuchlich zitiert Saroihandy, Ann. Éc. H. Ét. 1898, 92, *ves-tene a Grustan*. Dazu die Anm.: "*Ves-tene* 'va-t'en.'" Aus einer Novelle, Rev. Aragón VI (1905) Secc. gen. 171 b, habe ich notiert *Veste, veste*.

Für den Nordwesten haben wir das Zeugnis von Alvarez Gimenez, Los Defectos de Lenguaje en Galicia y en la Provincia de Leon 54: "Está muy mal dicho: *Ves á casa* . . . debiendo ser: *Vé á casa* . . . También estará mal dicho: *Veste á la iglesia*, debiendo decirse: *Vete á la iglesia*." Ferner das von Garrote, El Dialecto vulgar leonés hablado en Maragatería y Tierra de Astorga 69: "*vái tu, véis vosotrus*, para el imperativo, y también *veste vete y véivos ó véisos* por idos; '*vai* por pan,' '*veis á verlo*,' '*véste á paseo*,' '*véivos á casa*."

Cruz, Sainetes (1843) I 101 b *Ves á abrirle*. 172 b Juanito [Comprador gallego]. *Chico, anda ves por dos libras allí de tocino fresco*. 179 a *Ves poco á poco no caigas*. 366 a *Ves á hacer tus diligencias*. 368 a. II 65 a. 73 a *Vés al médico de casa*. 92 a *Anda, ves á verlo*. 132 b *Pues ves, y díselo tú*. 192 b *Anda ves*. 554 a *Ves y entreténla un rato*. Ib. *ves á hacirme* . . . 563 b. 575 b *Sí, ves; y . . .* 600 b. 622 b *Anda ves al punto, baja* . . . Cruz, Sainetes inéditos (1900) 206 *Toma la capa y ves*<sup>19</sup> *al punto á llarmarlos*.

Auch *ves*, wenigstens das des Ostens und

se había escrito en Sevilla! Pero, como le demostró Hartzzenbusch en carta de 20 de Agosto de 1864, más de una vez impresa, Cervantes usaba el dicho verbo en la acepción entonces corriente de *ir de una parte á otra*, y no sólo en la de dirigirse hacia donde está el que habla ó escribe."

Vgl. für das Deutsche Grimm, Wb. s. v. *Kommen* 1631; für das Englische Storm, Engl. Phil.<sup>2</sup> 714. Storm zieht zum Vergleich heran "afz. *Venir s'en volt li empererc Charles*, Rol. 2974."

<sup>19</sup> Hrsg.: "Sic."

Centrums von Spanien, scheint mir eine Entlehnung aus dem Kat. zu sein. Über die Geschichte und Erklärung der kat. Form fehlen mir Angaben. Meyer-Lübke II § 231 nennt das mallork. *ves* "regelmässig." Auch das -s? Ebenso fraglich bleibt mir die Herkunft des leon. *ves*.

### 3. *ses*

Caveda 129 (s. XVIII) *Bien fayadu ses, Toribu*.

Leider kenne ich nur dies eine Beispiel von *ses*. Man braucht es trotzdem nicht gleich als Druckfehler zu ächten. *ses* liesse sich wohl als Kontraktion von *séas* erklären.

Es sei daran erinnert, dass *séas, séa, séan* ein *séamos, séáis* herbeigeführt haben; s. Alvarez Gimenez 55; Cuervo, Apuntaciones § 282. Umgekehrt *seámos, seáis* ein *seá*. Aus dem letzteren entstand dann *sa*. Schuchardt, ZrP v 321, führt diese Form als andalusisch an. Ich glaube, sie auch als asturisch belegen zu können: Caveda 181 (s. XVIII) *Alabáa sa so gracia Que tantas cosas bendiño Enriba d'esti Señor: Dios por todú saa benditu*. Das zweite *a* in *saa* (die erste Auflage von 1839 liest ebenso) einmal zu Bezeichnung der Länge des Vokals.

### 4. *hes; hed; heis*

α) *hes*. Encina 73 *Hes allí viene Lloriente*. Salazar (Gallardo IV 389) *¿Hes que dé<sup>20</sup> grande risada De tí cualquier mozalbillo Viendo . . . ?*

β) *hed*. Cuervo, Apuntaciones § 304 (S. 203): "la forma *hé* (*hé aquí, hé ahí*), aunque en las gramáticas pasa por imperativo singular de *haber*,<sup>21</sup> en virtud de un uso inmemorial se emplea indistintamente, ora se hable con uno, ora con muchos, de modo que es bárbaro el

*hed*<sup>22</sup> que por escrúpulo usan algunos para el plural."

γ) *heis*. Timoneda (BAE III) 174 b *dijo el caminante: "heis aquí dónde cagué."* Lope (BAE XXXIV) 105 c *Heis donde vienen, Belardo, El Barbero y Regidor*.<sup>23</sup>

*hes, hed, heis* gehören zu *he* (*he aquí*). Entweder ist die verbale Flexion eine Folge der Verbindungen *hete, hevos, heos*, ganz wie beim afz. *estes* (Nyrop III § 589, 2), oder, und wahrscheinlicher, *hes, hed, heis* sind Anbildungen an die überaus häufigen, gleichbedeutenden *ves, ved, veis*.

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## ZU DEN DOPPELDRUCKEN VON GOETHE'S WERKEN, 1806-1808

In einem vor Jahresfrist in dieser Zeitschrift (vol. xxvi, pp. 133-137) erschienenen Aufsatz sprach ich die Vermutung aus, dass auch vom 2. u. 3. Bande dieser Ausgabe je drei Drucke existieren müssten, obschon mir damals nur zwei bekannt waren. Nach langem und wie es fast schien vergeblichem Suchen und Nachfragen gelang es mir schliesslich durch die freundliche Hilfe von L. L. Mackall in Jena, auf der Grossherzoglichen Hof-Bibliothek zu Darmstadt sowie auf der Grossherzoglichen Regierungs-Bibliothek zu Schwerin ein Exemplar der ersten Cotta'schen Ausgabe aufzuspüren, dessen Lesart an Einer Stelle des dritten Bandes weder mit A noch A<sup>1</sup> übereinstimmte. Durch die Liberalität der genannten Verwaltungen wurden die betreffenden Bände bereitwilligst nach Baltimore geschickt, um mir die Vergleichung mit meinen Exemplaren zu ermöglichen. Es stellte sich sofort heraus, dass in beiden Fällen der gesuchte dritte Druck A<sup>2</sup> vorhanden war, und zwar nicht nur des erwähnten dritten Bandes, sondern auch des zwei-

<sup>20</sup> Wegen des Subjunktivs s. Weigert, Untersuchungen zur span. Syntax 46.

<sup>21</sup> In der zehnten Auflage seiner *Notas á la Gramática . . .* de D. A. Bello vom Jahre 1907, S. 134, stellt mir Cuervo das Zeugnis aus, ich hätte betreffs *he* (*he aquí*) bewiesen, dass "ni la historia, ni la fonética ni la semasiología se oponen á que sea imperativo de *haber*."

<sup>22</sup> Hiernach ist zu berichtigen, was ich Mod. Phil. II 210 gesagt.

<sup>23</sup> Ich verdanke diesen Beleg der Freundschaft Buchanan's.

ten, über welchen nähere Anhaltspunkte gänzlich gefehlt hatten.

Beide Exemplare sind auf Velinpapier gedruckt, welches die Firma I. C. de R. IM-HOF aufweist, dazu den Vermerk GR. R. MED 1804 (im 3. Bande: 1805). Höchstwahrscheinlich werden sich in anderen Exemplaren auch die geringeren Papiersorten vorfinden. In Orthographie und Interpunktion stimmt der neugefundene Druck A<sup>2</sup> ziemlich genau mit dem Originaldruck A überein, sogar eine Anzahl augenfälliger Druckfehler desselben sind mit herübergenommen worden. Dazu macht A<sup>2</sup> gelegentlich auch eigene, und zwar meistens recht grobe Druckfehler. Im Gegensatz zum vierten Bande, wo A<sup>2</sup> von A<sup>1</sup> abstammt, geht hier A<sup>2</sup> direkt auf A zurück. Auch ist A<sup>1</sup> nicht von A<sup>2</sup> beeinflusst worden. Zur Begründung mögen folgende Belege dienen:

ZWEYTER BAND: S. 42, 11 (W Bd. 21, S. 42, 14) Ruthe AA<sup>1</sup>B, Ruhe A<sup>2</sup>. 90, 12 (90, 14) ein ganzes Städtchen AA<sup>1</sup>B, ein gutes Städtchen A<sup>2</sup>. 212, 7 (212, 9) als ein Muster AA<sup>1</sup>B, als Muster A<sup>2</sup>. 220, 18 (220, 24) Ideen der Lieder AA<sup>1</sup>B, Ideen der Liebe A<sup>2</sup>. 338, 1 (Bd. 22, S. 12, 4) unglücklicher AA<sup>1</sup>B, unglücklich A<sup>2</sup>. 406, 7 (81, 4) unter der Truppe AA<sup>1</sup>B, unter den Truppen A<sup>2</sup>.

DRITTER BAND: S. 13, 26 (W Bd. 22, S. 145, 24) in der Verbesserung N<sup>2</sup>AA<sup>2</sup>B-C, in die Verbesserung N<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>W. 42, 1 (173, 24) ein Deutscher AA<sup>1</sup>B, ein Dichter A<sup>2</sup>. 67, 5 (199, 7) am Throne AA<sup>1</sup>B, am Thore A<sup>2</sup>. 69, 11 (201, 12) Stimme schien AA<sup>1</sup>B, Stimme war A<sup>2</sup>. 105, 6 (237, 7) gleichfalls N<sup>2</sup>AA<sup>1</sup>BB<sup>1</sup>, gleichsam N<sup>1</sup>A<sup>2</sup>C<sup>1</sup>C. Hier haben A<sup>2</sup>C<sup>1</sup> unabhängig von einander die richtige Lesart getroffen, was ja auch leicht dadurch zu erklären ist, dass das Wort in den Lehrjahren sehr häufig vorkommt. 110, 13 (242, 14) äusserst gesellig AA<sup>1</sup>B, immer gesellig A<sup>2</sup>. 188, 5 (319, 12) Sinnlichkeit AA<sup>1</sup>B, Sittlichkeit A<sup>2</sup>. 281, 22 (W Bd. 23, S. 54, 25) Ziel, die Harmonie AA<sup>1</sup>B, Ziel der Harmonie A<sup>2</sup>. 303, 8 (76, 9) halb verwirrt AA<sup>1</sup>B, bald verwirrt A<sup>2</sup>. 386, 10 (159, 17) genug AA<sup>1</sup>B, genug A<sup>2</sup>. 426, 22 (199, 22) hereintreten AA<sup>1</sup>B, hineintreten A<sup>2</sup>. 497, 23 (272, 3) ängstlichsten AA<sup>1</sup>B, ängstlichen A<sup>2</sup>.

Ferner ist zu bemerken, dass an sämtlichen in meinem früheren Aufsätze vermerkten Stellen A<sup>2</sup>

mit A übereinstimmt. Dies gilt sowohl für den zweiten als für den dritten Band. Hält man die dort gegebenen Stellen mit diesen zusammen, so wird man sogleich sehen, dass die Ausgabe B nur auf den Originaldruck A, und nicht etwa auf A<sup>1</sup>A<sup>2</sup> zurückgeht. Für die Textüberlieferung ist dies natürlich ein Gewinn, denn abgesehen von vereinzelt Stellen, wie z. B. Bd. 3, 105, 6 (237, 7) sind die Abweichungen der Drucke A<sup>1</sup>A<sup>2</sup> stets als Verschlimmbesserungen aufzufassen. Zu dieser einzigen Stelle hat Schüddekopf in der Weimarer Ausgabe den Druck A<sup>2</sup> benutzt, sonst hat ihm beim 2. Bande A<sup>1</sup>, beim dritten A vorgelegen.

Wenn nun auch A<sup>1</sup>A<sup>2</sup> in der Textüberlieferung keine Rolle spielen, so sind sie für die Textkritik doch keineswegs wertlos. Wer nämlich die Doppeldrucke nicht kennt, ist nicht imstande, das Verhältnis von ABB<sup>1</sup> zu einander richtig zu beurteilen. Es sei mir gestattet, diesen Satz vorläufig durch ein einziges Beispiel zu erläutern. Bekanntlich hat Seuffert im *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 16, 261 und Weim. Ausg. 13<sup>u</sup>, 119, den allgemeinen Kanon ausgesprochen:

„Wo BB<sup>1</sup> gegen A übereinstimmen, liegt entweder eine von Goethe gewollte Verbesserung vor, oder wir haben es mit dem Fehler oder der eigenmächtigen Änderung einer Zwischenstufe (A<sup>1</sup>, Abschrift von J u. s. w.) zu thun.“

Hiernach haben sich auch die Herausgeber der später erschienenen Bände der Weimarer Ausgabe gerichtet. Als daher Schüddekopf in den Lehrjahren gemeinsame Fehler von B und B<sup>1</sup> entdeckte, war er (W Bd. 22, 360) zu dem Schlusse gezwungen, dass dieselben vermutlich auf A<sup>1</sup> als Vorlage zurückgehen müssen. Nun stellt es sich aber heraus, dass an allen in Betracht kommenden Stellen, insofern sie auf den 2. Bd. von A entfallen, AA<sup>1</sup>A<sup>2</sup> den richtigen Text bieten, während nur BB<sup>1</sup> übereinstimmend den Druckfehler aufweisen. Da ferner noch andere gemeinsame Druckfehler in BB<sup>1</sup> vorkommen, so lassen sich dieselben nur dadurch erklären, dass hier B<sup>1</sup> direkt von B abgedruckt wurde.

Danach kann B<sup>1</sup> etwa vom 9. Bogen des 2. Bandes an bis gegen Ende des Bandes nicht zur Kontrolle von B benutzt werden. Folglich werden auch verschiedene Stellen in ein anderes Licht gerückt, so z.B. W Bd. 21, S. 157, 12,

13, wo NAA<sup>1</sup>A<sup>2</sup> übereinstimmend lesen : Bei Tische erinnerte *sie* Laertes an ähnliche Fälle. Wenn nun B anstatt *sie* die Lesart *sich* aufweist, so ist dies eher als Druckfehler aufzufassen, und nicht als eine von Goethe gewollte Verbesserung, besonders da sich B gerade in diesem Bande viele dergleichen Fehler zu Schulden kommen lässt.

Nähere Ausführungen gedenke ich an anderer Stelle folgen zu lassen.

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### THE GARDENER'S ART IN *THE WINTER'S TALE*

In that most idyllic portion of the fourth Act of *The Winter's Tale* occurs the following dialog :

- Perd.* Sir, the year growing ancient,  
Not yet on summer's death, nor on the birth  
Of trembling winter, the fairest flowers o' the season  
Are our carnations and streak'd gillyvors  
Which some call *nature's bastards* ; of that kind  
Our rustic garden's barren : and I care not  
To get slips of them.
- Pol.* Wherefore, gentle maiden,  
Do you neglect them ?
- Perd.* For I have heard it said  
*There is an art which in their pinedness shares  
With great creating nature.*
- Pol.* Say there be :  
Yet nature is made better by no mean,  
But nature makes that mean ; so over that art  
Which you say adds to nature, is an art  
That nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry  
A gentler scion to the wildest stock,  
And make conceive a bark of baser kind  
By bud of nobler race ; this is an art  
Which does mend nature, change it rather, but  
The art itself is nature.
- Perd.* So it is.
- Pol.* Then make your garden rich in gillyvors,  
And do not call them bastards.
- Perd.* *I'll not put  
The dibble in earth to set one slip of them ;  
No more than were I painted I would wish  
This youth should say 'twere well and only therefore  
Desire to breed by me.*

Several points in this passage have exercised the commentators, and the result is a remarkable confusion, which leaves undetermined the 'gardener's art' to which Perdita refers.

Polixenes clearly refers to grafting and budding as a gardener's art which is used to ennoble wild stocks, but this cannot apply to the production of 'streak'd gillyvors' from the rustic sorts. Grafting is not used on carnations, and would not produce 'streak'd gillyvors' in any case, unless the scion was cut from a plant already 'streak'd.' When Page comments as follows : "Perdita expresses her preference for natural flowers, as contrasted with those in which streaks or spots of color, as white or red, are produced by grafting or inoculation, arts which she dislikes," he is writing botanical nonsense.

In Hudson's edition the editor says : "It would seem that variegated gillyflowers were produced by cross-breeding of two or more varieties ; as variegated ears of corn often grow from several sorts of corn being planted together. The gardener's art whereby this was done might properly be said to share with creating nature." This might be true, and still wholly misleading as a commentary. Crossing might occur and produce streak'd gillyvors, but it is fortunate that Hudson is cautious enough not to affirm that this is *the art* either Perdita or Shakespeare was thinking of.

But when Herford, a decade later, says : "The Art is simply the transmission of the pollen from one flower to another of different color, which may be done either by the hand of man, or by nature, by means of the air and by bees," he becomes specific.

If now Hudson also really meant what Herford specifically says, then both are forgetting one of the first principles of literary interpretation, and committing an anachronism of a glaring kind. Perdita can not possibly refer to an *art* which Shakespeare himself could not have known, *the art of hybridizing by cross-pollination*. It was more than half a century after the death of Shakespeare, before Camerarius wrote his work on the sex of plants, which was one of the earliest if not the earliest hint, which the world had of the nature and function of pollen. The *NED.* also shows that all the terms used to express such ideas and processes are born in the last two centuries. Of course, natural cross-pollination by winds and bees and other insects did take place in all probability, but an *art* is a definite conscious thing, practised by man in a well-defined way for a spe-

cific end, and Perdita was not referring to a natural process in which the gardener had no share.

There are still other considerations against this interpretation. The term '*nature's bastards*' must not be taken to mean *hybrids*. Bastard never has this meaning in any of its shades (cf. *NED.*). It always implies some *illegitimacy*, *unnaturalness*, *corruption of lineage*. It is perfectly clear from the text what Perdita means. She has heard of an 'art that in their piedness shares with great creating nature.' They are not *pure* nature, but the product of nature plus art, therefore false-born. She herself, a child of nature, as she believes, dislikes them for the share art has in them, whatever added symbolic reference she may make to 'painted women' of the court, or whatever significance of immodesty and fickleness in love the common people attached to the gillyflower itself. Polixenes' argument that nature produces the art which ennoble nature and his subsequent pleading with the rustic princess to fill her garden with streak'd gillyvors and not to call them *bastards*, confirms this view; bastards are not hybrids, but false-born and unnatural.

Perdita's phrase, 'which *some* call nature's bastards,' may raise the question, whether the common people's conception of 'nature's bastards' were the same as that of Perdita and Polixenes. Deighton notes: "Nature's bastards, because of their pied color," as if bastardy might be associated with piedness as the fool's office with the bawble and parti-colored dress. Perhaps he means only that such a variation of color from the standard constitutes unnaturalness and falsity of lineage. And this may be all that the common people meant by the designation used.

Again, that the art is not cross-pollination, is shown by the usual method of growing gillyflowers in Shakespeare's time. In Porter and Clarke's recent edition of this play a citation is made from John Parkinson's *Garden of All Sorts of Pleasant Flowers* of 1679, as follows: "Carnations and gilloflowers be the chiefest flowers of account in all our English gardens. They flower not till late in the year, which is in July, and continue flowering until the colds of the autumn check them or until they have wholly outspent themselves,

and these fair flowers are usually increased by slips." This old writer mentions red, white, and carnation gillyflowers as in cultivation. This is all in perfect keeping with the Shakespearian scene, and with Perdita's refusal 'to set one slip of them' or 'to put the dibble in earth' to plant them. No hint here of cross-pollination or any crude method involving it.

Now, if the art intended by Perdita is neither that which Polixenes plainly refers to, grafting, nor the one which some modern commentators have incorrectly assumed, cross-pollination, hybridizing, what art is left to which she may have referred, which was practised generally in Shakespeare's time?

The question may be perfectly idle, of course, for there is always the possibility that Shakespeare's horticultural knowledge was inexact, and he may have thought that grafting was used on gillyvors, because slips were cut from them as for grafting, or he may have thought of grafting in a loose enough sense to include both inserting in other plants of like kind and setting into earth. Or again he may have readily entertained a notion that the scion and the stock have mutual influence to produce in flower and fruit a third product which like a hybrid shows a blending of qualities of both parents. Such notions of the effect of grafting were pronounced in the Elder Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, and in Virgil's *Georgics*, and therefore must have been common among the book-learned men of the Elizabethan period. So these 'streak'd gillyvors,' in the absence of any better knowledge, may have seemed to the poet the product of *grafting*.

Such ignorance seems a little too great even for a Shakespeare. It seems hard to believe that he did not know that streaked carnations are not the result of a white scion grafted on a red stock or *vice versa*. Giving up this blanket solution of all difficulties, this all-enwrapping Shakespearean ignorance, we have still one other possible clue.

Halliwell notes that the gillyflower or carnation 'though beautiful in its appearance, is apt, in the gardener's phrase, *to run from its colors*, and change as often as a licentious female.' Also Prior, in his *Solomon*, notes:

"The fond carnation loves to shoot  
Two various colors from one parent root."

And the group of carnations has since proved itself, in the horticulturist's hands, one of the most variable flowers.

I have recently had the good fortune to come upon an illuminating passage in the "*Stirpium Historiae, Pemptades Sex, sive Libri xxx*" of Rembertus Dodonaeus, physician to emperors Maximilian II. and Rudolph II. at Vienna, and later professor at Leyden. I quote from the Latin translation (Antverpiae, 1583) made by himself from the original Dutch version of the year 1554. Concerning the *Caryophyllum* he says :

"Habentur in hortis ; sed speciosissimi fere in fitilibus vasis.

"Seruntur frequentius avulsis exiguis cum foliis surculis ; seminibus rarius : Nam e semine nati flores ad agrestrem naturam redeunt ; minores, minusque odorati, et simplices ; etiam si prius multiplices, redduntur. Adiguntur subinde surculis cum plantantur fissis *Caryophylli* ; quo illorum odorem flores alliciant, et jucundam eorum suavitatem naribus abundantius repraesentent. Vivax est planta, et multis durat annis, si hibernis mensibus, a frigoris injuria tuta, in cellis vina-riis, aut aliis similibus locis tepidis asservetur."

Here the situation is clear. The 'caryophylla' i. e., the 'gyroflées' or 'gillyvors' are a complex race like Darwin's pigeons, probably the product of special selection in certain directions to please the gardener's fancy, and run back to wild stock very soon if left to ordinary conditions ; for 'plants grown from seed return to a more rustic character, become smaller, less fragrant, and single.' The only way to preserve the rich clove-like fragrance, large size, doubleness, and novelty of colors, is to keep the plants over winter in greenhouses or warm rooms, and propagate from cuttings, and never trust to seedlings. The gardener's art is clearly first *selective* and then *preservative*.

These conditions for northern Europe and the Netherlands will probably hold good for England. Perhaps, too, the garden 'gillyvors' of England may have been in part importations from the continent.

Whether by original natural unintentional cross-pollination of white and red carnations a family of mixed constitution arose, or whether by a little understood tendency to sport due to

the peculiar Mendelian constitution of the plant, or to the less understood conditions which favor mutation, or what not, a sport was produced which pleased the gardener by its novelty or its beauty, and he did not leave it to mere nature, which might let it perish with the season never to be produced again, but cut slips and propagated the novelty true to its stock. The gardener's art would thus be this selective and preservative art, which helps nature to keep her sports and fantastic self-realizations, instead of letting them perish, thus increasing her gifts of beauty. If our conclusion is correct, then Per-dita's last words have fuller significance : "no more than, *were I painted*, I would wish this youth should say 'twere well, and only therefore desire to breed by me."

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## OLD HIGH GERMAN NOTES

1. In Braune's *Ahd. Gram.* § 161, Anm. 6, are given instances of the dropping of *t* from the combinations *ht*, *ft*, *st*. This occurs : (1) in composition between consonants ; (2) finally before an initial consonant of the following word ; (3) but also, in a few cases, finally before a following vowel.

The examples of the third class, for which Braune gives no explanation, are for the most part due to haplologic dissimilation : *eigenhaf* [t] *ist* Augsb. Gebet 1 ; *kunf* [t] *ist* O, II, 12, 44 ; *un-thurf* [t] *ist* O (V), II, 4, 80 ; *nöt-thurf* [t] O (P), II, 14, 100 ; *ist wuof* [t] T, 149, 8.

2. In the Benedictinerregel 49-51, as printed by Braune, *Ahd. Lib.*, we read :

herteem herzin *keuuisso* indi einfaltlihero  
tâtîm sînêm cotchundiu pibot keauckan.

This corresponds to the Latin original :

duris corde vero et simplicioribus factis suis  
divina precepta demonstrare.

The OHG. text should plainly be emended so as to read *einfaltliherôm* instead of *einfaltlihero*. The change in the text probably resulted from an

original *einfalltliherō* of the manuscript. Compare *keghueta* of the MS. for *keghueta* in l. 126.

3. The last two lines of the Augsburg Gebet read in Müllenhoff und Scherer, *Denkmäler*, and in Braune's *Ahd. Lb.*:

thaz uns thio ketinun bindent thero sundun,  
thīnero mildo genād intbinde haldo.

I should emend :

thaz uns, thia ketinun bindent thero sundun,  
thīnero mildo, etc.

In the above *thia* is the acc. plur. masc. used as a relativ pronoun. The lines would then correspond to the Latin original :

Ut [nos] quos catena delictorum constringit,  
miseratio tuae pietatis absoluat.

4. Memento Mori, lines 61-2 :

ter eino ist wise unde vruot . . .  
. . . tes wirt er verdamnot,

may hav the missing words supplied as follows :

ter eino ist wise unde vruot, tes wirt er gese-  
ginot :  
ter ander ist tumb unde unvrut, tes wirt er  
verdamnot.

The repetition of *vruot tes wirt er* caused the copyist to omit the second half of l. 61 and the first half of l. 62.

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## SOME ENGLISH BLENDS

To the examples of contaminated forms in English that I hav given elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> add the following<sup>2</sup>:

1. *Blange*, *blon(d)ge*, *blenge* 'mix,' 'mixture': *bl(end)* + *(ch)ange*.

2. *Blash* 'flash, sudden blaze or flame,' 'blaze, flare up suddenly': *bl(aze)* + *(fl)ash*. Or *blash* may be a derivativ of the root in *blaze* just as *flash* is from the root in Swed. dial. *flasa* 'flame, blaze,' NE. dial. *flaze*. But the two sets of words certainly influenced each other.

3. *Blash* 'a splash or dash of liquid or mud ; a hevvy fall of rain or sleet ; liquid, soft mud : weak trashy stuff ; nonsense, foolish talk,' 'splash liquid or mud about, etc.,' *blashy* 'rainy, wet, gusty ; wet, muddy, splashy, sloppy, etc.': *bl(ow)*, probably in both senses + *-ash* from such words as *splash*, *plash*, *dash*, *flash*.

4. *Flounge* 'the act of plunging, floundering in mire': *flou(nder)* + *(plu)nge*.

5. *Foodle* 'fondle, caress' (as : "They'd coodle thee an' foodle thee") : *f(ondle)* + *(c)oodle*, dial. for *cuddle*.

6. *Fooster*, *fouster* 'bustle about, work hard ; fuss or fumble about in a futile, purposeless way,' *sb.* 'bustle, activity': *footer* 'bungle, potter about, fuss or fidget about,' *sb.* 'bungle, confusion' + *-s-* from *fuss*.

7. *Fustle* 'bustle, hurry about, make a fuss,' *sb.* 'fuss, bustle': *f(uss)* + *(b)ustle*.

8. *Plounce* 'plunge with a loud noise' : *pl(unge)* + *(fl)ounce*.

9. *Plop* 'plunge, flop ; fall or drop suddenly into water ; pop, go off hastily,' *ploppy* 'soft, fat' : *pl-* from *plunge* (compare also *plunk*, *plump*, dial. *plout* 'splash ; fall with a splash or sudden drop') + *-op* from such words as *flop*, *drop*, *pop*.

10. *Pluff* 'emit a short, sharp breth ; swell, puff up,' *adj.* 'puft up, soft, spongy,' *pluffy* 'fat, swollen, chubby ; soft, porous, spongy,' *ploffy* 'fat, plump ; soft and spongy' (with which compare East Fries. *pluffen* 'dumpf od. dröhnend fallen u. niederschlagen, puffen, dumpf knallen,' Du. *ploffen*, etc.): *pi(ump)* (compare NHG. *plump*, *plumpen*) + *(p)uff*.

11. *Quee-quaw sb.* and *v.* 'see-saw' is modeld on *see-saw* from *quee-*, abstracted from *queagle* 'see-saw,' *queedle* 'oscillate, shake ; totter.'

12. *Squalm*, a dialect form of *qualm*, *squalmish* 'squeamish': *s(queamish)* + *qualm*. *Squalmish* is also used in America in the sense of 'qualmish, nauseated,' as : "I kept getting more and more *squalmish*," the remark of a lady on her experience at sea.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially *Mod. Phil.* ix, 173 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Examples, unless otherwise indicated, ar taken from Wright's *Eng. Dial. Dict.*

HENRY FIELDING AND *THE CRISIS*

Speaking of Henry Fielding's declaration in the Preface to the *Miscellanies* of 1743, of having published since "the End of June 1741" only what he enumerates in the Preface, Mr. Dobson says (*Fielding*, 1905 edition, page 72): ". . . provided it can be placed before this date [i. e., end of June 1741], he may be credited with a political sermon called the *Crisis* (1741), which is ascribed to him upon the authority of a writer in Nichols's *Anecdotes*." I believe that attention has not yet been called to the following notices: *Gentleman's Magazine*, Register of Books for April 1741, "5. The Crisis. A Sermon on Rev. xiv. 9, 10, 11. Price 6 d. A. Dodd." ; *London Magazine* book list for the same month, the same notice.

The passage in Nichols (*Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century*, viii, 446; reprinted by Lawrence, *Life of Fielding*, page 145, note) reads as follows: "I possess a pamphlet, intitled, 'The Crisis; a Sermon on Rev. xiv. 9, 10, 11; necessary to be preached in all the Churches in England, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, at or before the next General Election; humbly inscribed to the Right Reverend the Bench of Bishops. By a Lover of his Country. —Vendidit hic Auro Patriam. Virg.—London, printed for A. Dodd, without Temple Bar; E. Nutt, at the Royal Exchange; and H. Chapelle, in Grosvenor-street, 1741,' 8vo; on the title-page of which is this remark: 'This Sermon was written by the late Mr. Fielding, Author of Tom Jones, &c. &c. as the Printer of it assured me. R. B.'"

It is very likely that in 1741 Fielding would write a pamphlet of the general class of the *Crisis*. His fondness for "sermons" at this period is shown by his *Champion* references to South, Tillotson, and Clerk; by the nature of the themes and of the form of a number of his discourses in the *Champion*; and by the nature of a large part of the prose matter of the *Miscellanies* of 1743 including parts of *Jonathan Wild*. His great interest in politics at this time is shown in the *Champion* (a point

not yet sufficiently emphasized), and in the *Vernoniad* and the *Opposition* of 1741.

The following will indicate that Fielding might well print a 1741 work through Chapelle and Dodd.

"H. Chapelle," one of the publishers of the *Crisis*, was on June 29, 1741 present at the meeting of the partners in the *Champion* as a partner with Fielding and five others. At this meeting the 1741 reprinted edition of the *Champion* was knocked down at auction to Mr. Henry Chapelle (see Godden, *Henry Fielding, a Memoir*, pages 115-6). Chapelle's name appears as that of the publisher on the title-page of the 1743 edition of the reprinted *Champion*. Further, that in April 1741 Fielding had relations with Chapelle, is shown by his order: "Mr Nourse, Please to deliver Mr Chappell 50 of my [sic] True Greatness and 50 of the Vernoniad. Yr Hen. Ffielding. April 20 1741" (see Godden, page 115).

Dodd had connection with Fielding in 1728 when with J. Roberts he issued the separate edition of the *Masquerade*. The *Covent Garden Journal* of 1752 was "Printed, and Sold by Mrs. Dodd, at the Peacock, Temple Bar," the old stand of Dodd.

It is worth noting that up to and including 1736<sup>1</sup> all of Fielding's publications with two exceptions were apparently issued through John Watts at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court near Lincolns-Inn-Fields and J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane, together or singly. The exceptions are the 1728 separately issued *Masquerade*, Printed for J. Roberts and A. Dodd at the Peacock, without Temple-bar; and the 1731 *Welsh Opera*, "Printed for E. Rayner." But after 1736 and up to 1743, Fielding went from publisher to publisher. In 1737 the *Historical Register* was announced in the June *Gentleman's Magazine* without publisher's name; the 1739-40 *Champion* was "Printed for C. Chandler, Bookbinder, at the Bible in Ship-Yard, near the Ship Tavern, without Temple-Bar";

<sup>1</sup> A convenient list of Fielding's first editions may be found in Henley's edition, volume xvi, *Miscellaneous Writings*, volume iii, pp. xlvii ff.

the 1741 *Of True Greatness* was issued by Corbett; the 1741 reprint of the *Champion* was "Printed for J. Huggonson in *Sword and Buckler Court*"; the 1741 *Vernoniad* was "Printed for Charles Corbett, at *Addison's Head* against *St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-street*"; the 1742 (really December 1741, see *Gentleman's Magazine* of December 1741) *Opposition* was "Printed for T. Cooper, at the *Globe* in *Pater-noster-Row*"; the 1742 *Joseph Andrews* and *Miss Lucy in Town* were "Printed for A. Millar [over-]against *St. Clement's Church, in the Strand*"; the 1742 *Plutus* was "Printed for T. Waller in the *Temple-Cloisters*"; the 1742 *Full Vindication of the Dutchess Dowager of Marlborough* was "Printed for J. Roberts, in *Warwick-Lane*." All the later works after 1742, except the periodicals (the *True Patriot*, the *Jacobite's Journal*, the *Covent Garden Journal*) and the 1747 *Proper Answer to a Late Scurrilous Libel* (which was printed by or for Cooper), were printed by or for A. Millar in the Strand.

It would appear, then, that from the end of 1736 to the end of 1742 Fielding had not a fixed publisher, as he had before 1737 and after 1742. But of the eight publications (exclusive of the *Champion*) of 1737-1742 inclusive, Corbett and Millar surely printed two. Millar's two were issued in 1742. In April 1741, then, Fielding was very likely to carry a work he had for print to any bookseller who might be at the time most available. Chapelle he was acquainted with through the *Champion* and its affairs, and in April 1741 he was dealing with him in connection with the *Vernoniad* and *Of True Greatness*. Dodd was at the Peacock without Temple Bar close to Fielding's legal haunts, and had already had connection with Fielding through the *Masquerade* in 1728.

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## AN IDIOM OF THE COMPARATIVE IN ANGLO-SAXON

Grein (*Sprachschatz*, II, 1864, p. 563 f.) was the first to bring together passages in Anglo-Saxon poetry that were involved in the use of what he interpreted to be an anacoluthic comparative with *þonne*. Since then these passages have perplexed the grammarian and the annotator. Among recent attempts to contribute to the explanation of the idiom is that of Professor Koepfel, who, in *Englische Studien*, xxx, 376 f., gives indirect support to Grein by an appeal to what he believes to be a similar idiom, "welche ebenfalls das fehlen eines komparativs vor *than* aufweist." He cites two examples from the dramatists in which rather of the formula *rather . . . than* is suppressed.

Several of passages usually considered in this connection may be dismissed at once from further attention. That *Exodus* 373 furnishes an instance merely of a simplification of consonants in the comparative of adjectives in *-r* has been shown in a previous number of this periodical (xxvii, 18); and the same explanation is applicable to *Christ and Satan*, 213 and 389 (Grein-Wülker, II, 534, 543; Sievers, *Beiträge*, x, 499; Groschopp, *Anglia*, vi, 267, shows that the late 'corrector' was inaccurate).

In the next citation (*Ps.* cxvii, 8, 9) there is a clear exhibition of an idiom that requires an explanation:

Gōd ys on Dryhten georne tō þenceanne  
þonne on mannan wese mōd tō trēowianne.  
Gōd ys on Dryhten georne tō hyhtanne  
þonne on ealdormenn āhwēr tō trēowianne.

The point of the present inquiry is revealed in the close adherence of these lines to the Latin original:

"*Bonum est confidere in Domino, quam confidere in homine. Bonum est sperare in Domino, quam sperare in principibus.*"

What the Anglo-Saxon translator has here done in the way of subordinating idiom to a reverential transference of the exact word is so completely in accordance with the prevailing method of translating Scripture that one may expect this particular detail to be treated else-

where in exactly the same manner. This is just what one finds, for example, in Richard Rolle of Hampole's Psalter (ed. Bramley): "Goed it is to trayst in lord; than to trayst in man," etc.; also in the *Versio Antiqua Gallica* (ed. Michel, 1860): "Bone chose est after el Segnor, que fier en hume," etc.; and in the earliest Wycliffite version (ed. Forshall and Madden): "Good is to trostuen . . . than," etc. A noticeable change is introduced into the second text of this last version: "It is betere for to trist . . . than," etc. A parallel to this variation occurs at *Mt.* xviii, 8, 9, and *Mk.* ix, 42, 43, the first text having *good* . . . *than*, and the second, *betere* . . . *than*; and this variation corresponds to the Anglo-Saxon glosses in the Lindisfarne ms. (ed. Skeat): *god ð betra* (or *betra ð god*) . . . *ðon*.<sup>1</sup>

A glance at the two Hieronymian texts of the Psalter (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, xxix and xxviii) discovers the same variation between the forms of the adjective in the passage cited. The earliest text, revised in adherence to the Septuagint has the positive *bonum*, which has become the Vulgate reading; but the comparative *melius* takes its place in the second version, which was based on the Hebrew text. Manifestly, therefore, the positive form belongs to the Hellenistic tradition, and the true comparative form is confirmed by the Hebrew text.

Looking now at the Hebrew method of expressing comparison with the positive form of the adjective and the preposition *min*, 'from,' the whole matter becomes clear. The Hellenistic positive, which has been carried into the Latin, is a Hebraism, distorted by an irrational retention of *ἢ* in Greek and of *quam* in Latin. The

resultant enallage is, therefore, not truly an idiom in N. T. Greek, Vulgate Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and the other languages of translations based on the Vulgate. The false idiom was corrected by Jerome when he came to make direct use of the Hebrew text; and the plain demand of the sense (as the Glosses show), the influence of Jerome's second Psalter, and in some instances, presumably, a knowledge of Hebrew must be thought of in connection with the variations and corrections in the early European versions.

In the case of *Ps.* xvii, 8, 9, the Anglo-Saxon translator has, therefore, mechanically adhered to the Latin form of a Hebraism of the Septuagint (*ἀγαθὸν* . . . *ἢ*). This comparative, consisting of the positive form of the adjective followed by *ἢ* altho of frequent occurrence in the Septuagint is, according to Winer (*A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, translated by W. F. Moulton, 3d ed., 1882, p. 302), found only once in the *N. T.*, but in both records, namely, *Mt.*, xviii, 8 [and 9] and *Mk.*, ix, 43, 45. But this does not mark the limits of the influence of the Hebrew comparative. This influence has affected both Greek and Latin grammar in a manner that is difficult of precise determination. To refer to one aspect of the question, it is noteworthy that the Hebrew prepositional comparative, as it may be called, could be satisfactorily imitated in Greek by the use of *ὑπέρ* or *παρά* (Fr. Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentl. Griechisch*, 2d ed., 1902, p. 144). What was thus done in Greek (with notable facility) could also be done in Latin and even in English, as is shown in the history of the expression "Think ye that these Galileans were sinners *above* all the Galileans" (*Luke* xiii, 2). A similar story precedes the modern form of "justified rather than the other" of *Luke* xviii, 14. Here the variant reading *παρά* (Blass, *op. cit.*, p. 144) is succeeded by the Latin *ab*; and when the Anglo-Saxon glossator is discovered to retain *from him* (*ab illo*) and the Wycliffite translator to write "iustified fro the other," the persistence of method is strongly emphasized.

But there is a residuum of Anglo-Saxon passages involved in the question under discussion. Of these the passage in the *Beowulf* (ll. 69-70: *micel . . . þonne*) has attracted most attention. *Elene* 646-647 has also *mycel . . . þonne*, and this closes the list for the poetry. Bugge was the

<sup>1</sup> My colleague, Professor W. Kurrelmeyer, kindly points me to the same variation in the early German Psalters. Thus, Notker has the comparative form, *bezere* (*pezzere*), but the Windberg (interlinear) Psalter (E. G. Graff, *Deutsche Interlinearversionen der Psalmen*, 1839) has *Guot . . . denne*; and in like manner, the Trier Psalter has *Gut . . . wande*. "Like Notker," says Professor Kurrelmeyer, "the text of the printed Bible, as represented by the earliest editions of Mentel, Eggenstein, and Pflanzmann, has *Besser ist*. So also the Wolfenbüttel ms. In the fourth edition of the printed text, published by Zainer ca. 1475, *Guot* is substituted, and this reading persists in the following eight editions, down to 1518. In other places also, Zainer used the Vulgate to normalize his text."

first to point to an example of the construction in the prose. In *Zacher's Zeitschrift* iv (1873), 193, he refers to the *Epist. Alex. ad Arist.*, Fol. 108b ( *Anglia* iv, 154, ll. 405-406), and censures Cockayne for not accepting the reading *swīðe . . . þonne*. It may be added that Wülker (*Anglia* i, 185), by a surprising inadvertence, declared that another example was to be found in the closing lines of the second book of the *Orosius*. Two instances of *micel* and one of *swīðe* followed by *þonne* remain, therefore, to be explained.

One is inclined to begin here with an elimination of the example from the prose. At all events it is highly probable that this single occurrence of *swīðe* for *swīðor* is merely a scribal error. Holder (*Anglia* i, 510) reports no defect in the ms. at this point. But the passage in the *Elene* begets only certainty of its incorrectness, and it is a matter of genuine amazement to find that the suggestion made by Grimm, in the first annotated edition of the poem (1840), has not prevented subsequent editors from adhering to a reading that is so unmistakably illogical. Grimm obviously restored the sense of the lines by proposing to read *þæt wæs fyr micle*, 'fuit multo remotius'; and his substitution of *fyr(r)* for *fær* accords with the repeated use of *fyrn* in the context (632, 641). That this most plausible mending of these words has not been accepted as final does not, of course, disprove the necessity of making some change in the transmitted text, and this necessity deprives the example of valid evidence in the present discussion, which is now thus reduced to the consideration of the lines in the *Beowulf*.

To come to close quarters with *Beowulf* 69-70, if the construction be assumed to have been copied correctly (allowing ms. *þone* to be intended for *þonne*), its solitary occurrence beyond the direct influence of the Septuagint-Vulgate tradition becomes very difficult of explanation. On the other hand, if it be assumed that the scribe has here blundered, efforts should be renewed to correct his error by conjecture. But the first assumption is further weakened by the manifest inaccessibility of Anglo-Saxon to the foreign idiom, as is shown by its rejection from the version of the Gospels and by its unfavorable treatment even in the Glosses. And surely this sole example (with only the most doubtful bit of sup-

port in an isolated instance of *swīðe . . . þonne*) is altogether insufficient to warrant the expectation of a use of *þonne* that would be parallel to such an occasional use of *quam* as is found especially in African latinity (Stolz und Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.*, 4th ed., 1910, pp. 547 f.). From every point of view *Beowulf* 69-70 almost certainly contains a scribal mistake.

The foregoing discussion must make clearer the two-fold importance of the critical examination of the *Beowulf* passage. It is, of course, desirable to recover, by conjecture, more nearly the exact words in which the obvious sense of the lines was originally expressed; and it is, in a sense, still more desirable to dismiss from the text the false evidence of a strange idiom. In conclusion, I therefore submit for consideration the following reading of line 69:

*medo-ærn micle* (or *micle*)    *mære gewyrcean*

Cosijn (*Aanteekeningen op den Beowulf*, Leiden, 1892, p. 1) suggested *medo-ærn mære*, but it is more probable that the scribe converted *micle* into *micel*. His eye may have been misled by *micel* of line 67, or he may have hastily considered *micel* to be necessary to complete the form of the appositive of *þæt heal-reced*. In some such way he would be led to substitute the unnecessary (but not ungrammatical) *man* for *mære*. That the scribe proceeded to begin the next line with an ungrammatical *þone* also confirms the judgment that his mental operations at this point were somewhat confused.

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SPENSER'S *FAERIE QUEENE*, BOOK III,  
CANTO VI, ST. 11 ff., AND MOSCHUS'S  
*IDYL, LOVE THE RUNAWAY*

In a gloss to the *Shepherd's Calendar*, the March Eclogue, l. 79, E. K. remarks: "But who liste more at large to behold Cupids colours and furniture, let him reade ether Propertius or Moschus his Idyllion of wandring love being now most excellently translated into Latine, by the singuler learned man Angelus Politianus: whych worke I have seene, amongst other of thys Poets

doings, very wel translated also into English Rymes." Spenser's *Minor Poems*, edited by Ernest De Sélincourt, p. 34 (Oxford, 1910). Now, it has long been recognized that the incident of Venus's search for Cupid, which forms a part of the story of Belpheobe's birth in the *Faerie Queene*, Book III, Canto vi, was connected with the above-mentioned idyl. But have we preserved in these stanzas the translation with which E. K. was acquainted at the time that the *Shepherd's Calendar* was published? Certainly, they could be termed a translation only in a very loose sense. In a paper on *Spenser's Lost Poems, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXIII, p. 94 (1908), P. M. Buck calls the passage "rather an expansion of Moschus than a translation." So, too, Miss H. E. Sandison, *ibid.*, XXV, p. 145 (1910), who accepts it, however (like Buck, apparently), as the work to which E. K. refers. The Elizabethans used "translation" in a very comprehensive sense, but it is safe to say that Spenser's commentator did not have in mind the lines we read in the *Faerie Queene*. In the first place, these lines are in the Spenserian stanza-form and it is, of course, in the highest degree unlikely that Spenser would have employed that metrical form in turning this dainty little poem into English rime. In the second place, I wish to point out that in these stanzas Spenser's expansion of the *motif* which he first knew from Moschus is determined by the Prologue to Tasso's *Aminta*. In writing this Prologue Tasso, himself, obviously is plainly embroidering on Moschus's Idyl.<sup>1</sup> The *Aminta*, I may remark, though acted in 1573, was not printed until 1581. I will give now first the

*Faerie Queene* stanzas (ed. J. C. Smith, Oxford, 1909) and then the lines from Tasso's Prologue<sup>2</sup>:

It fortun'd, faire *Venus* hauing lost  
Her little sonne, the winged god of love,  
Who for some light displeasure, which him crost,  
Was from her fled, as flit as ayerie Doue,  
And left her blisfull bowre of ioy aboue,  
(So from her often he had fled away,  
When she for ought him sharply did reprove,  
And wandred in the world in strange aray,  
Disguiz'd in thousand shapes, that none might him  
bewray.)

Him for to seeke, she left her heavenly hous,  
The house of goodly formes and faire aspects,  
Whence all the world deriues the glorious  
Features of beautie and all shapes select,  
With which high God his workmanship hath deckt;  
And searched euery way, through which his wings  
Had borne him, or his tract she mote detect:  
She promist kisses sweet, and sweeter things  
Vnto the man, that of hym tydings to her brings.

First she him sought in Court where most he vsed  
Whylome to haunt, but there she found him not;  
But many there she found, which sore accused  
His falsehood, and with foule infamous blot  
His cruel deedes and wicked wyles did spot:  
Ladies and Lords she euery where mote heare  
Complayning, how with his empoysned shot  
Their wofull harts he wounded had whyleare,  
And so had left them languishing twixt hope and feare.

She then the Citties sought from gate to gate,  
And euery one did aske, did he him see;  
And euery one her answerd, that too late  
He had him seene and felt the crueltie  
Of his sharpe darts and whot artillerie;  
And euery one threw forth reproches rife  
Of his mischieuous deedes, and said, That hee  
Was the disturber of all ciuill life,  
The enemy of peace, and author of all strife.

Then in the countrey she abroad him sought,  
And in the rurall cottages inquired,  
Where also many plaints to her were brought,  
How he their heedlesse harts with loue had fyred,  
And his false venim through their veines inspyred;  
And eke the gentle shepheard swaines, which sat  
Keeping their fleecie flockes, as they were hyred,  
She sweetly heard complaine, both how and what  
Her sonne had to them doen; yet she did smile thereat.

looked in recent discussion and the matter seems to require, besides, consideration in detail, such as I have here attempted.

<sup>2</sup>The list of imitations of Moschus's idyl given by W. P. Mustard, *American Journal of Philology*, xxx, 277 f. (1909), does not include either this Prologue or Spenser's stanzas. Add still further to the list the *Amour fuitif* of Amadis Jamyn, the sixteenth century poet. My colleague, Prof. L. P. Shanks, pointed out this poem to me.

<sup>1</sup>Tasso's *Amore Fuggitivo* is also inspired by Moschus's idyl, but it does not resemble the stanzas in the *Faerie Queene*. In st. 45 of this same canto Spenser speaks of "Amintas wretched fate To whom sweet Poets verse hath given endlesse date." The allusion, however, is not to Tasso but to Thomas Watson's Latin pastoral *Amyntas* (1585) or the translation of it by Abraham Fraunce (1587)—possibly both. See E. Koepfel, *Anglia*, xi, 28 (1889). Sir Sidney Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 401, note 2, is wrong in speaking of Watson's *Amyntas* as a Latin version of Tasso's pastoral. It is an independent work.

After writing the present article I observed that Upton in a note to the passage in his edition of the *Faerie Queene* (1758) remarks that Spenser might have taken this story "from the *Aminta* of Tasso." He must, of course, mean the Prologue. His suggestion, however, has been over-

After this she continues her search in "the saluage woods and forrests wyde." She does not find Cupid but her nymphs discover Crysgone and her two babes, Belpheobe and Amoretta.

Let us turn now to the Italian: Love speaks the Prologue of the *Aminta*. To escape from Venus he has disguised himself as a shepherd. He goes on to say:

Io da lei son costretto di fuggire  
E celarmi da lei, perch'ella vuole  
Ch'io di me stesso e delle mie saette  
Faccia a suo senno; e qual femmina, e quale  
Vana ed ambiziosa, mi rispinge  
Pur tra le corti, e tra corone e scettri,  
E quivi vuol che impieghi ogni mia prova;  
E solo al volgo de' ministri miei,  
Miei minori fratelli, ella consente  
L'albergar tra le selve, ed oprar l'armi  
Ne' rozzi petti. Io che non son fanciullo,  
Sebben ho volto fanciullesco ed atti,  
Voglio dispor di me come a me piace;  
Ch'a me fu, non a lei, concessa in sorte  
La face onnipotente e l'arco d'oro.  
Però, spesso celandomi, e fuggendo  
L'imperio no, che in me non ha, ma i preghi  
C'han forza, porti da importuna madre;  
Ricovero ne' boschi e nelle case  
Della gente minuta. Ella mi segue,  
Dar promettendo a chi m'insegna a lei,  
O dolci baci, o cosa altra più cara.

The contrast of pastoral life with the life of courts and cities is, of course, a commonplace of Renaissance literature, but the combination of this *motif* with that of Moschus's idyl is due to Tasso, and Spenser in the passage quoted above is merely following him. That he should express himself more diffusely than the Italian poet is just what we should expect. In discarding Tasso's conception that Venus wished to confine Cupid to courts, he was influenced, no doubt, by Moschus, who has nothing of this kind. In the main, however, it was Tasso's Prologue that suggested the course of Venus's search in the *Faerie Queene*, and in view of this fact, it is manifestly no accident that the lines of the English poet,

"She promist kisses sweet and sweeter things  
Vnto the man that of hym tydings to her brings,"

stand closer to the last two lines of the Italian quoted above—of which, indeed, they are substantially a translation—than to the Greek

ἦν δ' ἀγάγης νυν,  
οὐ γνυμὸν τὸ φίλημα, τὶ δ' ὧ ξένη καὶ πλέον ἐξέεις.

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*The Poetry of Victor Hugo*, by PELHAM EDGAR and JOHN SQUAIR. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1911. xvii, 330 pp.

This new anthology of Hugo's poetry is the third which has appeared in America during the last five years. The selections, accompanied only by the briefest of general introductions and a glossary of names, are classified under the following headings, each division being preceded by a short introductory comment: Patriotic Poems (22 pages), Napoleon Poems (51), Narrative Poems (17), Nature Poems (45), Pictorial Poems (32), Meditative Poems and Lyrics (11), Visionary Poems (7), Poems on Death (54), Child Poems (13), Love Poems and Lyrics (21), Satiric Poems (5), Humanitarian Poems and Poems of Progress (27).

The editors give liberal space to the nature and philosophic poetry and preface it by a relatively long introduction, while of the Humanitarian Poems and Poems of Progress they say: "These poems demand the briefest comment. . . . These hopes may or may not be entirely consistent with his views of life nor in philosophical accord with facts; it is sufficient that they inspire him with poems that do lasting honor to his name." This seems short shrift for an important department of Hugo's work. Is it not precisely this large humanitarian trend of much of Hugo's work, now so completely in consonance with the thought and feeling of our time, that is helping to keep this poetry alive in spite of the prognosis of the critics? Again, Hugo's grotesque doctrine of metempsychosis can hardly be considered a permanent contribution to literature, and, considering their work merely in regard to the allotment of space, we believe that the editors take Hugo the philosopher and interpreter of nature much too seriously. There are given,

under various heads, the long poems, *L'Océan*, *Pleurs dans la nuit*, *L'Épopée du ver*, all of them too 'deep contemplative.' Hugo is here talking in the hierophantic strain and we believe it is a mistake to give up fifty-six pages to these three poems, none of them, considering that they are Hugo's, remarkable for form. Seventy-five pages more are given over to Patriotic Poems and to poems on Napoleon, here unhappily called Napoleon Poems; and we have thus already accounted for nearly one-half of the three hundred pages of text. We feel, therefore, that the editors have been less successful than either Canfield or Schinz in giving us representative selections of what is most valuable and permanent in Hugo's achievement.

Considering the purpose of the book, the method adopted in arranging the selections seems also somewhat inadvisable. Since material of this type is hardly suitable for rapid reading or linguistic drill, we assume that the volume is intended as a guide to the literary study of Hugo, and it would have been preferable to follow the chronological order, or else, as Professor Schinz has done, to divide Hugo's work into groups that would illustrate his achievement in the generally recognized fields of epic, lyric and philosophic poetry. The divisions themselves are arbitrary and over-numerous. *L'Expiation*, the finest satire in *Les Châtiments*, is included, not under Satiric Poems, but under Napoleon Poems; six selections are grouped under Narrative Poems, and four of these, *Les Djinns*, *Le Chasseur Noir*, *Les Reîtres*, and *La Chanson des doreurs de proues* are not in any proper sense narrative. The last two are technically lyrics and *Les Djinns* would have been better placed among Pictorial Poems. On the other hand *Le Mariage de Roland*, a narrative poem, if ever there was one, is printed under Pictorial Poems. To print, without particular explanation, *La Conscience* and *La Rose de l'Infante* with *Le Feu du ciel* is to overlook the immense difference in intention between *Les Orientales* and *La Légende des siècles*. From the standpoint of literary history, *La Légende* was certainly the most important of Hugo's later works, and, epic

or not, its avowed purpose was to interpret history. To split this poem up and distribute its parts among Pictorial Poems, Poems on Death, etc., was to make its interpretation impossible and to minimize the importance of what Banville called the Bible of all later poets.

It is strange that with their multiplicity of divisions the editors seem to have overlooked completely the autobiographical element, one of the most fruitful sources of Hugo's inspiration. Not only have they made no such division but they have also failed to include any one of the poems like *Mon Enfance*, *Souvenir d'enfance*, *Ce Siècle avait deux ans*, *Ce qui se passait aux Feuillantines*, or *A Propos d'Horace*, which, beside conveying much biographical information, illustrate so completely one of the most significant characteristics of the great romanticist. Under Narrative Poems we miss what has often been considered Hugo's most perfect achievement in this field, the little masterpiece, *Après la Bataille*, while *Pasteurs et troupeaux*, the classic example for illustrating Hugo's mythopœic quality, of which the editors make much, is also wanting. From the literary historical standpoint, again, the poems which made Hugo the god of 1830, 'époque fulgurante,' are with the exception of *Les Djinns*, scarcely represented at all. That nervous fear of the young lady reader which under the present system of publishing texts must haunt all editors, might well account for the omission of *La Chasse du burgrave* with its echoing *rimes riches*, but no such excuse can be offered for the absence of *Le Pas d'armes du Roi Jean*, whose fulness of color, rhyme, rhythm, tumult and medievalism made it the slogan of Hugo's *chef de claque*, Théophile Gautier. At least a few poems in characteristically romantic verse forms should have been included, and it is hard to be content with the absence of all reference to versification.

The introductory comments are usually judicious but occasionally need some qualification. Thus we read, p. 23: "Until about 1825, Hugo was, like all his Romantic contemporaries, a royalist and a catholic." It would be safer to say that until about 1825 Hugo was not a

romanticist at all. As late as February 1824 Hugo still speaks of *la frivole querelle des romantiques et des classiques* and significantly says to his readers: *Alors expliquez-vous; examinons la valeur de cette allégation (romantique); prouvez d'abord qu'elle est fondée; il vous restera ensuite à démontrer qu'elle n'est pas insignifiante. Mais on se garde fort aujourd'hui d'entamer, de ce côté, une discussion qui pourrait n'enfanter que le ridiculus mus; on veut laisser à ce mot romantique un certain vague fantastique et indéfinissable qui en redouble l'horreur.* Certainly this is not the language of a sympathizer, to say nothing of a devotee. His romantic contemporaries in 1825 would furthermore have to include Stendhal, Mérimée and de Vigny, no one of whom would fall under the editors' classification. On p. 136 it is said that Chateaubriand had something of the same breadth of vision as Chénier. But Chénier's poems, essentially cameos cut in verse, have little in common with the immense vistas of *Les Martyrs*, to which it is suggested that they are similar, and the advantage with regard to breadth of vision would surely lie with Chateaubriand. To say (p. 94) that Hugo's metaphors after 1840 "are no longer simply a resource of his art, but each metaphor embodies a genuine myth which the poet believes to be true not as mere symbol but as fact" is to be too painfully literal, and when the statement is followed by quotations like *L'urne Peut-être ayant l'infini pour couvercle* or *Ramper le scarabée effroyable du soir*, amounts to qualifying Hugo at best as an inspired madman.

When, however, we turn to the carefully printed text and the scholarly annotations we have nothing but praise. A careful reading has failed to disclose any departure from Hugo's text or any typographical error, and we have never taken up a first edition more carefully printed or proof-read. For their admirable work here we congratulate the editors most heartily.

A commendable restraint is shown in confining the notes to passages demanding explanation. Most of this exegetical matter is presented in the form of an encyclopedia of Hugo's

baffling proper names—no easy task. Occasionally an additional note might with advantage be added, particularly in the case of the poems on Napoleon, full of obscure contemporary references. Thus for instance in *A la Colonne*, p. 35,

*L'ingénil paré de la ville  
Fait encor trébucher leurs pas,*

the note on barricades might be more specific. *A la Colonne* was written early in October of 1830 and doubtless there were still streets that showed signs of the Revolution of July of the same year.—Toward the close of *L'Expiation* there is needed a note on Napoleon III, or an elucidation of particular passages; otherwise that poem will certainly baffle the student. Thus on p. 72, ll. 12-13,

*Ils ont pris de la paille au fond des casemates  
Pour empailler ton aigle, ô vainqueur d'Iéna,*

the student should be told that the *paille* is Louis-Napoleon and the *casemate* the Fortress of Ham.—P. 37, ll. 26-28, is doubtless a reference to the occupation of France by the forces of the Coalition after 1815.—On p. 111, ll. 7-9,

*Visconti, vêtu de cuivre  
D'un coup de poing à la guivre  
Casse les dents,*

Hugo is hardly referring to Marco Visconti as the editors seem to think. It is more likely that the line was suggested by the Visconti arms, a coiled viper attacking a man, and the reference would be to Uberto Visconti who was supposed to have slain a dragon that was poisoning the Milanese citizens with his breath.<sup>1</sup> The note on Burrhus, p. 224, l. 22, tells us only that he was preceptor to Nero and died of poison. The context seems to indicate that Hugo had in mind the fact that the self-righteous Burrhus advised or at least acquiesced in the murder of Nero's mother, Agrippina.

Certain words not usually given in students' dictionaries call for explanation. So *argyraspide*, p. 224, member of a picked body of Alexander's troops armed with silver bucklers, whence the name. They were not, as Hugo

<sup>1</sup> See Litta, *Famiglie Celebri d'Italia*, Vol. x.

supposes, horsemen. Also *élytre* p. 134, the outer hard covering of an insect's wings, and *gypaète* p. 235, a vulture. On the half-dozen puzzling proper names of which the editors offer no explanation, I can add but little. There is a mountain *Falu* in Sweden which may have suggested the name but cannot be the *Mont Falu* of *Guitare*. The *Béit* of *Béit-Cifrésil* and *Abdallah-Béit* is doubtless the English Bey and *Abdallah* (servant of God) is a fairly common Mohammedan name occurring occasionally in the history of Cairo, but I have been unable to discover any name even approximating *Cifrésil* or any record of the building of a well such as is referred to in *La Rose de l'Infante*, p. 165, ll. 21-23. *Jérimadeth* in *Booz endormi*, p. 163, l. 21, occurring as it does in one of the most famous passages in all Hugo's poetry, deserves attention. The word does not occur in the Bible, nor is it to be found in the maps and guide-books of Palestine, so we may be constrained to accept the pun proposed by Grillet, *La Bible dans Victor Hugo* (Lyon, 1910), p. 226.—For *Sinnagog*, p. 157, see Berret, *Le Moyen Age dans la Légende des Siècles* (Paris, 1911), p. 30.—*Teb*, p. 111, and *Moganez*, p. 90, remain unsolved problems. In throwing light on the large number of other difficult and recondite allusions the editors have shown much patience and scholarship and deserve the thanks of all readers of Hugo.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

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*The Tudor Drama.* A history of English national drama to the retirement of Shakespeare. By C. F. TUCKER BROOKE. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1911. Pp. xii, 228.

It might be thought impossible at this time of day to write anything really fresh on this subject; but Mr. Brooke is entitled to the credit of this difficult achievement. It is not in the earlier and less developed part of the field that his success lies. Indeed, he remarks with a

touch of flippancy not altogether justified, and perhaps not intended, that "the origin of the modern European theatre in the services of the medieval church is matter of common knowledge, and the connection has perhaps received already more explanation than it requires" (p. 2). Mr. Brooke gives indeed a fair summary of the easily accessible sources of information as to the development of the drama from the Roman liturgy, but the subject stands in need of a good deal more investigation and explanation than it has yet received, and it will be surprising if in the course of a few years Mr. Brooke's account of the matter does not appear obviously defective. It is in the Elizabethan period that Mr. Brooke does his best work—partly, no doubt, because he is best acquainted with it, and partly because of the nature of the material with which he has to deal. At first sight this field might seem to have been most worked and to have attracted the most capable workers; but an opening was left for just such a volume of four or five hundred pages as Mr. Brooke has succeeded in writing. The distinguishing features of the Elizabethan drama are its astonishing vitality, variety, and complexity, and there is perhaps no better or more rational way of setting forth the facts than the method of Dr. Ward's *History of English Dramatic Literature*; and yet there is a danger that the student may come away from its perusal with the erroneous impression of an orderly chronological development—from liturgical drama to miracle plays, from miracles to moral plays, from moralities to interludes and histories, and so on to regular comedy and tragedy, the older types disappearing to make way for the new. Professor Schelling succeeds in giving the right impression of the synchronous development of very different forms of dramatic art in his *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642*, and Mr. Brooke's little volume is in this respect particularly effective, partly on account of its size, but mainly because of the skill with which he has woven together the diverse threads of influence and interest. For a right understanding of the subject, it is assuredly imperative that we should realize that

the older forms continued to exist alongside of the newer developments from them, and that the native drama was not superseded by plays copied from foreign or classical models. Our one detailed description of the way in which the miracle plays were acted is given by Archdeacon Rogers of Chester, who died in 1595; the Chester cycle, we know, was acted as late as 1575, and all five manuscripts date from the period 1591-1607. The moralities continued to be acted and to be published, in spite of the competition of the regular theatres, *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality* being printed in 1602, after a performance before the Queen, apparently on February 4th, 1601. Mr. Brooke says:

‘The later moralities were usually performed by companies of four or five men and a boy,—the boy, of course, taking women’s parts. These troupes, once formed, continued themselves in unbroken sequence till the Restoration. There seems no doubt that the strolling players of the Commonwealth who roamed from village to village with their contraband dramatic wares, after the suppression of the theatres in 1642, were the lineal descendants, and the inheritors of many a piece of traditional clownage and stage business from those who in pre-Tudor times performed “The Castle of Perseverance.”’ (p. 58.)

The importance of the native element in *Ralph Roister Doister* is suitably emphasized by Mr. Brooke and he also draws attention to the combination of native realism, classical structure, and Italian romance in *Misogonus*, now convincingly ascribed by Professor Kittredge to Lawrence Johnson, who preceded M. A. at Christ’s College, Cambridge, in 1577. In the development of tragedy, Mr. Brooke rightly concludes that the most indispensable factor was the example of the Latin classic model, but he does not overlook the importance of the native and popular elements which contributed most materially to the vitality of the new form of art and prepared the way for its acceptance on the popular stage. His estimate of the relative importance and precise impact of the Senecan influence is excellent. He describes *The Spanish Tragedie* as “in many ways a

much truer representative of Seneca than confessed imitations like *Ferrex and Porrex*.” This seems to be putting the case strongly, but it is not an exaggeration in the sense intended. Kyd gave Senecan tragedy currency and carrying power. He adopted all the features suitable to the popular stage—the horrors and sensationalism, ghosts and furies, madmen and desperate villains, stirring rhetoric, poetical description, and philosophical reflection,—so far as he could, and so far as the public would tolerate them; and he added elements which gave this form of dramatic art a vitality which carried it throughout the great Elizabethan period, and indeed down to our own time. It may be questioned, however, whether the attainment of perfection in the Senecan style should not be given rather to *Titus Andronicus*. In general the two dramas belong to the same Senecan school; there are quotations from Seneca’s Latin text in *Titus Andronicus*, as there are in *The Spanish Tragedie*, and there are also passages imitated from Seneca. There are in both plays sensational horrors; but Kyd, as Mr. Boas has pointed out, “never glances at the grosser side of sexual relationships.” *Titus Andronicus* deals largely with this theme, and so does Seneca. The highly polished versification, the lively touches of natural description, and the weight and beauty of the reflective passages—the redeeming qualities of *Titus Andronicus* which are absent from Kyd’s work—are Senecan characteristics. In the passages imitated from Seneca in *Titus Andronicus*, the resemblance in tone and style is no less striking than the identity of content. Shakspeare, indeed, in his earlier plays has succeeded in catching the tone and manner of Seneca better than any previous imitator, and, it may be added, better than any imitator or translator since. As Churton Collins says, “in his earlier plays, where the influence of Seneca is more perceptible, Shakspeare’s style is often as near a counterpart in English of Seneca’s style in Latin as can be.”

Mr. Brooke is also justified in the remark, which at first appears an exaggeration, that *Romeo and Juliet* belongs fundamentally to the

progeny of Senecan tragedy (p. 221); and it may be added to the arguments he has adduced in support of this assertion that Shakspeare seems to have made in this play a conscious though slight concession to classical convention by the use of the chorus and the concentration of the action. Generally, in dealing with Shakspeare, Mr. Brooke experiences the same difficulty as previous historians of the Elizabethan drama; Shakspeare must stand with his fellows, and yet it seems impossible to portray him adequately without allowing him to crowd the others into the corners of the picture. Mr. Brooke has met the difficulty (it can hardly be said that he has solved it) by reducing Shakspeare a great deal below scale; but this is perhaps an inevitable defect, and one that can be very readily supplied elsewhere. Mention should be made of an interesting suggestion with respect to the much-discussed "War of the Theatres" and the purge which in *The Return from Parnassus* Shakspeare is said to have given to Ben Jonson. As this is a point of considerable interest, Mr. Brooke may well be allowed to speak for himself, after congratulations that so young a scholar has been able to deal adequately and freshly with an exceedingly complicated and apparently well worn subject:—

'I do not know that the reference to the purge in this Cambridge play has been definitely associated hitherto with the fact that "Hamlet" was acted, as the title-page of the first quarto (1603) tells us, not only in London, but "also in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and elsewhere." This announcement, together with the mention in the text itself of the travelling of the players, seems to point to a tour of the Globe Company before the end of 1601. Now the allusion to the "Purge" in the "Return from Parnassus" is of such a nature as to make it almost certain that the audience fully understood the reference. I believe that the passage was intended to recall some clearly expressed rebuke of Jonson in the text of "Hamlet" as recently acted in Cambridge. To be sure, as the latter play is preserved, it contains no distinct anti-Jonsonian stroke; but that fact is easily explained. It should be remembered that the earliest (1603) version of "Hamlet" contains only an excessively abbreviated mention of the theatri-

cal war; while the later quartos of 1604, etc., though certainly based on the true complete copy, purposely omit the twenty most significant lines concerning the "little eyases." The reason for the non-appearance of these lines in all editions except the 1623 Folio, is obviously the same as that which prevented Jonson from publishing his Apologetical Dialogue to "The Poetaster" in the 1602 edition of that play; namely, "The Restraint by Authority" of which Jonson expressly complains.

'When the collective editions of Jonson and Shakespeare were issued, in 1616 and 1623 respectively, there was no longer any necessity of suppressing general allusions to the long-past quarrel of the theatres. But there did exist the strongest reason why Shakespeare's editors should not have cared to give wanton offence to the most influential poet of the day, the generous supporter of their enterprize, by restoring excised and forgotten bits of personal ridicule. I believe, therefore, that the purge which made Jonson bewray his credit, the blow with which Shakespeare closed the War of the Theatres, was to be found in "Hamlet" as that play was presented in Cambridge, London, and elsewhere, in 1601-1602. I believe that it lay in the power of Shakespeare's literary executors, Heming and Condell, to preserve this passage, as they preserved the general quizzing of the little eyases, in their authoritative edition of the play. There can be no doubt, however, that in leaving to oblivion such a piece of transitory satire, which, even though not very unfriendly, may have been very humiliating to Jonson, the editors would have been faithfully observing the wish of the dead poet and the obvious proprieties of the situation. In view of the magnificent eulogy which Jonson was even at the moment contributing to their edition, the raking up of animosities of twenty years' standing would have been nothing short of unparadonable.'

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GÜNTHER JACOBY, *Herder als Faust*. Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1911.

Jacoby's book is an attempt to prove that up to the scene in Auerbach's Cellar Faust's outward and inward experiences were the experiences of Herder,—not the Herder ordinarily

portrayed in biography, but the image of him formed in the mind of young Goethe by personal contact and ardent hero-worship. The Faust of this part of Goethe's drama, he asserts, is not a composite picture, to which Herder might be said to have contributed certain features; he is Herder himself.

Scherer's identification of Herder as the model for Satyros produced a sensation, and aroused indignation in certain quarters. Jacoby's alleged discovery was announced by his publisher as sure to produce a sensation, but the author evidently expected that his bold thesis would be dismissed by Goethe scholars with little consideration, for in his introduction he urges that judgment should be suspended till all the evidence of his thick volume has been weighed. As though arguments which individually have no weight would, if sufficiently multiplied, acquire weight.

Goethe was the first literary historian to recognize his great indebtedness to Herder, and capable investigators have not disputed the fact, have differed only in their estimate of the extent of that influence. But it remained for Jacoby to raise Herder to the value of a real sun and reduce Goethe to that of a mere satellite in their relation to one another. If we should accept Jacoby's conclusions we should have to admit that the only way for external influence to enter young Goethe's intellectual life and be reflected in these particular scenes of *Faust* was through the medium of Herder. This would make it necessary for us to revise our opinion of Wolfgang's precocity and spiritual independence and look upon Herder as a sort of prodigester of all his mental pabulum at the time when he was just attaining his majority. It remains to be seen how many scholars will deem this representation of the remarkable relation worthy of a reply.

Jacoby brushes aside most of the results of others' investigations and attacks the problem of Faust's prototype as though Goethe himself had not given us valuable hints as to his own relation to the character, and the investigations of distinguished Goethe specialists had been for the most part misguided. He disregards the

fact, to which Goethe himself more than once gave utterance, that some of our poet's creations are so typically human that their doubles might more than once be encountered in real life as well as found in the pages of history. Erich Schmidt's array of forerunners to Goethe's Faust is likewise ignored. The chronology of the various scenes is discarded, and we are asked to believe that "Erhabener Geist" in the "Wald und Höhle" scene refers to the Old Testament God of the "Prolog im Himmel," as though Faust himself had been present as an eavesdropper during that celestial scene. Jacoby asserts that the contents of the so-called "grosse Lücke" belonged to Goethe's original plot and the earliest passages written down. He thinks he has found the fundamental idea of the drama to be the "earthly passage of the divine soul through humanity," which is assigned as the reason why this soul never feels at home in man or on the earth, and why Faust makes his winning or losing of the wager with Mephistopheles hinge upon whether or not he shall ever say to any particular moment: "Prithee tarry, thou art so beautiful."

Since Herder is Faust, Goethe must needs be Wagner, and Jacoby almost hesitates to admit this.

His use of the word parallel is novel. The parallels he cites often give one the impression of sides of a triangle. The chief merit of his compilation is the evidence it affords of his zealous occupation with Herder's works.

One thing that makes the poet Goethe such an interesting study is the amount of general and specific information he gives us about himself and his poetic process. Most scholars consider these hints a valuable starting point for their investigations. Not so Jacoby. But his attempt to convert Goethe into a sort of dramatizing Eckermann is not likely to create a wide demand for his supplementary volume said to be already under way.

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*Portraits of Dante, from Giotto to Raffael: a critical study, with a concise iconography,* by RICHARD THAYER HOLBROOK. London: Medici Society; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1911. xix, 263 pp.

This well documented work is sure to take the first rank as the authoritative treatise on one of the most interesting topics in iconography. For the first time we have within the covers of one book all the early portraits of Dante, many of them beautifully reproduced in color,—a feat that would have been impossible a few years ago. As Mr. J. A. Herbert, of the British Museum, says, in his recent work on “Illuminated manuscripts,” there are few more absolute despots than an established iconography, and we may add that there is no doubt as to what the phrase “a Dantesque profile” means to the average reader. The task of tracing back to some one or more originals the variant forms of any well known pictorial presentment is a most fascinating one, and Dr. Holbrook has handled his problems well,—although his style is perhaps too disputatious for any but those who are keenly interested in some of the minutiae of the case. The opinions of all who have previously dealt with the questions involved are passed in review, weighed and revalued, and the author does not hesitate to differ with his predecessors in the field, to give new opinions and to suggest new relations between allied portraits.

He begins with a consideration of the documentary value of old portraits, and then takes up the written sources, such as the romancing Boccaccio, the more sober Leonardo Bruni, and the chronicler Villani. He shows up the unscientific handling of Dante’s bones at the time of their exhumation in 1865.

We are glad to see the author characterize the Report of Milanese and Passerini, naming the miniature in the Riccardian ms. 1040 as the most authentic portrait extant, as among the most paradoxical productions in the history of Dante’s posthumous fortunes. The miniature in the Palatine ms. 320 the author believes was not only derived from the Bargello portrait, but was probably the original from which the unknown sculptor of

the Naples bust derived his conception of Dante’s features. This seems to me the weakest part of the iconographic pedigree which Dr. Holbrook prints on page 72. An unfortunate feature of that attempt to reduce to the form of a genealogical tree the relations of these various portraits to one another is that from the diagram alone it would look as if the Torrigiani mask and the Riccardi miniature were considered as offshoots of somewhat the same period. No sire ever had sons of such unequal age! The author himself grants that there are probably several centuries between these two.

It is with satisfaction that we see Faltoni’s sketch of the Bargello fresco before restoration given the credit due it. While Kraus attached considerable importance to it, it has had nothing like the fame which the Kirkup sketch enjoyed through the Arundel Society facsimile and numerous other less faithful reproductions. As for the Marini *rifacimento*, that has been copied so assiduously in popular editions of the Divina Commedia and latterly on every form of Florentine souvenir that it has been almost indelibly stamped on the public mind as the authenticated portrait of the youthful Dante.

The author does the present writer the honor to quote his characterization of the original of Morghen’s engraved portrait of Dante as “long since lost” in both the heading and body of chapter XIX and then proceeds to try to prove that he has found the original Tofanelli painting in the art gallery of his alma mater, Yale University. But in the last footnote to this chapter, Dr. Holbrook says that he now feels that his assertions concerning the Yale Dante are too positive,—in which we agree with him. The fact that the book was printed in England and that the corrections had piled up to a very considerable extent during the printing can be considered sufficient reasons for some of the addenda and corrigenda appearing in the various parts of the book.

In his Appendix II, on the life and character of Seymour Kirkup and on his credibility as a witness, Dr. Holbrook quotes from my “Dante in America” to the effect that Miss Wilde had often heard her father describe Kirkup as a “clever but rather unscrupulous man, artistic and literary, but shallowly so” and adds that

this is the harshest of all opinions that he has found concerning him. If Dr. Holbrook will reread my preface he will find that Miss Wilde was the granddaughter and not the daughter of Richard Henry Wilde and so, of course, the estimate of Kirkup was more of a family tradition than a direct quotation from the collaborator with Kirkup himself. I may add that in my original manuscript, written fifteen years ago, after several interviews with my informant, the statement was still stronger and that it was toned down to the published form at the suggestion of Charles Eliot Norton, who did me the favor of going over this *opusculum juventutis*. The naïve reference to "another American of greater fame," which follows in Dr. Holbrook's note, leaves it uncertain whether he is paying Richard Henry Wilde, Miss Wilde or myself the compliment of comparison with Nathaniel Hawthorne.

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HENRI LAVEDAN, *Le Duel*, edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary by STEPHEN H. BUSH. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1911. 16mo., x + 218 pp.

It hardly needs demonstration that this *drame passionnel*, while pointing a moral, can have but a limited sphere of usefulness in the American classroom. One has only to read the second scene of the first act, with its description of the vices of a *dégénéré héréditaire* and its exposition of the doctrine of *le droit à l'amour*, to perceive that it would be inadvisable to put the book in the hands of any but mature students, and, at that, only in connection with some special course on the modern French drama. Even from this point of view, the value of *Le Duel* is open to some question. As a modern adaptation of the classic ideal of a *crise psychologique*, this play is probably one of the best among those relatively unobjectionable from the American point of view; but it may fairly be doubted whether, in spite of its initial vogue, it will have other than a comparatively ephemeral career. The miscreant doctor's crude and brutal

cynicism, unrelieved by wit or *finesse*, makes one of the protagonists anything but an attractive character, while there is a fundamental *vice de construction* in the *dénouement*, a *deus-ex-machina* cutting of the knot that leaves the human problem as unsolved as before. As in the duel of the comic papers, the bystanders suffer the chief damage, while the real point at issue remains untouched.

The introduction to the present edition is well-written, and more readable than is often the case with similar compositions. There is, perhaps, a disproportionate space given up to the analysis of another of Lavedan's plays—the connection with *Le Duel* not being clear—and one could have wished for some other conclusion than a mere chronological recapitulation of his works; but the introductory chapter will, on the whole, invite the attention of the student and leave him with a fair idea of Lavedan's literary activities.

TEXT.—Comparison with the French original<sup>1</sup> shows that the text has been reproduced without abridgement or alteration, even in the case of palpable errors; cf. 7, 3, *interviewer*; 68, 4, *et for en* (see the second and fourth lines following); 108, 10, *Mai si!*; 123, 6 (and vocabulary, s. v. *part*), *De quel part*.<sup>2</sup> The punctuation of the French edition is followed, even to preserving certain oddities of doubtful status, and some evi-

<sup>1</sup> Paris: Ollendorff, 1907, 17ème Edition.

<sup>2</sup> These typographical errors are not in the original: 6, 13; 42, 13 and 136, 10, *la for le*.—116, 13, *commence*: read *commerce*.—151, 8, insert *deux* after *tous*.—157, 14, *elle*: read *celle*.—Page 11, in the sentence, *Il a reconquis . . . assez de . . . volonté pour qu'il ne soit très dangereux de le tenir enfermé . . .* either *ne* should be omitted, which is strictly the correct idiom, or *pas* should be inserted after *soit*, as in the original, in which construction *assez* has acquired by "contamination" somewhat the value of *trop*. Page 172, note 29, 10, *qu'* has been omitted before *on*. Page 175, note 91, 9, in the text *Monsieur* has no capital. In the vocabulary, "affair" (English) and *Henri* (French) are misspelled; an accent is de *trop* on *devancer*, and missing on *présenter*, *sortilège*, *témoigner*; the designation "f." after *prévoir* should be omitted, and the punctuation of "m: f;" after *prisonnier* made to conform with the system employed elsewhere; *sauvegarde* should not be hyphenated, while *peut-être* should. Why dignify *Mesdames* with a capital if not *messieurs*? Moreover neither word occurs in the text.

dent mistakes.<sup>3</sup> A curious departure from the original, however, is the frequent use of four *points suspensifs*, usually at the end of a sentence, but often in the middle (e. g., 28, 21; 91, 4). French usage allows but three, even when one of them is properly the period that closes the sentence.

NOTES,<sup>4</sup>—In the editing of a text for class use, the delicate question as to what passages call for explanation in the notes is one on which probably no two editors would entirely agree. From the point of view, however, of the degree of proficiency that could fairly be expected of the classes that will read *Le Duel*, some of the notes in the book under consideration are obviously too elementary; for example: 8, 2, *Comment va-t-il?* "How is he?"—13, 16, "*le* is commonly thus used to refer back to some word or phrase."—98, 2, *qu'éprouve mon mari*; the student should by this time be beyond the stage where such a simple case of this inversion causes him any "discomfort."

On the other hand, many allusions and expres-

<sup>3</sup> In one case at least (96, 10), missing punctuation has been supplied, a precedent that might well have been followed elsewhere, as: a comma is required after *repos*, 25, 9; *mère*, 110, 4; *âme* and *toi*, 112, 11,—an interrogation mark after *Qui*, 93, 8, and *quoi*, 120, 3. The capital letter is out of place, 29, 1 and 113, 7 (cf. 91, 6); 114, 18; 119, 10. One is tempted to read *qu'est-ce qui* 48, 1. Missing accents and errors of punctuation, original with the American edition, are numerous. Cf. 20, 2 (the semi-colon should be a comma), 75, 1, *desir* (the more common accented form is used everywhere else); page 79, 11th line of the stage directions; 104, 1; 106, 9; 114, 1; 142, 1; 144, 9. In this connection, it must be admitted that, as a piece of book-making, the present volume is decidedly below the standard to which this house has accustomed us. Spacing, alignment and folding are defective, and imperfect type abounds (41, 12; 44, 18; 162, 7). The omission of the period in stage directions would be less disconcerting if it were more uniform (cf. pages 166, 168, 169).

<sup>4</sup> Apropos of notes in general, the question is pertinent whether it is not more rational to indicate by some means, in the text itself, the passages that are explained in the notes. The latter having been devised to aid the student, it would seem but consistent to inform him at once when this aid is to be had, and thus save needless labor where a note exists, or fruitless looking for one that does not. (Cf. pages 3-22 of *Le Cid* as published by the same house.)

sions that would certainly not be clear to most students are passed over without mention, such as: 6, 6, *on ne visite pas*; this means here specifically: "This establishment is not open to the public."—12, 6, *qu'on a l'air d'y tenir*, "as one likes to make out."—12, 16, *Ce sont des regrets en moins, allez!*—*Ou en plus*. "Well, just so much the less to regret." "Or so much the more."—Page 26, stage directions, line 6, *donner le bras à qq'un* has come, by a peculiar transfer, to mean "take some one's arm," which is evidently the sense called for in the case of the crippled bishop.—69, 14, *Je n'en sais rien!* "I am not so sure."—122, 2, *il ne reçoit pas* is a social formula, equivalent to our "he begs to be excused."—37, 9, *pêché immortel*; 41, 10, *violet, rouge*; 63, 15, *pêche miraculeuse* (vocabulary, "miraculous fishing"); 115, 11, *mâr pour Notre-Dame*; 158, 18, *livre d'heures*: these allusions would probably be missed by most students. The list might be considerably prolonged.

In the proper translation of any dialogue, a very real difficulty lies hidden in the frequently recurring adverbial expressions, interjections and incomplete phrases, which, simple enough in appearance, are by no means always easy to interpret, and "a literal translation of which . . . is ruinous to the sense" (note 16, 12). A few of those occurring in the present text are explained in notes or vocabulary, but the majority have been left unnoticed, as, for example: 14, 2 and 23, 8, *En attendant*, "Be that as it may."—15, 11, *Vous trouvez?* (vocabulary, "find"), "Do you really think so?" (cf. 52, 10).—17, 13, *Parfaitement!* (vocabulary, "perfectly"), "Most certainly!" and 50, 2, "Just so."—29, 13, *et encore*, "and even then."—56, 5, *Décidément!* "Well, I declare!"—81, 11, *Puisque je vous avais dit . . .*, "But I told you . . ."—119, 10, *hier encore, tiens!* "why even yesterday."

Even in the notes that are given, many statements are incorrect or misleading; among others, the following: 19, 6. *Attendre*, in the sense of "expect," is not "rare" with a personal object.—21, 3. *Il ne fallait pas tant me le prouver* means, "You should not have proved it to me so often." The meaning given, "It did not take so much," would have required *pour* before the infinitive.—21, 5. This use of the interrogation point is not,

as the note implies, general in French typography, but is a *tic* of M. Lavedan or of his printer, as will be seen from the following examples: 132, 9, *Vous? Une duchesse! millionnaire?* 149, 7, *Emmenez-moi! Ayez pitié?* 153, 1, *Attendez? Pas encore? Au moins restez? Ne me quittez pas? Assistez à cet entretien?*<sup>6</sup>—29, 10. There is no “delightful confusion,” but only modest deprecation in the Bishop’s remarks, which should be translated: “Why, I couldn’t get over my surprise! You get an exaggerated idea of a thing beforehand, but when it really comes . . .”—30, 7. The correct reference is Luke, II, 29.—81, 1. *ce tantôt* is a popular expression meaning “this afternoon.”—91, 9. *monsieur a raison*. The Duchess is speaking to the *abbé*, as is shown by the expression *chez vous*. The third person in direct address being used only toward those of superior rank, it would be impossible in the mouth of a duchess, addressing the doctor of an insane asylum. The correct translation here is: “This gentleman is right.”—97, 20. This expression should be noted where it is first met with, 83, 20.—102, 11. The term *mea culpa* refers, not to the words, but to the gesture that habitually accompanies them, made by striking the breast with the tips of the fingers brought together. (Cf. the rest of the sentence: *dont vous vous frappez la poitrine, au lieu d’en arracher l’amour, l’y enfonceant, à coups de marteau!*)—119, 10. The translation suggested does not fit the context. The correct version has been given above in another connection.—125, 18. *Bien le respect* is distinctly a servant’s form of leave-taking and should be translated as such. The French idiom corresponding to “with all due respect” is *sauf votre respect*.—149, 11. *dans le temps* means “in olden times.” “In its day” is *en son temps*. The connection with note 13, 16 (“*le* is commonly thus used to refer back to some word or phrase”) is not clear.

VOCABULARY.—The need of a vocabulary for the text in hand is not obvious. Students mature

<sup>6</sup> In some instances, this device is anomalous in the extreme, as, for example, in the case of a reply to a question (43, 3), or where the speaker expressly says: “*Je ne te demande pas . . .*” (90, 7). Cf. also 140, 2: *Mon frère ne s’est pas privé de remuer exprès, de sa main savante, cette boue endormie de ma jeunesse?*

enough to read with profit a problem play of this character should not require to be told that *au* = *à + le* and *du* = *de + le*, that *crois* is from *croire* and *ceux* from *celui*, nor that *absence*, *absolution*, *accent* mean the same in French as in English. Moreover, the student should be encouraged, as early as possible, to use a dictionary—preferably an all-French dictionary at this stage of his work—both for the valuable mental exercise of selecting the appropriate definition, and in order to grasp, for each new word, the essential rather than some special meaning.<sup>6</sup> For *Le Duel*, a vocabulary was unnecessary, if not indeed inadvisable; ampler notes covering the more difficult expressions would have been sufficient.

The present vocabulary gives evidence of having been compiled with a meticulousness that deserved to be better employed.<sup>7</sup> Such familiar variants as *j’*, *l’*, *l’on*, are painstakingly noted, as well as most of the irregular verb-forms contained in the text, including the well-known parts of *aller*, *devoir*, *falloir*, etc. Notes explaining proper names and idioms are reproduced, often *in toto*, in the vocabulary, the idioms sometimes under both the principal component words. (E. g., *non plus*; *pourquoi faire?*)<sup>8</sup> An unfortunate habit is that of citing an idiom, not in its most general form, but in the particular one that occurs in the text. (Cf. *cas*,

<sup>6</sup> A striking example of this latter point is the word *aboutir*, defined in the vocabulary of *Le Duel* as “to come to the point.” While this definition happens to fit the context (52, 21), it would be unfortunate for the student to get the impression that it represents the true meaning of the word. Cf. also *trouble* and *troubler*, defined as “trouble.”

<sup>7</sup> The following omissions have, however, been noted, besides those mentioned elsewhere in this article: *ça!*, *Christ*, *confidence*, *contigu*, *efficace*, *élite*, *frissonner*, *que* = “why?” (42, 9), *qui* = “what?” (70, 7), *scrupuleux*, *te*, *tenez!*, *à travers*; the idioms, *par calcul*, *à plaisir*, *de trop*; the adjectives, *affolant*, *chinois*, *courant*, *croyant*, *idéal*, *mourant*, *saint*, *trouble*, *rivant*. Also, the following definitions should be added to those given: *aspirer*, draw in, quaff (75, 11 vs. *aspirer à*, 96, 3); *condition*, social position; *droit*, erect, stiff; *être*, to go; *faute*, sin, mistake; *perdre*, ruin, waste; *poignée*, handful; *regretter*, miss, long for; *rendre*, make; *suite*, sequel; the substantival use of *monsieur*, *petit*; the transitive value of *désespérer*, and the intransitive meaning of *ressusciter*.

<sup>8</sup> The device of thus translating an idiom in every place where it may reasonably be looked for is, doubtless, often a time-saver for the student, but surely it is supererogatory in such cases as *billet de banque* and *cabinet de travail*.

. . . *le—qu'en font les hommes.*) The consequence is such inaccuracies as "*s'y attendre*, to expect," "*s'en réjouir*, to rejoice." For the same reason, the special definitions given for *vous en savez plus long*, *leur obligé*, *grande ouverte* do not properly cover respectively *en sait plus long* (60, 18), *ton obligée* (57, 1), *grands ouverts* (164, 11).<sup>9</sup>

A more serious defect is the general lack of system in the construction of the vocabulary. Such items as *Légion d'honneur*, *Saint-Germain*, *Sainte-Marie-des-Marteaux* belonged more properly in the notes, where similar explanations are numerous. In some cases, two different functions of a word are grouped indiscriminately, as *leur*, personal and possessive pronoun. This is particularly the case with the adjectival and substantival uses of the same word. In some cases, they are printed separately (*intérieur*); in others, they are indicated by the designation *m. adj.* (*savant*), or *m., f., adj.* (*ennemi*), or by such a device as "*dévo*t, devout, devout person," "*isolé*, isolated (man)"; in other instances, again, this distinction is ignored entirely (*mort*, 148, 7; 162, 14,—*détaché*, 115, 16; 165, 10), which would probably have been the better plan in nearly every case. We find *j* and *l'*, as above mentioned, but not *m'*, *s'*, *l'*; *nos*, but not *vos*; the feminine of *client*, *croquant*, *odieux*, but not of *présent*, *payant*, *orgueilleux*, etc., although the latter are met with in the text. *Nôtre* comes before *notre*, but *vôtre* after *vo*tre. We are told the plural of *chapeau*, which does not occur in the play, but not that of *vitrail*, which does. The pronominal use of some verbs is given; it is omitted with others where it is essential (*absenter*, *efforcer*, *méfier*, *méprendre*, *obstiner*), or where it has a peculiar value (*abreuver*, *complaire*, *tordre*, etc.). *Auteuil* is given in the notes alone, *Saint-Germain* in the vocabulary, *Grenelle* in both, and *Notre-Dame* in neither.

The definitions themselves are in a large number of cases inadequate or incorrect. In general, only one meaning is given for each word, and in nearly every case it is the English homonym where one exists. This results not only in conveying a false impression of the style (cf. *pulsa-*

*tions*, "pulsations" vs. "beats," 35, 8; *contraindre*, "constrain" vs. "force," 53, 13), but in definitions unsuited to the context, as, for example, to "address" a glance (*passim*), to "commit" a lie (70, 7), a mistake (96, 10). This is the more surprising as the editor himself has sounded a warning note (see n. 84, 3) as to "the numerous French words different in meaning from the allied or derived English word."

The definitions which, while correct in themselves, do not meet the text, are too numerous to be cited here.<sup>10</sup> The student who uses the vocabulary conscientiously will be rewarded with such combinations as these: 9, 16, "vile and hasty enjoyments."—11, 4, "keep him enclosed in this asylum."—12, 4, "I am devoted to misfortune."—28, 9, "I have a bad head" (I am pigheaded).—37, 15, "pass the water again" (cross the seas once more, go back overseas).—47, 1, The doctor is "laborious."—67, 17, "Our two sadnesses behave and correspond."—Page 136, The bishop motions to the servant that he can "introduce" the *abbé* . . . "The *abbé* is introduced."

Several definitions could well have been rendered more precise: *administrer*, to administer the sacrament to; (*sœur*) *converse*, lay sister; *dizaine*, decade (of Aves); *fondation*, endowed institution; *œuvre*, charity (85, 13, vs. 145, 11); *patronage*, Children's Aid Society; *retraite*, *faire une* —, make a (religious) retreat. Others, again, contain shortcuts liable to mislead the student, e. g.: *avoir*, "to be the matter with" (25, 6); *devenir*, "to become of" (22, 14); *entourer*, "to put around" (30, 14). It might be mentioned also that neither notes nor vocabulary throw any light on the value of such peculiar plurals as: *approches*, 83, 12; *convoitises*, 42, 8; *courages*, 149, 7, and 163, 14; *impatiences*, 18, 6; *pitiés*, 164, 2; *sollicitudes*, 71, 10.

Of the erroneous definitions, which are numerous, the following are among the most important:

<sup>9</sup> Cf. in this connection: "*convers*, *sœur* —"; "*jour*, . . . *huit* —, *quinze* —"; "*mien*, . . . *les* —"; "*ouvert*, . . . *grande* —"; "*rameau*, . . . *les* —" (*Rameaux*).

<sup>10</sup> Some of the more important of these cases are: *client*, patient (110, 13, cf. 54, 12); *confusion*, embarrassment (126, 5); *déception*, disappointment (13, 8); *endormir*, anaesthetize (29, 9); *exempt*, lacking in (47, 20); *faissable*, why not "feasible"? (54, 16); *galerie*, hall; *impas-sible*, impassive (page 153, last line); *instant* is oftener the equivalent of the English "moment" (cf. 24, 10; 135, 1; 154, 4).

*actuellement*, "actually."—*affût*. The idiom *à l'affût de* is derived, not from "gun carriage," but from the sense of "poste derrière un arbre pour guetter" (Dict. Gén.).—*aise*. In the expression *j'en suis bien aise*, we have the adj., not the subst.—*armoire-bibliothèque*, "secretary" (book-case).—*d'autant que*, "inasmuch as" (the more so as, 52, 4).—*avant*, "in front of." Its use in this sense has not been found in the text.—*bahut*, "chest" (cabinet, p. 79; cf. "à deux corps").—*dévo*t, "devout." "Pious" renders better the hypocritical shading of this word in French.—*dispensaire*, "dispensatory" (dispensary).—*enfin que*, "in order that" (96, 13, anyhow, that . . . ; 125, 15, in short, that . . . *Afin que* does not occur in the text.)—*Grandeur*, "Grandeur (title)." A bishop is addressed as "Your Grace," or in England, "My Lord" or "Your Lordship."—*impérieux*, "imperious" (imperative: *un impérieux devoir*, 88, 6).—*infranchissable*, "impassable" (that cannot be bridged or crossed: *d'infranchissables distances*, 115, 2).—*intérieur* is masc.—*meuble*, "furniture" (piece of furniture; cf. the plural, 79, 3).—*momentanément*, "momentarily" (temporarily, 10, 17).—*monseigneur*, "My Lord (title given to bishop)." This expression is not used in America; cf. *Grandeur*, *supra*.—*nunc dimittis*. The verb is not imperative.—*personne*, "f., person, nobody," is masc. in the latter sense.—*pieux*, "pious" (religious; cf. *dévo*t, *supra*).—*pleur*, "f., tear" (masc., weeping; pl., tears).—*reproche* is masc.—"*saute*, f., health" is evidently an erroneous repetition of *santé*.—*songeux*. The masc. is *songeur*.—"stupéfaire, to stupefy," does not exist except in the past participle.—*tantôt*, "just now" (a short while ago; vs. *tout à l'heure*).—*en travers de*, "through" (across, blocking, 93, 1).

It hardly needs to be said, in conclusion, that a thorough revision of this text-book is imperative before it can be used with satisfaction. The vocabulary should be omitted altogether, for the reasons stated above. It will then remain to be seen whether, upon trial in the class room, *Le Duel* will be found to have any lasting value, either intrinsically or as representing some phase in the progress of French drama in the early twentieth century.

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*Materials for the Study of the English Drama (excluding Shakespeare). A Selected List of Books in The Newberry Library.* The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. 8vo., vii, 89. 50 cents.

As the title-page indicates, this admirable little bibliography is intended primarily for the convenience of students of the English Drama using the Newberry Library, but its excellence ensures it a usefulness far larger than its compiler anticipated for it. The fact that this is a selected list of works for the student of the drama is the key to its value. There are many more inclusive bibliographies dealing with the English Drama, or with particular periods or authors, but there is no list known to the reviewer covering practically the whole field (except Shakespeare) at once so full, so compact, and compiled with so much judgment and understanding as to what books are really helpful to the student. Many will regret that Shakespeare has not been included, and that only a few authors of the so-called "poetic" drama have been entered. We are, however, led to hope for a Shakespeare list at no very distant day, and probably the contention that present-day interest is centered chiefly in the "acted" drama is correct. Certainly within its sphere and within its scope the list is excellent.

The works included are classified under the following heads: Bibliography; Periodicals, Societies, and Associations; History, Theory, and Criticism; Biography, General and Collective; Biography and Criticism, Individual; Dramas and Plays, Collected Works and Editions of Single Plays by Individual Authors, including Anonymous Dramas; History of the Stage and Theatre in the United States; American Dramatists, Collected Works and Editions of Single Plays, Anonymous Dramas. A full index is provided.

Experience in a great Library gives an excellent training for work of this kind, and one can readily believe that this convenient List includes only those works that have been shown to be of most use to the largest number of persons engaged in the study of the English Drama.

This is Number 1 of the "Publications of the

Newberry Library"; if this is an indication of the quality of future numbers, one may predict for them a grateful reception.

ARTHUR ADAMS.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### ADDITIONAL NOTES ON WARD'S *History of English Dramatic Literature*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Ward's *History of English Dramatic Literature* remains in many respects such a useful reference book for students of the drama that it seems worth while to point out two slight errors for the sake of a possible third edition.

In summarizing Heywood's *Four P's* (2d ed., Vol. I, p. 245) Mr. Ward states that "The competition consists in the telling of two stories by the Palmer and the Pardoner, and the outbidding of their lies circumstantial by a monstrously extravagant assertion on the part of the 'Poticary.'" The fact is that the 'Poticary and the Pardoner tell the tales, while the Palmer, whose extensive travels add point to the statement, easily proves himself the greatest liar of the three by remarking that in the whole course of his journeyings he has never seen a woman out of patience.

In the discussion of Redford's morality, *Wyt and Science* (*op. cit.*, pp. 127, 128) the statement is made that "There is an amusing scene, in which *Ignorance* is put through a spelling-lesson by *Idlenes*, the word which he is set to spell being *England*." The scene is an amusing one, but the word which the fool is set to spell is not *England*, but his own name, spelled *Ignorance*. Since at that time the final *e* of *Ignorance* was pronounced, *Idlenes* has five syllables to teach the fool on his "thummes." If the lesson had been *England*, which has only two syllables, the humorous situation could not have been so cleverly sustained for forty-five lines. It is easy to see how the error was made, for *Idlenes* tries to teach *Ignorance* the first syllable, *Ing*, of his name, by a reference to the same syllable in *England*.

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### BEOWULF 168-9

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The two lines:

*No he þone gífstol gretan moste,  
Maþsum for melode, ne his myne wisse*

have been much discussed. It will not be necessary for me to sum up anew the conflict of opinions; that has been done admirably by Schücking, p. 100 of his edition.

In the O. E. Bede, however, there is a curiously parallel expression which no one—to the best of my belief—has noted. Bede is telling of the man who was (physically) tormented by evil spirits and of his miraculous cure. In Miller's ed., p. 186, 18-20, we read: "*Ond siðþan of þære tide þa awyrgedan gastas hine mid nænige ege ne mid geswencnisse grétan dorston.*" The Latin original reads: "neque aliquid ex eo tempore nocturni timoris aut uexationis ab antiquo hoste pertulit." The O. E. rendering, it will be seen, is free; still, the 'thought' of "aliquid timoris aut uexationis pertulit" is fairly conveyed by "mid nænige ege ne mid geswencnisse grétan."

As a whole, the Bede passage proves that *grétan* was not restricted to the sense of the modern 'greet,' but might be used in *malum partem* = to approach with unfriendly intent.

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### SLANG: to get cold feet

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The slang phrase, "to get cold feet," which has become current in the sense of 'to recede from a difficult position, or to lose one's nerve,' does not appear in English in former days. No reference to it can be found in the *Oxford Dictionary*, or in the reprinted edition of Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, 1795. Farmer and Henley in their seven-volume work, *Slang and its Analogues*, do not give it. Even the works treating of American slang, including the works of Bartlett, Maitland, Tanner and Clapin, make no reference to it. The expression occurs, however, in the most popular novel by the Low German writer, Fritz Reuter. In his *Stromtid* ('Years of Roving'), part II, chapter 22, he describes a card-party. One of the players, who was in bad luck, seeking an excuse to quit the game, rose up and said that he had got cold feet (*hei hadd kolde Fäut*

*kregen*). The novel referred to was first published in 1862. Is it likely that in this pretext to break off the game an indication of the Dutch or German origin of the slang use of the expression is given?

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*Slick-free* OR *stick-free*?

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In Shirley's *The Young Admiral* (Gifford's ed., pp. 128–160), the phrase "Slick and shot free" occurs five times, and the phrases "free from slick and shot" and "slick free" once each. Gifford, evidently puzzled by the expression, invents this explanation: "Whether *slick* was a cant phrase for a sword (or *steel*), from its smooth and polished appearance, I know not; wherever the word is used, as here, in combination with *shot*, it evidently bears a meaning of this kind." He also states, somewhat vaguely, that "the expression . . . is found in other writers of Shirley's time." Nares' *Glossary* (ed. Halliwell and Wright) gives the word *slick-free*, defining it as "impervious to a sword or other slick weapon," and adds that the word occurs in Holbyand. An examination of the quarto edition of *The Young Admiral* (1637) shows that at least three times the word is printed *stick* instead of *slick*. Gifford, thinking this a misprint, silently changed the reading. But is it not more than probable that *stick-free* is the form that Shirley wrote? It has the merit of being intelligible, while *slick-free*, in spite of Gifford's effort to explain it, is meaningless. Compare, for example, the German *stichfrei*,—invulnerable. Moreover, Burton (*Anatomy of Melancholy*), in the chapter "Of Witches and Magicians" (part I, sect. II, mem. i, subsection iii, or vol. I, p. 233 of Shilleto's edition), has this passage: "They (*i. e.* witches) can make stick frees, such as shall endure a rapier's point, musket shot, and never be wounded." The passage is especially pertinent, because Burton has in mind the same kind of witchcraft and charms that Shirley is ridiculing in the scenes referred to.

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## BRIEF MENTION

*Shakespearian Punctuation*. By Percy Simpson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911). This book should have the effect of diverting a share of attention from attempts at emendations of the text to a better appreciation of the meaning of its original punctuation. More important than many a verbal change is the correct punctuation of, for example, the opening lines of the 84th sonnet:

"Who is it that says most which can say more  
Than this rich praise that you alone are you"

Here a mark of interrogation has erroneously become fixed after "which" (here a relative pronoun) and at the end of the second line (p. 13). Mr. Simpson has made a valuable contribution to the study of Shakespeare by considering the system of punctuation of the First Folio and of the first edition of the sonnets as a coherent whole. The old system is thus acquitted of the charge of being the haphazard result of the printers' ignorance. But more than this, the system, "on the whole sound and reasonable," is found to be worthy of 'poetic study,' because it reveals not only the sense of many a passage that has been distorted by modern points, but also the rhythm and cadence of the text, and features of the master's style. To illustrate the last statement, it is a valid induction that shows a feature of Shakespeare's style and rhythm to lurk in an avoidance of monotony "by putting an adjective with the second pair" of a double antithesis. Thus, *Macbeth* I, ii, 57 is correctly printed in the First Folio:

"Point against point, rebellious arm 'gainst arm"

The old system of punctuation, from Spenser to Milton, is, of course, to a very considerable extent rhythmic, and therefore free, in contrast to the modern logical and grammatical system with its rigid rules and stubborn fashions. Mr. Simpson has arranged his material under the 'points' of punctuation. A cross-classification, under the logical categories, would perhaps have served his purpose better. The book is incomplete in range of matter and inconclusive in method of examination; but it must show the importance of studying the rhythmic and rhetorical principles underlying this neglected system of punctuation. The classical scholar has been trained in the observation of a long tradition of rhythmic prose (for a bibliography of the subject see *Am. Journal of Phil.*, xxv, 454, note), and he therefore comes to the reading of an author like Robert Greene (see Professor K. F. Smith, *id.*, xxxii, 346) with the conviction that the 'old fashioned' punctuation served with consistency a rhetoric

and artistic purpose. In respect of this feature, therefore, there is need of sound doctrine in the appreciative reading of such a text as, for example, M. Feuillerat's recent *Arcadia*. Mr. Simpson has made a good beginning in the subject.

*Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, mit einer Einleitung über die Anfänge des spanischen Dramas, Anmerkungen und Glossar, herausgegeben von Dr. Eugen Kohler. Dresden, 1911 (*Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*, Band 27). 4to., xi + 365 pp. The introduction is the most valuable part of this book. It discusses critically and at considerable length Spain's three pioneer dramatists, or authors of dialogues "en estilo pastoril" (Gómez Manrique, Juan del Encina, Lucas Fernández), and their school, and devotes some seventy pages to a detailed study of the liturgical and secular origins of the drama in Spain. Dr. Kohler has no new material from Spanish archives to offer us, but contents himself with reconsidering the material offered by previous investigators. His familiarity with the bibliography of the subject is noteworthy, and his work will be found useful, if only as a starting-point for future investigations. On many knotty problems of dates, origins and influences, his conclusions are new, and often convincing; that they should always be definitive was not to be expected. When, for instance, in discussing the date of Gómez Manrique's *Representación del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor*, Kohler observes (p. 4) that from 1458 to 1476 the author was engaged in the wars of the time, and that, therefore, the work referred to must have been written after 1476, he forgets that Gómez Manrique boasted that he could compose "en un día quince ó veinte trobas sin perçer sueño, ni dejar de hacer ninguna cosa de las que tenía en cargo," and, at the same time he fails to notice that Gómez Manrique's only dramatic work that can be dated—*Un breve tratado . . . para unos momos*—was acted, or recited, in 1467. Kohler disputes (p. 20) the traditional date of Encina's first eclogue, usually assigned to Christmas, 1492, but overlooks the fact that Encina entered the service of the Duke of Alba in October of that year, and that this eclogue expresses the author's gratitude for his appointment. As the prologue states, Juan, who represents the poet, is "muy alegre y ufano, porque sus señorías le habían ya recibido por suyo." Surely such a statement would only be made in 1492.

The uninspired eclogues reprinted by Kohler are by Hernando de Yanguas, el Bachiller de la Pradilla, Diego de Ávila, Diego Durán, Fernando Díaz and Juan de París; one is anony-

mous (No. iv: "Égloga pastoril nuevamente compuesta, en la qual se introduzen cinco pastores; y el uno es encantador y el vicario del lugar . . ."). Only one has been reprinted in modern times—Diego de Ávila's, published in Gallardo's *El Criticón*, No. 7. About Diego Durán, Kohler can give us no information. Is it possible that he is the poet mentioned in Cervantes' *Canto de Caliope*? If so, his eclogue must have been written about the middle of the sixteenth century, or later.

M. A. B.

The first part of Professor Gerber's treatise on the works of Machiavelli,<sup>1</sup> accompanied by a separate volume of excellent facsimiles and photographs, demands the most respectful attention. The first chapter contends that autograph MSS. can be dated approximately by means of characteristics of the handwriting, and applies this method to 37 MSS. In the following six chapters, the MSS. of the most important works are examined paleographically and historically. The autograph MS. of the *Descrizione del modo tenuto dal duca ecc.*, the only complete MS. of the *Discorsi*, and one MS. of the *Principe* are here employed for the first time. The following conclusions of Professor Gerber illustrate the originality of his work:—The so-called *Frammenti Storici*, the *Nature d'Uomini Fiorentini* and three other documents formerly thought to have been written for use in the *Istorie Fiorentine*, are materials for a prose *Decennale* which was never written. Certain extracts from letters (1497–1499), hitherto ascribed to Machiavelli, are by Marcello Virgilio Adriani. Machiavelli's *Belfagor* is the source of the homonymous work by Doni, and, probably, of the work by Brevio. A number of autograph notes to the *Arte della Guerra*, hitherto supposed to belong to the autograph MS., are notes to a lost MS., and the autograph MS. was not used for the Giunti ed. of 1521, while the corrections to the MS. (contrary to the opinion of Lisio) are due to the author himself. The discussion of the rough draught of the preface to the *Discorsi*, and of the relation between the various MSS. of the *Principe*, also lead to entirely new conclusions.

J. E. S.

<sup>1</sup> GERBER, ADOLPH, Niccolò Machiavelli: Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übersetzungen seiner Werke im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, mit 147 Faksimiles und zahlreichen Auszügen. Eine kritisch-bibliographische Untersuchung. Erster Teil: Die Handschriften. *Gotha*: Druck von F. A. Perthes, Aktien-gesellschaft, 1912.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## FORCE AND FUNCTION OF "SOLCH"

Adelung in his "Wörterbuch" calls attention to the improper use of "solch." Andresen in his "Sprachgebrauch und Sprachrichtigkeit" attackt this misuse so vigorously and in such spirited fashion that it attracted the interest of grammarians widely, and cald forth a general onset upon this misuse from all sides. This adwers criticism is often indiscriminat and in no case rests upon a close investigation of the historical development of the force and function of the word. The aim of this paper is to trace this historical development and to define accuratly present usage.

In accordance with the meaning of its component parts, "solch" (O. H. G. *so-lih*) often points to persons or things invested with a certain quality: "solcher Mensch," "solche Seele." It often indicates a degree, intensity: "Dieses Schiff rannte mit solcher Heftigkeit gegen die Brücke, dass es sie wirklich auseinander sprengte." These meanings are so natural and so firmly establisht that no further reference is made to them in this discussion. Attention is here directed to the demonstrativ force of "solch" which has had a rich and varied development.

"Solch" in accordance with its etymology not only indicates a quality, but it also possesses demonstrativ force. As it originally had two distinct meanings, it is not unnatural that in the course of time one meaning should overshadow the other, so that the idea of quality entirely disappears and the demonstrativ force alone remains. A similar development is seen in "welch" (O. H. G. *weli*h = *wer* + *lih*), where the relativ idea has entirely overshadowd the idea of quality. This overshadowing process began very early in the case of the neuter form "solch." Even in O. H. G. it sometimes has the force of a pure demonstrativ referring to a preceding thought as a whole:

"sprichis *sulih* thu fon dir?" (Otfrid 4: 21.7) "a temet ipso *hoc* dicis?" (John 18.34) "Redestu *das* von dir selbs?" (Luther). Here German "solch" corresponds to the demonstrativ "hoc" of the Latin original. Luther here uses "das," but he is so fond of "solch" in similar connection that his extensiv employment of "solch" is characteristic of his speech and the learned theological language of the sixteenth and also of the seventeenth century. If the demonstrativ "das" had not been firmly rooted in the plain *spoken* language "solch" would hav replaced it here entirely. It seems at first difficult to account for the extensiv use of "solch" here in early N. H. G. It was not common in M. H. G. After the seventeenth century it gradually declined, but did not disappear. It is still not infrequently employd.

The question naturally arises as to the cause of the rise and decline of "solch" here. It has in N. H. G. always been a favorit in learned style. It seems to hav arisen from the desire to be accurat and precise. The attention was directed not merely to a thought as a whole, but also to the peculiar nature of the thought or the peculiar circumstances in the case. This can be seen in the exampl from Otfrid given in the preceding paragraf. It can also be seen in the following sentence from Luther: "Es sagen alle, so davon geschrieben haben, das kein schwerer pein der verdampfen sein wird, denn das sie sehen werden das sie von Gott und seinen auserwelten müssen ewiglich gescheiden sein. Und ist wol zu gleuben, das *solchs* uber alle flammen und helle glut jnen wird untreglich sein" (Weimar, vol. 41, p. 118). Lookt at from this point of view there was never a time when in fact there was anything irregular here in this use of "solch." The original meaning is preservd. In another sens, however, this use is very unnatural. It is foren to the spirit of colloquial speech to make such fine distinctions. In such refer-

ences simpl "das" or "dies" spring spontaneously from the lips. In our own time natural feeling asserts itself in literature more decidedly than in early N. H. G. Unfortunately, however, the heavy labor of exact learned German style which is so dreaded by us foreigners has not entirely disappeared. It even appears in novels and the daily newspapers, where it seems most unnatural to us: "So viel steht fest, dass sie hierdurch ihrem Glauben abtrünnig gemacht werden sollten. Da *solches* dem Heiligen zu Ohren kam, schlich er sich" usw. (Lauff's "Kärrekiek," p. 94). "Die Stellung des Botschafters Berchtold gestaltete sich danach wenig beneidenswert, und es bedurfte seiner ganzen Fähigkeit und Gewandtheit, um nach einiger Zeit wenigstens den Kontakt mit den massgebenden Kreisen der russischen Hofgesellschaft wiederherzustellen. Dass *solches* dem Grafen Berchtold gelungen ist, zeugt ebenso für sein diplomatisches Geschick, wie für seine genaue Kenntnis der russischen Verhältnisse" ("Hamburger Nachrichten," Feb. 20, 1912). The more we study an individual sentence like the latter of these two, the clearer it becomes that "solch" has certain just claims for recognition provided it is kept within bounds. It is the excessive obtrusive indiscriminate use of this form, sentence after sentence, page after page, that makes the German of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seem so unnatural and occasionally offends our feeling still in recent learned literature.

In the preceding examples only the neuter singular form is used. Luther similarly often employs other forms of "solch" to point out individuals of a particular kind or class that have been previously described by a sentence or very often by two or three words: "Da er [Christus] solt so gethan haben, im grawen rock gangen, sawer gesehen und von *gemeinen leuten* gesondert und wo er *solche* gesehen, die nasen zu gehalten und die augen weg gekeret haben, das er nicht von jnen beschmeisst würde" (Weimar, vol. 36, p. 273). Here "solche" refers to "gemeinen leuten." This use of "solch" or "ein solch" to refer to individuals that have been previously described by an adjective, genitive, or a prepositional phrase is very

common in present usage: "Das Tageblatt der Stadt brachte ebenso zwei seiner grossen Seiten voll *Reklamen für das neue Unternehmen*, und ein halbes Hundert rot gekleideter Männer trugen Tafeln mit *solchen* durch die Gassen. Gottfried Grob begegnete am frühen Morgen bei einem Geschäftsgang *einem solchen* Reklameträger" (Ernst Zahn's "Der andere Weg," chap. VIII). "Es muss sich mithin um eine organische Erweiterung des Flottengesetzes handeln, um eine wirkliche Verstärkung der ersten Kampflinie, also um *ein aktives drittes Geschwader*. Dass *ein solches* einzugliedern ist in den Verband der Hochseeflotte, haben die Erfahrungen der letzten Herbstmanöver bewiesen" ("Hamb. Nachr.," Feb. 18, 1912). These two examples from two extremes in geographical position and literary style—a North German newspaper and a beautiful Swiss novel—indicate the universality of this usage in current literature. Grammarians have suggested that "solch" here be replaced by a personal pronoun, the numeral "ein," or some other appropriate word, but the suggestion has not been heeded. This construction is so deeply rooted in present and past feeling and appeals so strongly to the sense of fitness that it has a good prospect of long life.

Luther sometimes uses "solch" almost with the force of a personal pronoun with reference to a preceding noun: "So spricht er: Er wird die *Könige* zuschmettern. Da horestu, was die sterck und macht seiner Rechten sey und was er für einen Ernst gegen *solchen* fürwenden und uben werde" (Weimar, vol. 41, p. 220). Here "solchen" refers to the idea contained in "könige" rather than to definite individuals. Hence this usage is closely related to that found in all the preceding examples. In the following (*i. e.*, seventeenth century, however, "solch" is also used to refer to a definite person or thing: "Will einer jetzund ein *Bancket* zurichten. so will er *solches* nicht aus der *Kuchen*, sondern aus der Apotheke haben" (Moscherosch's "Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald," A. D. 1650, "Deutsche National-Lit.," vol. 32, p. 161). "Der Kerl aber, so an der Thür war, machte *solche* nicht allein auff, sondern" usw. (Sim-

plicissimus, A. D. 1671, ib. vol. 33, p. 99). Adelung in his "Wörterbuch," A. D. 1774-86) censures this usage: "Ein Fehler des gemeinen Lebens ist es, dieses Fürwort statt des persönlichen *er, sie*, zu setzen: Cajus ist angekommen, und *solcher* will, oder es will *solcher* weiter reisen." Elsewhere even in this same article treating "solch" Adelung himself employs this usage: "Man bestraft die Fehler an den Kindern, damit sie *solche* nicht mehr begehen, selbige, dieselben." Adelung means that "solch" is not used in quite the same way as in the preceding example but rather with the force of "selbige" or "dieselben." Adelung's distinction also applies to present usage. We might define it more definitely by saying that "solch" is employed where the reference is not to definite persons or things but is general or indefinite: "Der logische Akzent ermöglicht bei abweichender Wortfolge die Bildung von *Formeln*, andererseits kann er aber auch bei normaler Wortstellung die Bildung von *solchen* hintertreiben" (Herbert Wenck in "Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur," 1905, vol. 31, p. 233). "Die zweite Eigenschaft besteht in der Beschränkung der Aufmerksamkeit auf bestimmte *Gegenstände* und auf gewisse Teile von *solchen*" (Wundt's "Völkerpsychologie," 11, p. 80). "Die Zahl der *Abkürzungen* im Bibeltexte ist gering. In den lateinischen Randbemerkungen begegnen dagegen *solche* sehr häufig" (P. Pietsch and E. Thiele in "Einleitung," p. XXI, vol. 1, "Luther's Deutsche Bibel"). In the last of these three examples the personal pronoun "sie" might have been used here: "In den lateinischen Randbemerkungen dagegen begegnen *sie* sehr häufig." This sentence, however, has a little different force. The idea of "Randbemerkungen" is not emphatic in this form of statement as shown by the fact that "sie," a personal pronoun, is employed to refer to it. It is not possible in German to separate a personal pronoun from the verb by another word as in case of "solch" in this emphatic position. To emphasize the pronoun we must use "der" for definite and "solch" for indefinite reference. This employment of "solch" is quite near the original use.

It is within the domain of mere conception. The use of "solch," however, to refer to definite persons or things, the last development of "solch," is not in accord with the nature of "solch," and in spite of its extended use in earlier centuries, even in the writings of the great classical writers, is now gradually disappearing from choice language. Where it still lingers on it is largely confined to official or legal language, which is often very tenacious in holding fast older usage, as in the following sentence from Georg Edward's "Rechtsanwalt Whitehead," where the language is that of a lawyer and the "solch" in this setting is perfectly natural even though the reference is entirely definite: "Sie werden ebenso klar erkannt haben wie jeder andere, der die Aussage des Zimmermädchens gehört hat, dass *solches* nicht vernunftfähig ist."

In all the preceding cases "solch" points backward to some preceding word or words. In M. H. G. "solch" often pointed forward to a following clause or a following group of words: "Dem sagter *sölhiu* mære, daz niemen dinne wære der *tjostierens* gerte" (Parzival, 153, 25-7). "*Sulcher* wort was er gereit: ich hohe, ere wurde dich herre mit begirde" ("Daniel," 11, 3770-2, end of fourteenth or beginning of fifteenth century). This usage is very common in Luther's language: "*Solches* bezeugt die Heilige Schrift allenthalben, das wer sich auff Menschen verlesst, der gehet zuboden" (Weimar, vol. 28, p. 618). "Denn er [*i. e.*, Gott] hat dich bereit von der welt genomen und mir [*i. e.*, Jesu] geschenckt, das ist, dir *solches* inns hertz gegeben, das du mich gerne hörest und mein wort lieb und werd heltest" (*Ib.*, p. 116). After Luther's time this old usage, though deeply rooted in German feeling for many centuries, gradually declined and finally disappeared entirely. It is to-day replaced by the demonstrative "das" or "folgend." The cause of the entire disappearance of "solch" here seems to be that its common function to point backwards became supreme and finally crowded out its other use to point forward. Although the use of "solch" to point forward has entirely disappeared in such examples as these that have just been given, it has

become a mighty factor in present usage in the similar function of a determinativ, which will now be discust in full.

The use of "solch" as a determinativ pointing forward to a person or thing described by a following relative clause is very old. Its use to point to a person or thing described by a following genitiv or prepositional frase is quite modern: "Wohl fehlte es weder an Ausdrücken des moralischen Entsetzens, noch an *solchen* der ästhetischen Empörung" (Kühnemann's "Schiller," p. 29). "Ebenso wichtig, wie ältere Nachweise für Tollwut, sind mir natürlich *solche* für tollwütig" (Stosch in "Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung," vol. I, p. 374). Professor Paul in his "Wörterbuch" says of the use of the closely related determinativ "derjenige" to point to a person or thing described by a following genitiv: "Missbräuchlich wohl unter französischem Einfluss wird es [*i. e.*, "derjenige"] auch mitunter vor einen Genitiv gesetzt statt des einfachen *der*." The whole statement and especially the word "mitunter" attracted the writer's attention at the appearance of the first edition in 1897. The statement has remained unchanged in the second edition of 1908. The writer has learnd to follow Professor Paul almost implicitly, but he regards this utterance of the great master as ungarded. In the first place this use of "derjenige" is not rare but is one of the characteristic features of the language of our time. The German of earlier periods does not posses a distinctiv determinativ and modern English has not yet developd a singl determinativ form. Both languages earlier used demonstrativs in determinativ function. In early N. H. G. occasional attempts to create a distinctiv form for determinativ function were made as we can see by the occasional use of the new form "derjenige." It occurs only a very few times in the language of Luther and always to point to a following relativ clause. Its use before a genitiv or a prepositional frase does not occur until much later. That it should also be used before a genitiv and a prepositional frase was only a matter of course. There was an evident tendency to develop a distinct form for determina-

tiv function. Littl by littl both "derjenige" and "solch" became establisht as clear determinativ forms. The old usage of employing demonstrativs here has not yet disappeared, but the new usage has become firmly establisht. The clearness and beauty of the shades of meaning in the determinativs "jener," "derjenige," and "solch" attracts the attention of an English-speaking person who is not used to such differentiation in his own language. Now we turn to the study of the historical development of this differentiation.

In M. H. G. perfect lawlessness reignd with regard to the use of determinativs. The forms "er," "der," "jener," "swelch" (N. H. G. "welch"), and "solch" were all used as determinativs without any sharp differentiation in meaning: "Nu wünscht *im* heiles, der hie liegt" (Parzival, 108, 28). "Von Munsalvaesche wart gesant *der* den der swane brahte" (*Ib.*, 824, 28-9). "Aber *jener*, der in da sluoc der muose tiurre sin dann er" ("Iwein," 2034-5). "*Swelch*iu min raten merken wil, diu sol wizzen war sie kere ir pris und ir ere" (Parzival, 2.26-7). "Disiu tjost in lerte flust an *sölchem* prise, des er phlac unz an sin hochvart-swindens tac" (*Ib.*, 197, 14-16). Of these determinativs "er" can only be used in pronominal function, but the others can be used either adjectively or pronominally. The relativ pronoun in the relativ clause that follows the determinativ is exprest except after "der" or "swelch." After "der" the relativ may be either exprest or supprest: "der [der] Lazarum bat uf sten, der selbe half daz Anfortas wart gesunt" (Parzival, 796.2). Wolfram here employs the old asyndetic relativ construction without the relativ pronoun, but he might in accordance with his frequent usage elsewhere also hav used the new construction with the relativ pronoun as suggested by the form in the square brackets. After "swelch," as in the exampl from Parzival 2.26-7 given above, the old asyndetic construction without the relativ is always employd. This old asyndetic construction is still occasionally found after both "der" and "welch."

In the sixteenth century the determinativ "derjenige" was added to the above list:

"Das ist der rechte prüfestein, ja es ist selbs *das jenige*, das allein rechte und warhaftig heiligkeit machet" (Luther, Weimar, 28, p. 166). From the start it was used both adjectively and pronominally as to-day. This new determinativ differed from all the others in that it could not be used demonstrativly. It was a pure determinativ. The gradual recognition of this unique quality of "*derjenige*" gradually brought it into wide use in the determinativ function at the expense of the other older forms. A differentiation of meaning and function set in. The once very common determinativ "*er*" gradually assumed a new meaning. Instead of pointing forward it was restricted to its original function of pointing backward to some preceding word: "*Der Scythe setzt ins Reden keinen Vorzug, am wenigsten der König. Er, der nur gewohnt ist zu befehlen und zu tun, kennt nicht die Kunst, von weitem ein Gespräch nach seiner Absicht langsam fein zu lenken*" (Goethe's "*Iphigenie*," I, 164-8). Here "*er*" is followed by a relativ clause, but it does not point to this relativ clause. It points backward to "*König*." The clause is added, not to introduce the person, but to characterize the person that has already been introduced. This differentiation is now almost entirely completed.

Other differentiations are well under way. "*Jener*" is much used to indicate something well known, either by referring backward to some definit person or thing already mentioned or by making reference to some well known person or thing that is at once recognized by the accompanying description: "*Es war jene Nacht, in der die dickbauchige, schwarzgeteerte Holländer Kuff gegen den Büssener Deich jagte*" (Frenssen's "*Die drei Getreuen*," III, 1). "*Er meint jene Sorge, die uns zu furchtsamen Sklaven des Tages und der Dinge macht, jene Sorge, durch welche wir stückweise an die Welt verfallen*" (Harnack's "*Das Wesen des Christentums*," 5te Vorlesung). The demonstrativ "*der*" is still very often used determinativly, but it is evidently being gradually supplanted in this function by "*derjenige*." The lengthened forms of "*der*," however, especially "*derer*" (gen. pl.) and "*denen*" are

more common here in pronominal use than the monosyllabic forms, as they are clearer determinativs and not so liable to be confounded with the definit article and the demonstrativ. Thus there is an evident tendency to differentiate between demonstrativ and determinativ function. The once common determinativ "*welch*," on the other hand, is not differentiating itself from "*derjenige*" in function but in meaning. It has more indefinit and general meaning than "*derjenige*": "*In welche Unternehmung er sich auch einlässt, stets hat er Glück*." The adverb "*auch*" is usually associated with "*welch*" here to distinguish it from other functions of "*welch*." It still retains the old asyndetic form that characterized its use here in the older periods. Sometimes in archaic or biblical language in accordance with older usage "*welch*" is used with reference to a definit person or thing which is described in the following asyndetic relativ clause: "*Welchen [= *derjenige, den*] ich küssen werde, der ist es*" (Mark 14.44).

Also "*solch*" has indefinit meaning, but in a very much less degree than "*welch*." It is, indeed, very closely associated with "*derjenige*" in present usage. The latter form by virtue of its first component, the demonstrativ "*der*," has very definit meaning. Wherever there is a certain degree of indefinitness and "*derjenige*" seems too definit "*solch*" is a very convenient expression: "*Den stürmischen Vorwürfen solcher, die auch hier [i. e., in "Aegypten"] gewesen sind . . . entgehe ich durch*" usw. (Boy-Ed's "*Das Sieb*"). "*Wenn hier, wie überhaupt für die Apposition der Prosa, das Bedürfnis überwiegt, einer Person, die genannt wird, überdies noch solche Merkmale anzuheften, die für den Zusammenhang Bedeutung haben, so wird die Apposition in der Dichtung von anderen Faktoren begünstigt*" (Wunderlich's "*Der Satzbau*," II, p. 14). "*Die Männer und zumal solche Männer, die sie durch und durch kannte, dachten sich nichts bei einem temperamentvollen Wort, einem Handkuss, einem Strauss Rosen*" (Lilienfein's "*Die grosse Stille*," III). Such examples are very common in Luther's language: "*das es dem pobel hat wol gefallen, sonderlich weil es*

von *solchen* gepredigt ward, die ein gros ansehen hatten" (Weimar, vol. 36, p. 628). As Luther, however, uses "derjenige" very little there is as yet no common and widely observed differentiation between "derjenige" and "solch." This shade had not yet developed. Nor is "solch" differentiated clearly from the determinative "der" for "solch" and "der" may be used interchangeably even in the same sentence: "Darumb ist gar ein grosse Freiheit und rettung von *solcher* furcht, die wider die Liebe ist und von unten her wechst, das ist, gegen der welt, das sie dich mus zu friden und unbeschuldigt lassen, Doch ist damit nicht *die* furcht weg genomen, so von oben herab fellet, von Gottes zorn und gericht" (Weimar, 36, p. 472). Here we find in the first part of the sentence "*solcher* furcht" and a little further on "*die* furcht" in exactly the same function. In both cases the reference is definite.

Similarly "solch" is often used as a less definite determinative before a genitive or a prepositional phrase: "In allen Sprachzweigen gibt es neben den Konjunktionen, die dem Stamm \**io* oder dessen Ersatz angehören, auch *solche* anderer Herkunft" (Brugmann's "Kurze vergleichende Grammatik," p. 668). Compare this use of "solch" with moderately definite force with the following example with "derjenige" where the force is entirely definite: "Weiterhin unterscheidet sich die von Grimm vorgetragene Erklärung von *derjenigen* Bopps wesentlich in zweierlei Hinsicht" (Hermann Collitz's "Das schwache Präteritum," p. 2).

Very often "derjenige" is used without reference to definite individuals, but even here it usually differs markedly from "solch" in that it points with sharp precision to a definite, well defined group or class of persons or things: "Ich lege dies Drama in die Hände *derjenigen*, die es gelebt haben" (Hauptmann's "Einsame Menschen," Preface).

This differentiation of "solch" from "derjenige" is such a convenient one that "solch" doubtless often to-day has this moderately definite meaning even where it might be possible to construe it as used in its old original meaning of quality, which is still very common but has been intentionally excluded from this discussion:

"Man sucht in dem Gewühl von Menschen nach *solchen*, die geistig und seelisch bedeutend sind" (Lilienfeld's "Die grosse Stille," IV). "Perioden der Gleichgültigkeit wechselten mit *solchen* lauter zorniger Auflehnung" (*Ib.*, VI). In both of these cases "solch" may also contain the idea of quality. The idea of quality, however, does not seem to be as strong as that of indefiniteness, for when the idea becomes definite "solch" is replaced by "derjenige" even where the idea of quality is clearly present: "Wie den Engländern eine gewisse Sentimentalität, die freilich ganz verschieden ist von *derjenigen* ihrer deutschen Vetter, durchaus nicht fremd ist" (Prof. Dr. Ernst Sieper in "Westermann's Monatshefte," vol. CXI, p. 189).

It should not be inferred from the preceding attempts to define the differentiations in the present use of the German determinatives that these boundaries are firm and fast. In language the old and the new are frequently wondrously mingled. In our prosy moments "derjenige" by virtue of its precise meaning and substantial form gains our sympathy, while in poetic or religious moods "welch" and "solch" are nearer our feeling in spite of the fact that their quaint forms and indistinct meaning point to a distant time. In our prosiest days and moments of clearest thought, however, the critical faculty does not attain *absolute* sway. There is always more or less irregularity, but thought in its expression has certain definite paths just as the forest animals who usually roam about aimlessly nevertheless make certain beaten trails through the woods.

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## AUGRIM-STONES

In his description of the clerk in the *Miller's Tale* Chaucer uses a somewhat technical term, *augrim-stones*,<sup>1</sup> which has not been sufficiently explained by the commentators. The term im-

<sup>1</sup> His augrim-stones layen faire apart  
On shelves couched at his beddes heed.

plies a contradiction and this fact has neither been noted nor elucidated. The word *augrim* is used by Chaucer in his description of the astrolabe upon which instrument he states the numbers were written "in augrim."<sup>2</sup> Again, in the *Book of the Duchess*,<sup>3</sup> Chaucer refers to this system of reckoning with markers upon an abacus:

"Though Argus, the noble countor  
Sete to rekene in his countor  
And reckoned with his figures ten."

This was taken from the *Roman de la Rose*, wherein Argus and Albus<sup>4</sup> both are used for the name of the arithmetician Al-Khowārizmī. Similar uses of variant forms of *algorism* to denote the Hindu art of reckoning are common in literature of the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

It is now well established that the word *algorism* is derived from the name of the Arabic mathematician Abū 'Abdallāh Moham-med ibn Mūsā Al-Khowārizmī,<sup>6</sup> whose treatise on arithmetic imparted to the western world the knowledge of how to reckon with the ten figures of India, our modern arithmetic. Parenthetically we may remark that the manner of the introduction of this word *algorism* into the language is interesting. As early as the begin-

<sup>2</sup>The Astrolabe. Vol. III, p. 179 of Chaucer's Works, ed. by W. W. Skeat.

<sup>3</sup>*Book of the Duchess*, 435 ff. I am indebted to Professor J. S. P. Tatlock for this reference.

<sup>4</sup>Lines 12,994 and 16,773. In his comments on the *Book of the Duchess* (*The works of Chaucer*, Vol. I, p. 475) Skeat notes that the reference is to the Arabic mathematician and also that the second "countor" indicates an abacus. However he gives the incorrect form of the name and adds the further incorrect statement that through this writer's algebra the Arabic numerals became generally known in Europe. Al-Khowārizmī's arithmetic rendered this service to science in Europe.

<sup>5</sup>For English uses see the *N. E. D.*; Godefroy and Tommaseo-Bellini for French and Italian appearances of the term.

<sup>6</sup>Not Abū Ja'far M. b. M. as the *N. E. D.*, the *Century*, *Webster's* and others state. Abū Ja'far M. b. M. wrote no arithmetic, as far as we know, and was from Khorasan. See H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*; Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Math. Wissenschaften, vol. x, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 10-11, 20-21, 209 n. 6.

ning of the twelfth century the arithmetic of this man of Khwarizm (modern Khiva) was translated into Latin.<sup>7</sup> Two of the early versions have come down to us and were published by Prince B. Boncompagni.<sup>8</sup> The first of these, which is quite certainly a direct translation from the Arabic, bears the title *Algoritmi de numero indorum* and the second, which is not a direct translation, *Joannis Hispalensis liber algorismi de pratica arismetrice*. The second is in some manuscripts attributed to Gerard of Cremona. The forms *algorithm* and *algorism* appear here in prototype. The expression "Dixit algoritmi" occurs frequently in the first while the second one opens with the statement: Incipit prologus in libro alghoarismi. The step from "Algorithm says," or "Book of Algorithm," to the use of the word *algorithm* for the name of the science taught was not an unnatural one.

In arithmetical matters *stones* refers to computation upon an abacus, a grooved board or similar device, with markers of stone or metal. Such an instrument was used by the Romans, the Greeks and, according to Herodotus, by the Egyptians. The characteristic feature is that a marker (pebble, *calculus*) in any column equals ten in the adjoining column to the right (usually). Thus 4025 is represented by 4 pebbles in the fourth column, 2 in the second, and 5 in the first. Evidently no zero is needed. This system used by the ancients, with some modifications in the higher places and for fractions, continues in use to-day in Russia, Persia, and China. An improvement was effected about the tenth century by substituting for pebbles counters of horn, stone or metal marked with the numerals from one to nine respectively. With these flat counters ruled columns were used in place of grooves. Thus 4025 on the improved abacus is represented by the single counter 4 in the fourth column, 2 in the second, and 5 in the first.

<sup>7</sup>Dominic Gundisallinus refers in his *De divisione philosophiae* (Ed. by L. Baur, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Philos. d. Mittelalters*, vol. IV, Münster, 1903, p. 91), written in the early twelfth century, to the *liber algorismi*.

<sup>8</sup>*Trattati d'arimetica*, Rome, 1857.

The Greek numeral letters were also similarly employed but not, so far as we know, in early times.

The accepted view is that Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II, introduced this innovation to Europeans. Undoubtedly Gerbert learned the numeral forms of the Arabs, directly or indirectly, while he was a student (967-970 A. D.) of the sciences including mathematics, at Barcelona under Bishop Hatto of Vich. Whether the application of the numerals to the abacus was original with Gerbert or whether this scheme was known to the Arabs has not been determined. It is improbable that the Arabs used this system at all extensively, for the Hindu arithmetic with the zero was well known to them at this time. Moreover while the use of nine digits upon an abacus was consequent upon a failure to understand the import of the zero, yet this was a natural step intermediate between the first form of abacus and written arithmetic employing the ten figures of India. Bernelinus (c. 1000 A. D.), Radulph of Laon (c. 1100), and Gerland (c. 1200) all use this improved abacus.<sup>9</sup> The notion of a symbol for nothing is a difficult one as the long-continued use of the abacus, column-reckoning and the Roman numerals shows. Further evidence of this difficulty is found in medieval references to the cipher, in its original meaning of zero. So the expressions: "Tu es li cyffres d'angorisme, Qui ne fait fors tolir le lieu d'autre figure."<sup>10</sup> "Aussi bien n'y suis fors que une chiffre donnant ombre et encombre."<sup>11</sup>

Evidently then the meaning of *augrim-stones* is stones or counters marked with the numerals of algorism and intended for use upon an abacus. *Stones* here may very well

refer to horn or metal counters, being a survival of the ancient *calculi* designed for the Roman abacus. Another like contradiction of terms is seen in the statement by Palsgrave (*N. E. D.*): "I caste an accomptes with counters after the aulgorisme maner." Even as early as the first half of the thirteenth century Peire de Corbian states:

L'abac e l'algorisme apris ieu a Orlens,  
E sai de las figuras c' al comte son rendens  
(C'al comte representa chascuna simplamens),  
O dos, o tres o qatre tot essembla damens.  
(E sai be que deliura figura de niens  
Quant elle vai primera e quant ell'essiguens.)<sup>12</sup>

For centuries the algorism and the abacus were taught side by side. Brunetto Latini<sup>13</sup> states that arithmetic includes the study of algorism and the abacus and Giovanni Villani<sup>14</sup> (died 1348) makes a similar statement about Italian schools.

Even more striking than the peculiar use of *algorism* which we have noted is the use of *abacus* for the Hindu art of reckoning. Leonard of Pisa entitled his monumental work *Liber abaci* or Book of the abacus<sup>15</sup> and later occurrences of the term in this sense<sup>16</sup> are doubtless due to the influence of the great Pisan. As a child Leonard learned the new arithmetic in Bugia on the coast of Barbary where his father was stationed as a commercial

<sup>12</sup> A. Jeanroy et G. Bertoni, Le "Thesaur" de Peire de Corbian, *Annales du Midi*, xxiii, 456, vv. 264-269. My attention has been called to this by Professor G. L. Hamilton.

<sup>13</sup> *Li Livres dou Tresor*, ed. by Chabaille, Paris, 1863, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Tommaseo-Bellini, *Dizionario*, under *algorismo*.

<sup>15</sup> *Il Liber Abbaci di Leonardo Pisano*, published by Boncompagni as Vol. I, *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano*, Rome, 1857.

<sup>16</sup> Luca Paciolo, *Suma de Arithmetica*, Venice, 1494. I quote from the Tusculum edition, 1523, fol. 19 rec.: (More Arabum) de simil arte pratica primi inuentori secundo alcuni. unde per ignorantia el vulgo a corropto el vocabulo dicendo la Abaco: cioe modo arabico. . . . He uses *algorismus* also.

Pellos, Turin, 1492, . . . *Compendiom de lo abaco*; Borghi, Venice, 1540, *Libro de Abacho*. Other similar titles in Smith's *Rara Arithmetica*, a catalogue of Mr. Plimpton's collection of early arithmetics. The work is invaluable for any study of mathematical terms up to 1603.

<sup>9</sup> Smith-Karpinski, *The Hindu-Arabic Numerals*, Boston, 1911, pp. 88, 121-124 and 108-120 for Gerbert.

<sup>10</sup> Littré, *Dict.* under *chiffre*, from *Les Vers du Monde*. See Jubinal, *Contes, dits, fabliaux*, II, 129.

<sup>11</sup> Jordan, *Materialien zur Geschichte der arabischen Zahlzeichen in Frankreich*, Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, vol. III, Berlin, 1905, pp. 155-195, with other citations. The above quotation from *Chron. des ducs de Bourg.*, Chassel, II, 26.

agent for the town of Pisa. Later he visited Egypt, Syria, Greece, Sicily, and Provence for business purposes and incidentally studied the systems of arithmetic in use. All these systems together with the algorism on the Pythagorean arcs he held as errors compared with the Hindu method.<sup>17</sup> This opposition of the method of Al-Khowārizmī to that of the Hindus is explained by the use of the figures of algorism (without the zero) upon the abacus. However this leaves unexplained the selection of the word *abacus* for the title. Here we can only surmise that the dust board, called an abacus, which the Arabs used for geometrical figures gave the name to the system which Leonard learned in the Arabic city of Bugia. Even centuries later than the great Pisan *abbaco* was used in Italian and *abac* in French for the tablet upon which ancient mathematicians drew their figures.<sup>18</sup> The expression "Pythagorean arcs" refers to the vertical columns of the ruled abacus, which were divided into sets of threes by arcs placed above them, but their connection with Pythagoras is wholly traditional.

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### OLD SPANISH *BRUNDA*

This word, not included in any Spanish dictionary and discussed by neither Diez, Körting, nor Meyer-Lübke, occurs, in so far as I have been able to discover, only as an epithet applied to Iseult, *e. g.*, *Yseo la brunda*. It would seem, then, sufficiently obvious that *brunda*

must in some way represent French *blonde*. However, Pascual de Gayangos, commenting upon the use of the word in the romance of chivalry *Tristán de Leonís*, considers it a variant form of Old Spanish *bruno -a*.<sup>1</sup> If Gayangos had known that in the closely related Vatican Prose Tristram MS. the heroine of the romance is invariably referred to as: *Yseo la baça* (a close equivalent of modern *morena*), he would doubtless have considered his etymology strongly corroborated. Nevertheless the Gayangos etymology cannot be accepted. While *-nn- > -nd-* in learned and semi-learned words (*pennon > pendón*, *pennula > pëndola*, etc.) the single *n* of Old German *brun* would occasion nothing similar. In addition to this phonetic argument, it should be noted that in the very romance in which Gayangos observed the word, the novelist invariably described his heroine as a blond. To quote:

"La cual Yseo tenia los cabellos que cierto parecian madexas de oro fino, y eran partidos en dos ygualdades por medio de la cabeça, en vna partidura blanca que de nieve semejava parecer, e los cabellos se tendian de cada parte en gran longura e copia; debaxo de los quales tenia la espaciosa fruenta, blanca e resplandesciente, etc."

Clearly this is the same golden-haired Iseult with whom we are familiar. I feel that *brunda* represents the French *blonde* but that the derivation was probably not direct, in spite of the fact that the phonetic changes involved offer slight difficulties. In another article I shall prove that the various Spanish versions of the Prose Tristram romance now extant come not from the French direct but through the Italian. The Vatican Tristram and the *Tristán de Leonís*, together with the Bonilla Fragment all belong to the same family as the *Tristano Riccardiano* and the *Tavola Ritonda*. In these Italian versions French *blonde* generally appears as *blonda* or *bionda*, but in one instance (cod. Panciatichiano 33) I note the form *bronda*. Instances of initial *br* for *bl* abound in the *Tristano Riccardiano* in the case of other words. Professor J. E. Shaw has favored me with another in-

<sup>1</sup> *Libros de caballerías* (ed. Gayangos, *Bib. de Aut. esp.*, vol. 49, Madrid, 1857) p. 377 note.

<sup>17</sup> *Liber Abbaci*, p. 1: . . . ibi (*i. e.*, Bugia) me studio abbaci per aliquot dies stare uoluit et docere. Vbi ex mirabili magisterio in arte per nouem figuras indorum introductus, scientia artis in tantum mihi pre ceteris placuit, et intellexi ad illam, quod quicquid studebatur ex ea apud egyptum, syriam, grecam, siciliam et prouinciam cum suis uariis modis, ad que loca negotiationis tam postea peragraui per multum studium et disputationis didici conflictum. Sed hoc totum etiam et algorismum atque arcus pictagore quasi errorem computauit respectu modi indorum. . . .

<sup>18</sup> Tommaseo-Bellini, *loc. cit.*, under *abbacus*; Godefroy, *loc. cit.*, under *abac*.

stance of Old Italian *bronda* found in a *canzone* ascribed to Notaro Giacomo which begins: *Madonna mia a voi mando*. Here occurs the line: *Piu bella mi parete ch' Aizolda la bronda*.<sup>2</sup> The fact that *bronda* is here too used as an epithet descriptive of Iseult greatly increases its importance.

I have recently found two more Spanish instances of *brunda* in Professor De Haan's *El Decameron en Castellano*:<sup>3</sup> *josenda la brunda* and *ysenda la brunda*. Comparing these phrases with the corresponding passages in the Italian *Decameron* (*Giornata decima, Novella VI*), we find in the modern text: *Isotta la bionda*. It therefore seems proved that *brunda* signifies *blond*. Furthermore, as the word is found most frequently, if not invariably, in works coming into Spanish from the Italian, it seems most likely that the direct etymon is Italian rather than Portuguese or French. How then explain the form *baça* of the Vatican *Tristram*? The Academy dictionary defines *bazo* as *De color moreno y que tira á amarillo*. Covarrubias cites an example in which *bazo* is used to describe the complexion of a mulatto. The medieval scribe or scribes who copied the Vatican MS. may have failed to recognize the exotic word *brunda*, and, confusing it with *bruna*, like Gayangos centuries later, may have rendered it with *baça*, a fairly close synonym. Correlative use of *bruna* with the other word might, perhaps, determine the change of *o* to *u*. Old Spanish possessed, of course, a form *blondo*, a.

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### A PROVERB IN HAMLET

In the matter of outward flourishes, drifts of circumstance, Shakespeare's lords followed wherever their fancies led. To prove this one need not point to the exuberant conceits of Osric or the senile euphuisms of Polonius. The speeches of these characters simply show that

the great poet was aware of the humorous possibilities of a convention which he elsewhere very seriously follows. Claudius, for instance, in his formal and dignified address from the throne, employs a conceit which to modern readers seems ludicrously fantastic. This phrase, which I have taken as the text of my paper, is "with one auspicious and one dropping eye."

The fancy is clearly a homely proverb in court dress. It is a euphuistic version, of course, of the familiar and widespread saw, "To cry with one eye and laugh with the other." The proverb is noted in the second edition of Ray's *Collection of English Proverbs*, in Bohn's *Handbook*, in Hazlitt's *English Proverbs*; and James Middlemare, in his *Proverbs, Sayings and Comparisons in Various Languages*, gives parallels from French, Italian, Spanish, and German. Quintard in his *Dictionnaire des Proverbes et des Locutions Proverbiales de la Langue Française*, pp. 565-6, furnishes the following note:—

"Cela se dit particulièrement des enfants contrariés qui pleurent et rient en même temps; on le dit aussi pour signifier *un deuil joyeux*.—L'origine de cette façon de parler doit être rapportée à nos anciennes représentations théâtrales où les acteurs étaient marqués, comme dans celle de l'antiquité. Celui qui était chargé de jouer un rôle, tantôt triste, et tantôt gai, portait un masque dont un côté exprimait la douleur et l'autre la joie, afin de montrer, tour à tour aux yeux des spectateurs les deux affections opposées au moyen de ce masque toujours offert de profil. L'expression *Jean qui pleure et Jean qui rit* est dérivée de la même source."

The double masks to which Quintard refers are mentioned in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Vol. 4, Part 1, p. 411, and in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, pp. 376-7. The mask *ὁ ἡγεμὼν πρεσβύτης* is a case in point. Here the right eyebrow, which is raised, expresses anger; the left, which is level, a calm mood. Quintilian, commenting upon masks of this kind, says: "alter erecto alter composito est supercilio; atque id ostendere maxime latus actoribus moris est quod cum iis quas agunt partibus congruat." There can be, then, no doubt about the wearing in classical times of double masks

<sup>2</sup> *Cod. Laur. Red.* 9 (ed. Casini, *Opere Inedite o Rare*, Bologna, 1900), p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott* (Baltimore, n. d.), vol II, pp. 217, 218.

by actors who were playing double rôles; but I am not able to support Quintard's *rapportée à nos anciennes représentations théâtrales* and, even if I were, I should not be ready to accept his opinion of the origin of the proverb. It seems, however, perfectly clear that the saying has generally the two meanings which he assigns to it. The second of the two—*un deuil joyeux*—clearly entered into the literary tradition of the proverb, especially where it formed a detail in conventional descriptions of Love or Fortune.

In illustration I may cite a well known passage from the *Anticlaudianus*, *Distinctio Octava*, Cap. I:—

Hic est Fortunae sua mansio, si tamen usquam  
Res manet instabilis, residet vaga, mobilis haeret;  
Cujus tota quies lapsus, constantia motus,  
Volvere stare, situs decurrere, scandere casus;  
Cui modus et ratio rationis egere, fidesque  
Non servare fidem, pietas pietate carere  
Haec est inconstans, incerta, volubilis, anceps,  
Errans, instabilis, vaga, quae dum stare putatur,  
Occidit, et falso mentitur gaudia risu.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ridendo plorans, stando vaga, caeca videndo

\* \* \* \* \*

Alter lascivit oculus, dum profluit alter  
In lacrimas.

So in Machault's *Remède de Fortune*:—

D'un oeil rit, de l'autre lerne;  
C'est l'orgueilleuse humilité  
C'est l'envieuse charité  
La peinture d'une vipère  
Qu'est mortable;  
En riens à li ne se compère.

This Chaucer translated in the *Dethe of Blaunche*:—

Without feythe, lawe, or mesure,  
She is fals; and ever laghyng  
With oon eye, and that other wepyng (631 ff.).<sup>1</sup>

In the *Vox Clamantis*, too, it is said of Fortune, l. 101,

Ex oculo primo ploras, ridesque secundo.

The application of the proverb is to Venus in the *Testament of Cressid*, v. 231,

With one eye lauch, and with the uthur weip;  
and to women in *The Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy*, 8055 ff.:

<sup>1</sup>Skeat notes the passage in the *Anticlaudianus* and that in the *Remède de Fortune* in his note on these lines.

Hit is a propertie apreivit, and put hour of kynd  
To all wemen in the world, as the writ saythe,  
To be unstable and not stidfast, styronde of wille:  
ffor yf the ton ee with teres trickell on hir chekes,  
The tothur lurkes in lychernes, and laghes over-  
thwert!

One may compare with this, *Troilus and Cressida*, II, 107-8:—

“One eye yet looks on thee  
But with my heart the other eye doth see.”

Finally I may quote from Greene's *Mamillia*, p. 19 (Grosart, Vol. II):—

“Yea some were so curious no doubt, as many Italian Gentlemen are, which woulde even correct nature, where they thought she was faultie in defect. For their narrow shoulders must have a quilted Dublet of a large sise; . . . their smal shankes, a bombast hose, and their dissembling mind, two faces in a hood: to war with the Moone, and ebbe with the sea: to beare both fire and water, to laugh and weepe all with one winde.”

In the light now of Quintard's note and the passages quoted we may ask whether the proverb in Hamlet has a *double entendre*. The meaning intended for the court is obvious enough, but the other meaning—*deuil joyeux*—<sup>2</sup> is a pretty apt description of Claudius' real frame of mind. Moreover, the adjective “auspicious,” frequently associated by Shakespeare and others with Fortune and rather oddly employed here, suggests the meaning which the proverb had when descriptive of the fickle goddess. Our second interpretation, indeed, seems to be very near that of the Player King who gives here, as elsewhere in his speech, a satirical turn to the sentiments of Claudius:—

“The violence of either grief or joy  
Their own enactures with themselves destroy:  
Where joy most revels, grief doth most lament;  
Grief joys, joy grieves, on slender accident.  
This world is not for aye, nor 'tis not strange  
That even our loves should with our fortunes  
change;  
For 'tis a question left us yet to prove,  
Whether love lead fortune or else fortune love.”

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<sup>2</sup>One may compare the proverb, *Haereditas fletus sub persona risus est*. See W. F. H. King, *Classical and Foreign Quotations*, London, 1887; and Robert Christy, *Proverbs, Maxims, and Phrases of all Ages*, London, 1898.

## ON AN IDIOMATIC ORDER OF WORDS

In Skeat's edition of Chaucer, verses 3 and 4 of *Troilus*, Bk. II, are printed as follows:

For in this see the boot hath swich travayle,  
Of my conning that unnethē I it stere:

The Globe editor uses the same punctuation within the passage. The comma after *travayle* indicates that the expression of *my conning* is an adverbial phrase limiting *stere*. Skeat himself, however, in his note on this passage, quotes the passage from the *Purgatorio* of which Chaucer's verses are an adaptation, and in which occurs the phrase *la navicella del mio ingegno*. This shows clearly that Chaucer's meaning is 'the boot of my conning,' in which *of my conning* is a phrase limiting *boot*. This is clear also from the fact that otherwise *the boot* would be left dangling in an awkward fashion with no further identification. The meaning is expressed by removing the comma after *travayle* and placing one after *conning*.

Leaving to the reader the boat metaphor with the explanatory hint thus added, Chaucer seems unwilling, however, to trust him to interpret the parallel metaphor of the sea, and accordingly explains in full in the words,—

This see clepe I the tempestous matere  
Of desespeyr that Troilus was inne:<sup>1</sup>

A special reason, however, why the contemporary reader, more readily than the modern reader, would at once catch the meaning, lies in the idiomatic order of words, which, except perhaps occasionally in external appearance, has now become archaic; namely, the separation, especially by the verb of the clause, of a genitive or an *of*-phrase from its governing word. This order is very common elsewhere in Chaucer, being found, for example, five verses before, in Bk. I, 1090:

<sup>1</sup> May it be that *I* stands here in emphatic contrast with *Dante*? and that Chaucer is calling attention to his own application of the *sea* metaphor to *Troilus*' state, different from Dante's application of it, with a hint that after all it was not so far different?

And, as an esy pacient, the lore  
Abit of him that gooth aboute his cure.

So also,

- A 56:                   at the sege eek hadde he be  
                          Of Algezir.  
A 343: With-oute bake mete was never his hous  
                          Of fish or flesh.  
A 1118: The fresshe beautee sleeth me sodeynly  
                          Of hir that rometh——.  
*Compl. Mars*, 212:  
                          The point is this of my destruccioun.

Other examples are: A 134, 301, 477, 942, 2261, 2421, 3105, B 4064, *Anel.* 52, *Troil.* I, 62, II, 617, 1321, IV, 323. Scores of others may be found.

The same word-order is found in the use of the genitive in Old English prose. The following examples from King Alfred are cited from Wülfing's *Syntax*:

- Cp.* 126, 23: Ðat hie æmettige beoð ðære scire (W. § 3, b).  
*So.* 188, 30: Forðam ic wat swa swa ðu freora  
                  byst þissa weorlde þinga, swa ——  
                  (W. § 3, e).  
*Be.* 541, 39: Ða ypa weollon & weddan ðæs sæs  
                  (W. § 47, g).  
*Or.* 124, 20: Þær wæs ungemetlic wæl geslagen  
                  Persa (W. § 47, g).  
*Cp.* 4, 1: Gode ælmihtegum sie ðonc ðætte we  
                  nu ænigne onstal habbað lareowa  
                  (W. § 47, g).  
*Cp.* 78, 4: Swa sceal se sacerð gitt simle ða  
                  domas beran awritene on his breostum  
                  Israhela bearna.

For numerous other instances, see Wülfing, §§ 3, b, d, h; 4, g; 6, d; 44, 2; 46, 4, a; 46, c; and especially 50 g, h, i. I have incidentally noted one in Wulfstan: And we gelyfað þæt ærist sy on domesdæge ealra manna (*Homilien*, Napier, 1883, III, p. 24, 18).

The idiom is still apparently in full vigor in Shakespeare's time. I note (without an exhaustive search) the following instances:—

- Rom. & Jul.* III. i. 152:  
                          O, the blood is spilt  
                          Of my dear kinsman!  
*Meas. for Meas.* I. i. 60:  
                          To the hopeful execution do I leave you  
                          Of your commissions.

*Meas. for Meas.* I. ii. 152:

Save that we do the denunciation lack  
Of outward order.

*Othello* I. iii. 90:

I will a round unvarnish'd tale deliver  
Of my whole course of love.

*King Lear* IV. vii. 16:

The untun'd and jarring senses, O, wind up  
Of this child-changed father!

*Macbeth* II. iii. 137:

Against the undivulg'd pretence I fight  
Of treasonous malice.

*Cymb.* II. i. 65:

More hateful than the foul expulsion is  
Of thy dear husband!

*Wint. Tale* II. i. 156:

There's not a grain of it the face to sweeten  
Of the whole dungy earth.

Cf. also *Twelfth N.* V. i. 392, *Jul. Caes.* II. i. 196, II. iv. 34, *Othel.* III. iii. 259, *Cymb.* IV. ii. 196, V. iii. 45, *Wint. Tale* III. ii. 128, IV. i. 6. Cf. also Keats, *Ode on a Grecian Urn*:

What leaf-fringed legend haunts about thy shape  
Of deities or mortals, or of both?

The frequency of this idiomatic word-order in and before Shakespeare assists, I believe, in corroborating Theobald's emendation of *habits devil* to *habits evil* in *Hamlet* III. iv. 162. It may be noted, first, that  $Q_2$  prints no comma after *eate*.<sup>2</sup> This would make the clause *who all sense doth eat Of habits* [*d*]evil identical in word-order, and in nearly all cases in verse-form, with the instances cited.

The structure of the whole passage confirms this idiomatic reading of the clause. In the emended text we find Shakespeare's usual clear coherence,—here, as so often, indicated by balance and contrast:—*monster* : *angel*; *habits evil*: *use of actions fair and good*; *who all sense doth eat*: *likewise gives a frock or livery that aptly is put on*. The text reading not only destroys the balance in this last instance,—which, be it noted, contains Hamlet's chief point,—but it involves an absolute contradiction. Taken by itself, the clause *who all sense doth eat* would mean, 'who gradually dulls all sensitiveness' (to good as well as to evil). The rest of the passage then develops the contrary idea

that custom gradually sharpens our sensitiveness to good, so that it issues in good habits. The emended text, on the other hand, presents the idea as the whole context obviously demands; namely, that custom, which dulls our sensitiveness to the evil of bad actions,<sup>3</sup> likewise sharpens our sensitiveness to the good in good actions.

Moreover, I venture the opinion, which is perhaps not susceptible of proof, that the rhythmical quality of the passage is greatly improved by reading according to the punctuation in  $Q_2$ , and according to the natural structure of the extremely common metrical phrase group to which I have called attention.

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## THE EXEMPLUM IN ENGLAND

*The Exemplum in the early religious and didactic Literature of England*, by JOSEPH ALBERT MOSHER. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1911. 8vo. xi, 150 pp.

It is surprising that the field of medieval Latin fiction has been so neglected by American scholars. A few *motifs* in ballad, story and fable have been traced to their medieval Latin analogues; but nothing has been done in the literary history of the subject or in the editing of texts. Such works as the *Disciplina Clericalis* have, until recently, been almost inaccessible to scholars, owing to the rarity of the printed editions. It is only since the publication of Mr. Herbert's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1910, that American scholars could form an idea of the enormous extent and varied interest of a part of the field. The great repositories of *exempla* remain unpublished and a judicious selection would have been of great value and interest. One, not very satisfactory, has just been made by a German scholar, while

<sup>3</sup> Rolfe (*Hamlet*, revised ed., N. Y., 1906, p. 278), who explains the text as it stands, is obliged to assume the idea contained only in the emended text; explaining of *habits devil* as "the evil genius of our habits (that is, bad ones)."

<sup>2</sup> The passage is not found in the First Quarto and the Folio.

another German, Albert Wesselski, published three years ago a translation of a hundred and fifty-four *exempla* under the unhappy title: *Mönchslatein*.

It is a pleasure, then, to chronicle the appearance of a work in this field by an American scholar and to express the hope that his example may be followed by others. Mr. Mosher's task, as his title shows, was to trace the history of the *Exemplum* in the early religious and didactic literature of England. He is concerned more with the literary form of the *Exemplum* than with its value for the history of society; and the student of comparative storyology and folk-lore will be disappointed at the author's neglect of these topics. A more serious limitation was imposed by the lack of materials at the disposal of the author. He has used printed materials only and has not been able to consult the manuscript collections in England, notably those in the British Museum. Had Mr. Mosher examined the *Speculum Laicorum* he would have found that it contained many native tales. This is also the case with many other collections in the same library.

It was unfortunate that Mr. Mosher had completed his work before the appearance of Mr. Herbert's invaluable *Catalogue*. Had he been able to consult it he would have found that it contained a wealth of materials for his purpose. In speaking, for instance, of the *Gesta Romanorum* and Holkot's *Liber de Moralizationibus* he would have been able to discuss the interesting work "Convertimini," ascribed to Holkot by Mr. Herbert (*Cat.* pp. 116-155). He would have found on pp. 370-414 a complete analysis of the 579 stories in the *Speculum Laicorum*. Mr. Mosher says, p. 73: "As to the number of special collections of Latin *exempla* which were made during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, it is impossible to determine." Some idea could have been given by stating that Mr. Herbert's *Catalogue* was devoted entirely to this class of literature and contained the analysis of one hundred and nine manuscripts and referred to over eight thousand stories. Many of the collections analysed by Mr. Herbert were made on the Continent, but some are unmis-

takeably English, as ms. Royal 7 D. i, which Mr. Herbert describes as "a collection of 315 edifying tales compiled in England in the second half of the thirteenth century, probably by a Dominican friar at or near Cambridge." This collection was probably one of the sources of the *Speculum Laicorum*, and, as Mr. Herbert says, "contains what appears to be the Latin texts used by William of Waddington for five tales in his *Manuel des péchés*. It also includes an early version (probably the earliest extant) of one of the *Gesta Romanorum* stories, Oesterley, No. 127, "Fuss ab." But it is unnecessary to continue, as I have recently pointed out in *Modern Philology*, vol. ix, pp. 225-237, the great importance of Mr. Herbert's *Catalogue* for all students of *exempla*.

I shall now consider briefly what Mr. Mosher has accomplished in his book. In the first chapter he defines the type and gives an account of the origin and development of the *Exemplum*. On p. 12, he accepts the usual statement that *exempla* were comparatively little employed before the opening of the thirteenth century. This was my own opinion (*Jacques de Vitry*, p. xix), but I am now convinced that it requires some modification. The late Professor A. E. Schönbach in his *Studien zur Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters*, Th. i, p. 12, says: "Aber diese Ansicht (the view above stated) steht, wenigstens für das 12. Jahrhundert, die Glanzzeit der französischen Predigt, in Widerspruch mit den Thatsachen." He cites Bourgain, *La chaire française au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 258, and Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, p. 155. Bourgain's statement may be offset by that of Lecoy de la Marche, p. 45, "Les exemples proprement dits sont rares avant le xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle." Schönbach further cites Wernher of Ellerbach and Honorius of Autun. I have not found any *exempla* in the *Deflorationes Patrum* of the former. There are, however, many in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of the latter (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* vol. 172), which, I must confess, I had overlooked. Schönbach also cites Hoffmann's *Fundgruben*, i, 70, and his own *Altdeutsche Predigten*. I have found only two or three *exempla* in the sermons published by Hoffmann. There are some sixteen

in the first volume of the *Altdeutsche Predigten*, one in the second and none in the third. These may all be accounted for by the influence of Gregory's *Homilies*, which evidently was greater than I supposed.

Indeed, the whole of Mr. Mosher's second chapter, "The Exemplum in English before the coming of the Friars," is a proof of this influence of Gregory's *Homilies*. The principal works considered in this chapter are: the *Blickling Homilies*, Aelfric's *Sermones*, the *Wulfstan Homilies*, *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, and the *Ormulum*. In most of these *exempla* are used as by Gregory. They are, however, not very numerous and are taken largely from Gregory's *Dialogues* and the *Vitae Patrum*.

It is not until the third chapter, "The Latin Exemplum in England," that we begin to meet *exempla* of a more interesting nature than those above mentioned. It is a question whether such literary works as John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*, Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*, Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia*, Neckam's *De Naturis Rerum* and Giraldus Cambrensis's *Gemma Ecclesiastica* belong properly in this work. Mr. Mosher's notices of Odo de Ceritona, the *Gesta Romanorum* and Holkot's *Liber de Moralizationibus* might have been more valuable had he been able to consult Mr. Herbert's *Catalogue*.

The fourth chapter, "The Exemplum in popular homiletic Literature after the coming of the Friars," deals, among others, with the *North English Homily Collection*, the *Contes moralizés* of Bozon and Mirk's *Festial*. The sources of the first two have been adequately treated by Meyer and Gerould; of the third Mr. Mosher says, p. 110: "A study of the sources and analogues of Mirk's *exempla* offers a fruitful subject for research, although Dr. Erbe's promised second volume may undertake the matter." It is to be regretted that Mr. Mosher in this case, as in many others, has not gone more fully into the subject. He cites only the sources mentioned by Mirk himself and adds: "Many of the tales have no reference to their source other than 'I rede' or 'I finde,' but the above list is sufficient to indicate

the kind of narratives favored." Many of the *exempla*, the sources of which are not mentioned by Mirk, could easily have been traced and constitute some of the most widespread and attractive of medieval stories.

Of the works mentioned in the fifth chapter, "The Exemplum in religious Treatises and Instruction-Books," the only one that has not been sufficiently treated by others is *Jacob's Well* (edited by Brandeis in *Early English Text Society*, No. 115). To this interesting and little known treatise Mr. Mosher devotes about a page and a half and dismisses the sources with the words: "At regular and frequent intervals *Jacob's Well* has a pair of *exempla* taken mainly from the *Vitae Patrum*, Jacques de Vitry, Caesarius, *Legenda aurea*, and legends of the Virgin. The tales are therefore hackneyed, but they are frequently forged into a new glow by the striking diction of the zealous redactor." Here again many interesting *exempla* might have been mentioned, some of which are far from being "hackneyed." A few are: "Alexander's Precious Stone," a story well worth a monograph, see Herbert's *Catalogue*, pp. 109, 132, 392, 537, 538; the story of "Clerk Odo's Man," in *Speculum Laicorum*, Herbert, p. 377; "The two faithful Friends," from the *Disciplina Clericalis*, etc. In some the attribution is incorrect, as where, p. 186, "The English Witch who died unshriven" is prefaced by "Caesarius tellyth." It is, however, from William of Malmesbury, "The Witch of Berkeley," and occurs also in the *Speculum Laicorum* and elsewhere, see Herbert, pp. 403, 437, 690. Another very puzzling reference is p. 276, "The Means of coming to Heaven is to know ourselves," attributed to "Alysander in cronicis libro viii." The story occurs in Holkot's *Convertimini*, Herbert, p. 134: "Advice given by oracle of Apollo: 'Nothis elicors, id est, nosce teipsum.'" "Refert Elenandus in cronicis li. 8" (V. de Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.* xxix, cap. 109, among "Flores Helinandi"), "et hoc idem recitat Macrobius super sompn[i]um S[c]ipionis" (lib. i. cap. 9)." The above are but a few examples of the way in which Mr. Mosher might have made his work more interesting and valuable.

The sixth and last chapter, "Conclusion," sums up the results of the work. Mr. Mosher's conclusions seem to me correct, but are not based on sufficient illustrative material in the earlier part of his work. The various forms assumed by the *Exemplum* during its long history can be brought out clearly only by frequent examples given at length. The tendency to the secular entertaining story and jest should also have received greater attention, and, owing to lack of material, the specific English stories are slighted. The statement on p. 138, "Local color then became occasionally noticeable, though distinctive English characteristics were here, as elsewhere among the floating body of universal tales, sparse." Had Mr. Mosher been able to consult the collections analysed in Herbert's *Catalogue*, he would have seen that there are many specific English stories in the *Speculum Laicorum*, etc. A certain number are in Little's *Liber Exemplorum*, noticed by Mr. Mosher.

I have space left for only a few corrections and suggestions. On p. 33, Mr. Mosher speaks of "a Valerian noble," and so on the next page. The noble in question (Gregory, *Dialogues*, iv. 52) is named "Valerianus." On p. 41 we find: "An account of hell by a Scot returned from death," and on p. 42: "The story of Nial, the Scottish deacon, is broken up and told in parts through two sermons. It narrates how this man was dead five weeks and then returned to tell of the awful fire that awaited those who disobeyed God's law against Sabbath breaking." The inference is that the story itself is given in Wulfstan. It is not, but only references to it. Nial was an Irishman, as is understood by "Scot" and "Scottish." Where is the full account of the vision to be found? On p. 110 a story of Mirk's is referred to, which Mirk himself attributes to "the mayster of stories." Mr. Mosher mentions that the story occurs in Gower's *Conf. Amant.*, Bk. vii. 11. 1783 *seq.* It would have been well to add that it was taken from the third book of Esdras, cap. 3-4, found in the Appendix to the *Vulgate*.

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*Les Femmes Savantes* par Molière, edited, with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by CHARLES A. EGGERT. New York: American Book Company, 1911. 12mo., 187 pp.

Molière: *Les Femmes Savantes*, edited, with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by MURRAY PEABODY BRUSH. New York: Macmillan, 1911. 12mo., xvii + 165 pp.

Molière: *Les Précieuses Ridicules* and *Les Femmes Savantes*, edited, with introduction, remarks and notes, by JOHN R. EFFINGER. New York: Holt, 1912. 12mo., xviii + 225 pp.

Three editions of *Les Femmes Savantes* in the space of twelve months! This is more than the most devoted admirer of Molière could have hoped for. Some might even fear that such an abundance of good things might create a feeling of *embarras du choix*. Fortunately, the nature of the editions is sufficiently varied to satisfy all needs, that of Professor Eggert being intended for beginners, those of Messrs. Effinger and Brush for more advanced students, although a complete vocabulary also accompanies Professor Brush's volume.

It is a pleasure to be able to state that all three editions have been made with care. The best sources have in each case been consulted, and a judicious choice, on the whole, has been made from the abundant material on hand. Besides, these neat and pleasing little volumes are remarkably free from misprints.

I cannot help regretting that Professor Eggert has thought it necessary, from what some might call an exaggerated sense of propriety, to leave out of the text "a few lines of no special value, and in what now would be considered bad taste." If some of Molière's plays, rarely read in class, are in need of such expurgations, this is hardly the case in the present instance. Henriette is an eminently proper, sane, and sensible young woman. Her remarks, very innocent after all, merely show that the French of the best society ever expressed their thoughts with more freedom than the Anglo-Saxons of to-day; and this observation, if the students can make it with such anodine shocks to their

feelings and so little danger to their morals, has its value.

Whatever an editor's views may be on this score, he should at any rate see to it that the omissions, if considered necessary, are made with care. By leaving out part of Chrysale's speech, the *mais* with which Ariste begins his reply (p. 334, l. 4: Act II, sc. 2) has no *raison d'être*. As it stands, it would indicate impatience or petulance on his part, which is contrary to the poet's intentions.

In looking over this edition, the following remarks, of no great importance, have occurred to me:

Page 12, note 2. The explanation seems more misleading than the text, which offers no special difficulty. By advising to construe *Ce qu'un tel mot offre de dégoûtant* into *ce de dégoûtant que . . .* etc., one creates the impression that forms like the latter are correct; and again, by stating that *ce* "is here treated like an adverb of quantity, like *tant*, *trop*, etc.," the inexorable logic of beginners might conclude that *tant* or *trop de dégoûtant* is good French. If it is of doubtful wisdom to translate into bad English, it is positively dangerous to paraphrase good French into bad.—14, 8. *Et les soins où je vois tant de femmes sensibles*. The note reads: "With a verb like *vouées* understood." This is incorrect. The line is complete as it stands and *sensible* is predicate complement of *femmes*. If an *Ergänzung* were desirable it should read: *Et les soins où je vois tant de femmes être sensibles*.—14, 13. *Qui se trouve* is exactly equivalent to *qui est* and not to *qu'on trouve*.—15, 12. *de* is not quite superfluous; it helps to express a shade: *de ces beaux côtés* = some such fine traits.—18, 7. I do not see why *embarrasse* should be made to stand with *aveux en face* = confessions face to face. And why not devote a word to *comme* in the same line, the more so since the vocabulary gives no help here, and since modern French would require *combien*.—19, 1. No authoritative edition that I know has *tous*, all have *tout* = *tout à fait*.—23, 12. *Même dans votre sœur* is paraphrased by: *Dans le cas de votre sœur*. The form used by the poet expresses exactly what he means, and

even to-day it would be very proper to say: *j'admire en vous or dans votre sœur la belle âme de votre mère*.—28, 2. I take it that the editor means the *seventeenth* century instead of the *eighteenth*, although the remark applies to both, less, however, to the latter.—30, 2. The indicative *est* is uncommon after *il suffit que* and might be noted in all three editions.—30, 3. *avisé* is neither 'advised' nor 'cautioned' as the voc. has it, but rather with the reflexive, 'devised,' 'found.'—30, 4. This passage is hardly provided for by the definitions of *engager* given in the vocabularies to the editions. Perhaps 'constrain' would be a sufficient addition.—40, 7. *Chanceuse*. The vocabulary states properly that 'unlucky' is the meaning. A note should add that nowadays *chanceux* means 'lucky' and 'risky.' (Cf. *Il a de la chance, de la veine; chagard, veinard*, etc.)—51, 1, *manque aux lois*. The voc. has: *manquer*, intr., 'fail,' 'be wanting';—à, 'be too late,' 'miss.' *Manquer* is often transitive: *manquer un train, un but*, etc., with the meaning 'miss' and 'be late,' but I know of no case where *manquer à* has the meaning of 'be late.' Here it means 'disregard.' As for *manquer à* before an infinitive, as in p. 54, l. 26, it is no longer in use.—52, 1. *Le corps avec l'esprit fait figure*. The note elucidates: *fait figure* = *fait une figure (de rhétorique, etc.)*. Hardly! 'Forms a whole' or 'has its importance' is about the meaning.—60, 3 and 8-9. The text is, in my opinion, clearer than the notes. If a paraphrase for l. 3 be thought necessary, it could only be *vous lui faites vous mener par le nez*, but surely students who read Molière understand the passive force of an infinitive with *laisser* or *faire*.—61, 8. *Il est vrai*. A note might well state that the modern form would be *c'est* or *cela est vrai*.—62, 2. *Vous êtes pour*. 'You are for,' 'in favor of,' appeals to me more than *vous allez voir* given by the note.—63, 3. 'For our part' rather than 'on our side' as the translation of *chez nous*.—64, 5, and 65, 2. Attention should be called to the omission of the article in both cases.—79, 5. Descartes is called a great physicist and mathematician. Surely he is not negligible as a philosopher!—

101, 19. *Mon cœur court-il au change ou si vous l'y poussez? Est-ce moi qui vous quitte ou vous qui me chassez?* Mr. Eggert writes: "The use of *si* here implies some omitted part after *au change*; for instance, *de soi-même* or *de pur caprice*." This explanation is inadmissible. Messrs. Brush and Effinger are probably right in adopting the one given by the edition of the *Grands Ecrivains*, namely, that *ou si vous l'y poussez* is an "ancien tour très correct, qui fait suivre une première interrogation de forme ordinaire, d'une autre [commençant] par *si*." It is perhaps interesting to note that this is not admitted by every one. At a recent performance of the play at the *Comédie Française*, I heard these lines pronounced without any interrogation mark after *poussez*, or any stop, save perhaps the length of a comma. The actor then (Mr. Dessonnes) considers *ou si vous l'y poussez* as an ordinary *if*-clause. Prof. Lanson, however, questioned on this passage, kindly writes me: "C'est l'édition qui a raison. L'acteur de la Comédie Française n'a pas compris le texte, et en a par une pénétration arbitraire, faussé le sens."—109, 10. *rien*, which the editor proposes to supply, should come after *ait* or *fait*, not after *que*.—109, 13. *c'est tout dit* is not equivalent to *c'est tout dire*, but to *c'est entendu* = that's an admitted fact.—109, 12. The grammatical nomenclature adopted by Mr. Eggert is open to criticism. In the present instance he calls *à monsieur* a direct object of *voir*. Similarly p. 121, n. 8, where *se*, the indirect object of *faire immoler*, is called the indirect object of *on*. On p. 124, n. 4, he states that *à votre mère* is the direct object of *apprendre*, whereas it is distinctly an indirect object, the direct one being *à vivre*.—129, 6. (In the Ef. and B. editions l. 1624.) *Où vous arrêtez-vous?* Mr. Eggert makes *où* equivalent to *pourquoi*, it seems to me without good grounds. A few lines further (l. 10) we have: *le choix où je m'arrête*; the first *où*, if pronounced by Philaminte, can therefore mean only: *à quoi*. Ef. and B. do not remark upon this hemistich and Mr. Brush's vocabulary gives no adequate translation for the vexing *où*. The word would seem much more logical in the mouth of the notary

and would then mean: *où arrêtez-vous votre choix?* The replies of Philaminte and Chrysale, the latter forming echo to the former, would also be better balanced, but there is no textual authority for such an emendation. Apparently the difficulty was felt at an early date, since the edition of 1734 bears the direction "*Au notaire*" after Philaminte's name.—134, 6. Whatever meaning the editor chooses to attribute to *mystère*, the etymology is always the same and it is probably not *ministerium* (see Körting, *Lat. Rom. Wörterb.*, 1907, and *Dict. Gén.* by H. and D.).—135, 12. *écu* is translated in the voc. by 'dollar,' which is Americanizing Molière rather too much. While the five-franc piece is sometimes called *écu de cinq francs*, in the seventeenth century, the crown was worth three livres and sometimes six (*écu de six livres*). Mr. Brush gives the proper translation.

The vocabulary is carefully made and very full. Since Chaillot and Auteuil are included, why not *calendes* and *ides*? What authority is there for the statement that Auteuil was formerly called Hauteuil? Under *à* and as an example of verbs requiring regularly *à*, *penser* does not seem the best choice, since expressions like *je pense pouvoir le faire*, *je pense du bien de mes amis*, will occur readily to fairly advanced students. Under *instance*, the *d'* should be omitted or *des instances* substituted.—Under *y* and under *tenir*, *y tient trop* is translated by 'cares too much for'; but in the verse where it occurs (p. 103, l. 1) it has the meaning of 'is too intimately joined to it.'

Professor Brush has solved in the vocabulary most of the idiomatic difficulties, so that the notes are more exclusively of a literary, historical and even philosophical nature. So far as I have tested it, the vocabulary is very satisfactory. Neither under *tout* nor under *jeté* do I find the meaning of *tout jeté*, l. 192. About the notes I venture to offer the following remarks:

Line 24. On account of the two *de*'s in l. 23 and on account of the distance between the first part of the question and the second, *de* would not be used before *Se faire les douceurs*, the rule notwithstanding.—286. The

note to this passage is confusing. The statement that "this use of the impersonal pronoun with  *falloir*  followed by an infinitive was most common at this time" would naturally mislead the student into believing that  *il faut*  + inf. is no longer frequent. Further, the comment that most common "was also the omission of the pronoun of the reflexive verb when preceded by another verb" indicates that the editor considers the  *vous*  of this line as the indirect object of  *faut* . It can hardly be anything else than the direct object of  *exiler* , placed, in accord with the common practice of the seventeenth century, before the principal verb. The editors of the Grands Ecrivains hesitate between the two interpretations which would still be possible:  *il faut que je vous exile*  and  *il faut que vous vous exiliez* . Mr. Brush states that the modern equivalent for this passage is the latter. It might also be the former, or simply  *il faut vous exiler* .—291. The quotation on the omission of the article is irrelevant here. In  *le détour est d'esprit*  no article was expected,  *d'esprit*  meaning  *spirituel* . It should have been made for l. 725 and l. 730 which are passed by unnoticed.—333.  *Dieu vous gard'* . The note says that the regular pronunciation of the verb in this expression is  *gar*  and not  *garde* . I was particularly attentive to this word at the Comédie Française and am convinced that the  *d*  was distinctly sounded, which is, moreover, in accordance with the common usage. The Grands Ecrivains edition (quoted by Effinger) states prudently that " *le d' était sans doute insensible dans la prononciation,* "  *sans doute*  meaning no more here than  *très probablement* .—347.  *Nous donnions chez les dames romaines* . The vocabulary translates: 'We had many a gallant adventure,' and so they had, since they made  *des jaloux* . But  *donner chez*  does not imply all that, it had merely the force of  *fréquenter assidûment* , or as the G. E. edition has it: " *nous nous lançons chez.* "—376.  *Qu'on n'a pas pour un cœur* . A fuller explanation of this curious construction would have been welcome.—436. The word  *femme*  should be inserted before  *légitime*  at the end of the note.—470.  *pitiés* ; no idea of pity contained in this word; Belise

speaks ironically and means that Chrysale considers the gross infractions of Martine as trifles ( *des misères* ).—494.  *Bélise*  has not given any etymologies, why then does the note say that they resembled those of  *Ménage* ? And has not the latter found more good ones than bad ones?—530. The  *pot au feu*  is still to-day the favorite dish of the French laboring classes, and for two good reasons: it is cheap and it is delicious.—559. The gerundive in this line could still be employed and differs from Lafontaine's cited in the note as parallel. If a pause is made after  *parlant*  in Chrysale's speech, there is no ambiguity possible;  *un solécisme en parlant*  becomes equivalent to  *un solécisme fait en parlant* . In the line from Lafontaine the gerundive could to-day refer only to  *limier*  and so would be excluded.—920.  *tous*  may not be taken adverbially; the adverbial form in the masc. is always  *tout* .—947. It would not be superfluous to state that  *c*  of  *respect*  is not sounded to-day at the Comédie Française, despite the rime.—1139.  *Si j'étais que de vous* . The note should add that the modern  *si j'étais de vous*  is as current as  *si j'étais à votre place* .—1584. Molière perhaps uses  *je vous trouve plaisante à me parler ainsi*  in order to make the right number of syllables;  *de me parler*  would have nothing that is unusual even in modern prose; it would always be preferred to  *en me parlant* , too stiff for ordinary conversation.

It was a happy idea on the part of Professor Effinger to edit together  *Les Précieuses Ridicules*  and  *Les Femmes Savantes*  and to illustrate his notes with a  *Carte de Tendre* . The general introduction of fourteen pages is scholarly and contains a considerable amount of material that will be found of value by students and teachers alike. With introduction, remarks on both plays, map and notes, the fairly advanced student will have before him the main elements for a clear understanding of the  *préciosité*  fad and criticism. A generous bibliography will guide those who wish to proceed further with their studies of the seventeenth century society and literature. The bibliography mentions Livet's  *Précieux et Précieuses*  of 1859; the latest edition is of 1896.  *Molière, le Théâtre, le public, etc.* , is by Mant-

zius, not Manzius. The following comments bear on the notes to the *Femmes Savantes*:

Page 63, line 179. *et faites une mine* is translated by 'you appear,' as though it were the same as *faire mine de*. It means here more directly 'You make a face as though.'—64, 206. *Mais il met peu de poids* does not mean 'he has little power to,' but 'he lays little stress on.'—65, 213. *les visions du leur* is rendered by *leurs visions*, but *leur* refers to *esprit*.—73, 347. *Nous donnions chez les dames*, already discussed above, is here translated by 'we cut quite a figure,' which is not implied in these words.—82, 455. *Oh, oh, peste la belle!* The editor translates *la belle!* by 'you're a pretty creature!' This puts rather much stress on this vocative, while the whole stress should lie on *peste!* and *la belle* should be merely rendered by *my girl!*—105, 798. *Hai, hai* is hardly an interjection of astonishment, but expresses, with a smirk, assumed, but flattered, self-deprecation on the part of Tristotin, who is too convinced of his superiority to be astonished at praise.—110, 837. *celui-là* cannot be called a neuter pronoun; it is distinctly masculine and refers to something understood, *trait d'esprit, calembour*, etc.—124, 1061. *Ce n'est pas mon conte* (mod. *cela ne fait pas mon compte*) means 'that does not suit me,' or 'give me satisfaction,' and not 'I do not intend to,' or 'I cannot.'—144, 1432. *C'est par l'honneur qu'il a de rimer à latin*. Mr. Effinger thinks that *rimer à latin* means rime "with the grace of a Latin scholar." I can see no basis for that translation and I prefer Mr. Brush's literal rendering, 'rime with the word *Latin*.' Mr. Eggert does not remark upon this, so I take it that he also understands it in the latter manner.—151, 1553. *à vous si singulière* is translated by 'which is quite unusual.' I think that Mr. Brush's interpretation 'so peculiar to you,' 'so uniquely your own' is more exactly equivalent to the original.

No French writers are more commonly quoted than Lafontaine and Molière. It would therefore seem highly desirable to call the attention of the students to some lines that have almost become household words with the French and of which *Les Femmes Savantes* furnishes

a large share. I indicate by numbers and at random, after the Ef. and B. editions, some of the commonest ones: ll. 73-74; 419; 465; 477; 531; 543; 598; 1063; 1284; 1296; 1304; 1320; 1396; 1480; 1520; 1544; 1644; 1645-46; 1665; 1749; 1775-76; and l. 217, very appropriate these days.<sup>1</sup>

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*The Rise of the Novel of Manners: A Study of English Prose Fiction between 1600 and 1740.* By CHARLOTTE E. MORGAN. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1911. ix + 271 pp.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of Miss Morgan's dissertation is its fresh indication of the immense possibilities of detailed research in the comparatively unworked field she has selected. Indeed, in the very state of affairs she has helped to reveal lies the source of her most notable difficulty, that of giving a comprehensive, well-ordered interpretation of what is still so much involved. Even those of us who feel the time ripe for the interpretative monograph of considerable scope are likely to experience a new thrill at the temerity of this undertaking. Still, paths must be broken, and Miss Morgan displays commendable modesty in presenting herself as a pioneer. Her book, she confesses at the outset, "is but a clearing of the ground in a field where little has been done and much remains to be accomplished." She stresses rather the significance of her valuable and extensive Bibliography of English fiction prior to 1740, although this too makes no claim to completeness. She is over-precise in acknowledging indebtedness to such previous

<sup>1</sup>The following misprints have been noted. Eggert: p. 74, n. 4 should be numbered 5; p. 110, n. 18, *bleux* read *bleus*. Brush: period after l. 246; the suspension points after l. 275 are superfluous. Effinger: p. 104, l. 777, read *donnez-nous*; p. 110, l. 840, read *j'eus* for *j'ai* (although there is authority for both); p. 178, note on next to last line should refer to l. 957; p. 220, note to 1187, read *interrogation*.

studies as were available to her, as she has perhaps been over-inclined to depend upon them. On the whole, recognizing as she does the hazards and limitations of her task, she has as nearly overcome these as might reasonably be expected.

The fact remains, however, that this is an undertaking for the more mature scholar, with a broader sense of background. Without disparagement to the work before us, certain points may be noted where, for lack of this background, close and significant relationships have been passed over. Partly as a result of the general plan of treatment, the consideration of the novella-type in its relation to romance and later novel seems broken and inadequate, despite the natural presumption of its large influence. By ignoring the continental history of these stories, the actual points of contact with the other forms are not made apparent at all. In her references to the "voyage imaginaire" as a development of the "ideal commonwealth" (pp. 19 ff.), Miss Morgan fails to give due credit to long and respected—if not respectable—ancestry, omitting all mention of Lucian and Rabelais, and apparently not taking into account the immense vogue of their satire and its imitations in this period. Lucian is again ignored in the mention of Quevedo's *Visions* and related literature (p. 48), and is named but once in the entire book—in connection with Tom Brown's *Dialogues* and their kindred. The *Gargantua* of Rabelais appears in a list of French anti-romances (p. 44), apparently intended to represent the influence of *Don Quixote*. The ideals of the heroic romance (pp. 29 ff.), its critical treatment as poetry, and its close relation to drama and epic can be made clear only against the general "heroic" background which dominated French criticism in the seventeenth century and set scholars to penning elaborate compositions according to the code. Without depreciating the distinct vogue of the *Portuguese Letters* and the French revival of the *Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (pp. 70 ff.), it may be questioned if full value is put upon the development of the familiar letter in romances, secret histories, and the like, with its repeated emphasis on psy-

chological analysis as well as refined style. One feels, too, that there is more to be learned from the history of the contemporary drama and its sentimental tendencies, and from the various phases of feminism and the coterie life in France and England, than is indicated in the occasional notice taken of such matters.

Beyond question this investigation is a problem in comparative literature, France in particular affording so many models and instituting so many developments that it must be constantly taken into account. Yet Miss Morgan is regrettably cautious in confining her attention to English manifestations of these activities, even at the expense of unity and clearness throughout. "With the actual content of the romances," she says in one place, "—the pseudo-history, the episodes, the actual personages concealed under the assumed names—we are not concerned, since we are regarding them solely with respect to the English development" (p. 29). Having offered ample evidence that all romances of importance were well known in England, she is hardly justified in such unconcern. The current investigation of character-portraiture is throwing much light on the beginnings of English fiction, and there is reason to ascribe equal significance to other conventional elements in these romances. At almost every turn, indeed, there is a possibility of foreign parallels, but a single illustration will serve. On pages 63-65, three English stories of the last decade of the seventeenth century are outlined as typical of "the transition from the romance to the idealistic novel of manners." In a note (p. 65) the author thinks it worth while to suggest the close resemblance and perhaps indebtedness of these novels to a group of three French stories written by different authors as early as 1601-5, and never translated into English. Much closer and more attractive is the parallel to various of the moralized stories of Jean-Pierre Camus, just as clearly combining "romantic Spanish intrigue with prosaic contemporary manners" and consciously directing our sympathy toward the victims. The voluminous writings of this worthy bishop extended over more than thirty years—from 1610 to 1644—and attracted no

little immediate attention in France.<sup>1</sup> Their popularity in England is indicated by the following translations in a period when French originals were being widely read:—

- 1632-3. A Draught of Eternity: The Spiritual Director disinterested.
- 1639. Admirable Events: Selected out of Four Books.
- 1650. The Loving Enemy, or a Famous True History (Another edition in 1667).
- 1652. Nature's Paradox, or the Innocent Impostor.<sup>2</sup>
- 1677. Alcimus and Vannoza (Reprinted as Forced Marriage, 1678).

The particular novels Miss Morgan is discussing may have been independent of this influence, but with the example of Camus before them, English writers should not have found it difficult at any time to make the transition indicated.

The material of this study appears to fall readily into types and categories, such as the "seven well-defined types of romance" which determine the arrangement of Chapter I. In actual practice, however, the literary output of that day was little better adapted to such clear-cut distinctions than was Elizabethan literature, and the student is under no obligation to sustain them at all costs. One feels constantly that if Miss Morgan were not quite so conscientious in this regard, and managed her material with a somewhat freer hand, she would reach results more tangible and more approximately accurate. Concrete examples may be found in the treatment of the "ideal commonwealth" already cited, and in the attempt to keep the seven varieties of romance distinct in character and influence throughout their history. Even the formal and rather forced distinction of romance and novel, which

helps to shift the Duchess of Newcastle into the period after 1700 in the book, would seem to complicate the general problem unnecessarily.

In so comprehensive a study, the type method of treatment is attractive, partly because it offers opportunity to clear the field by setting certain categories aside as "negligible." Yet the nature of this field is such that practically nothing may be neglected. The first negligible quantity set aside by Miss Morgan—the material of popular fiction—is later assigned some significance, and is given a consideration that is highly suggestive of large possibilities (pp. 115 ff.). Sidney's *Arcadia* is similarly dismissed, notwithstanding the admission that references to it in the seventeenth century were legion, and that it may have given name to Richardson's first heroine (p. 15). Translations of foreign literature usually have their influence depreciated unless specific English imitations appear. This is in part the reason for the slight and disconnected treatment given to the Protean forms of the *roman à clef* and the closely-allied romantic autobiographies of the period. These free-lances of literature, in their varying moods, served too large a purpose in bringing the romance down to everyday existence, to receive mere passing mention. Indeed, one would not go far astray in undertaking to find in them a unifying principle for the entire shaping of the problem. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Italy and France were familiar enough with romances suspected of disguising actual personages and experiences; with memoirs that improvised at times in romantic directions; with the "secret history" concerned largely with apocryphal and highly scandalous amours. D'Urfé's *Astrée* and the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, appearing simultaneously in France, gave marked impetus to the custom of fusing fiction and reality. A rapid growth of burlesque and realistic romance gave material encouragement to the natural tendency toward a lower social scale and certain picturesque details, of which the novella-tradition provided an abundant supply. By 1660, when Bussy-Rabutin composed his *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules*, it must have

<sup>1</sup> A bibliography of Camus's works is given by Koerting, *Geschichte des Französischen Romans im XVII Jahrhundert*, ed. 1891, pp. 208-210, following a critical chapter, with outlines of certain of the stories.

<sup>2</sup> This story, published by Camus in 1625 with the title *Iphigène*, seems to be the source of Suckling's *Tragedy of Brennoralt*, produced about 1640.

mattered little to a French reader whether he found his lighter entertainment classified as *histoire, amours, mémoires, roman*, or *roman satirique*; whether the scene was laid in remote regions, or ancient monarchies, or some no-man's-land of the imagination. The personages were likely to be of his own time and country, the matter built on the half-truth of current scandal, and the tone strongly satirical. The method was in great part a colloquial adaptation of that in the heroic romances, retaining the conventions of elaborate episodes, character-portraits, and inserted correspondence.<sup>3</sup>

Literature of this sort was soon popular in England as well as in France, appealing both to the nobler-minded, who read it as social satire, and to the baser sort, who frankly enjoyed its indecency. The fact that the first original English contribution was *Queen Zarah and the Zarazians*, in 1705 (p. 85), loses significance as one begins to realize the amount of such material translated from the French before that date. *Zarah* itself was represented as rendered through the French from an Italian original.<sup>4</sup> Miss Morgan's own bibliography indicates the prevalence of such fiction in the early eighteenth century, and makes evident the arbitrary way in which English authors threw similar material under various categories: memoirs, histories, amours, and novels. One recalls, in this connection, that many readers censured Richardson's *Pamela* for its indecency, and as many more busied themselves trying to identify the characters. Even if this movement in fiction does not appear to focus so directly on the work of Richardson, it cannot be swept aside in developing in its narrow sense what Miss Morgan interprets very loosely—"the novel of manners."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bussy-Rabutin's own statement of his method and ideals, in the "lettre apologétique" to the *Histoire amoureuse*, ed. Garnier Frères, Paris, n. d., p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Steele in *Tatler* No. 84 (1709), after ridiculing the untruthfulness of current French memoirs, declares: "I do hereby give notice to all book-sellers and translators whatsoever, that the word Memoir is French for a novel."

In a dissertation with so wide a scope, it is no surprise, and no particular reason for censure, to discover a number of inaccuracies in incidental details. On reading the statement that in the seventeenth century, "the only fresh endeavor to deal, in narrative form, with the Arthurian material is to be found in the little known epics of Sir Richard Blackmore," one misses the familiar references to Milton's projects in this direction. It seems equally strange to find *Daphnis and Chloe* pronounced "quite free" from the absurd adventures and marvels of other Greek romances (p. 11). "In 1611," says Miss Morgan, "we find DuBartas referring to Sidney" (p. 15). Here, as her note indicates, she has not gone back of a reference in Jusserand's *English Novel in the Time of Shakspeare*, and has ignored the fact that the *Second Day of the Second Week*, in which this tribute appears, was published in 1584, and that DuBartas died in 1590. A similar oversight occurs later (p. 36) where Roger Boyle's *Parthenissa*, published in 1654, is represented as undoubtedly under the influence of Mrs. Katherine Philips. Boyle cannot be discovered in the pre-Restoration circle of "The Matchless Orinda," their friendship belonging to the period of her sojourn in Ireland, during 1662-3.

Miss Morgan's character-portrait of the Duchess of Newcastle (p. 91) contains several statements that cannot well be squared with the few facts available. Constant defiance of convention and Mrs. Grundy is not borne out by her pre-nuptial letters to the Duke in the Welbeck mss.,<sup>5</sup> expressing fear of the gossip at St. Germain. "I do not send to you to-day," she says in one of these, "for if I do, they will say I pursue you for your affections, for though I love you extremely I never feared my modesty so small as it would give me leave to court any man." That the Duchess was not given to sentimentalizing and to self-analysis must be mere matter of personal opinion, in which not all readers of her autobiography and prefaces will share. Indeed, the comment

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *The First Duke and Duchess of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. New York, 1910, pp. 180-186.

seems hardly consistent with Miss Morgan's final estimate, that the Duchess, in a lifetime of restless seeking for better self-expression, never managed to speak out to her satisfaction. If she did not so manage, the prodigious extent of her printed works, her own description of the pen speeding to keep pace with her nimble fancies,<sup>6</sup> and Theophilus Cibber's account of her overworked group of trained secretaries<sup>7</sup> leave us wondering what could have been left unsaid.

By some inadvertency, at the beginning of Chapter IV only four of the five groups into which chap-book literature is to be divided get into Miss Morgan's enumeration at all. After some confusion the reader finds the missing category—moral and religious tracts—discussed in its proper order in the comment on these groups (p. 118). On page 59, Vital D'Audiguier appears as "D'Audiger"; and on page 121, George Lillo's significant tragedy is mentioned as "*George Barnfield*."

After all, as the author recognizes, this entire essay is only an interpretative introduction to the bibliographical material which is the kernel of the dissertation. Here there is a contribution that later students may enlarge and modify, but cannot fail to utilize. This particular period, most of it between the *Stationers' Register* and the institution of the monthly magazines, with their lists of current publications, has been sadly in need of just such systematic attention for all phases of literary production. With the material once before us, we may agree or not with details of Miss Morgan's analytical account of it; the thing of first importance is our possession of it in so convenient a form. The interpretation, it should be added, is probably as satisfying as could be made at the present time.

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*Pierre de Ronsard, Essai de biographie: les ancêtres—la jeunesse; par HENRI LONGNON.* Paris: Champion, 1912. xii, 512 pp. (Bibl. litt. de la Renaissance, xi.)

Pierre de Ronsard occupies a curious position in the history of French letters in that until the last few years almost no study at all has been made of his life, and that even now a comprehensive, scientific biography remains to be written. When the first posthumous edition of Ronsard's poetry appeared in 1586, Claude Binet, one of the two editors, added a 'life' which he had prepared for the poet's obsequies, and which gave in sympathetic manner the essential facts and details of the author's ancestry, personality, and manner of living. This life was interesting, and, though full of errors, has been the basis of all subsequent studies of the subject, of which the most recent are nothing more than editions of Binet's text with notes and corrections by Miss Helen Evers<sup>1</sup> and by Mr. Paul Laumonier.<sup>2</sup> The field was thus open for Mr. Longnon to present an independent biography, and, so far as he has gone, he has done this in a most satisfactory manner. Unfortunately, as the work is but an outgrowth of his thesis at the Ecole des Chartes, his study only embraces the ancestry and youth of the poet.

Mr. Longnon uses as his chief sources the biography of Binet and Ronsard's own statements in his poetry. These sources he controls by a mass of contemporary evidence, largely drawn from ancient documents, which he cites in detail in his appendices. It is to be regretted that he has failed to add an index and a list of the works consulted. The references in the footnotes are numerous and absolutely clear, but it is necessary to turn to Mr. Laumonier's excellent lists for any extensive bibliography.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Critical Edition of the Discours de la vie de Pierre de Ronsard*, Bryn Mawr dissertation, Philadelphia, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> *Vie de Ronsard de Claude Binet*, Paris, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Laumonier, *op. cit.* and *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, Paris, 1909. Neither writer mentions the recent

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *The Life of William Cavendish*, ed. C. H. Firth. London, 1886, p. 307.

<sup>7</sup> *Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*. London, 1753, II, 164.

In the exposition of his material, Mr. Longnon is clear, direct, and reasonable. He treats disputed points without dogmatism; after a fair discussion of all sides, he pronounces in favor of the view which seems to him to have the best support. Following this method, he is forced to deny the claim to an eastern origin for the family as made by the poet and his descendants. He posits as the date of the poet's birth, Saturday, September eleventh, 1525, believing that Ronsard, when he was looking up his family record, misread | | as two instead of eleven. He develops at length a new theory of the chronology of the poet's trips to Scotland and England. Finally he puts the famous first meeting with Du Bellay in 1547 instead of in 1549, so that the publication of the *Défense* in the latter year no longer seems an anomaly. While in all of these questions Mr. Longnon's arguments may not be conclusive, they are more than plausible, and his deductions far more probable than those of any preceding biographers.

Perhaps the most attractive feature of the *Essai* is the way in which the writer has presented his subject. With no sacrifice of accuracy he has given us a book that is entertaining, readable, and full of well chosen citations; one that interests us in the author, in his doings, and even in the little questions of biographical detail that are usually so tiresome. We most assuredly hope that Mr. Longnon will not be content to drop his study at this point, but will extend it to a complete history of Ronsard, the man and poet.

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OTTO HARNACK, *Aufsätze und Vorträge*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1911. iii + 327 pp.

The significance of this book lies in its being the exponent of a culture and art ideal best exemplified by Goethe, an ideal which—largely on account of his potent influence—has never, in spite of the growth of realistic art and specialization, lost its hold on the German imagination. A few names, like Tirsch, Herman Grimm, Victor Hehn among scholars and critics, and Grillparzer, Heyse among literary artists, bear witness to this statement. Culture, according to this conception, should be the expression of the largest possible intellectual sympathy combined with a sense of form, and art should wed a Greek instinct for beauty with an interest in the ever-recurring, universally important, rather than in the exceptional and hyper-idiosyncratic. Harnack, whose *Life of Schiller*, whose fundamental treatises on the aesthetical principles of the German classics, and whose numerous essays on kindred subjects, have long since proved him a most adequate and thorough interpreter of eighteenth century German culture, here again, in his lucid and mellow style, unrolls before us a series of studies which prove his profound inner relationship with the author of *Faust* and *Iphigenie*.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the bulk of the book should deal with Goethe. The very first essay, "Die Bedeutung des Zeitalters der Aufklärung für unsere Zeit," interprets the spirit of intellectual hospitality and toleration characteristic of the Age of Rationalism, and is a fine protest against the exaggerated race-individualism of our day. "Wandlungen des Urteils über Goethe" shows how the poet's personality, often obscured and distorted in the nineteenth century by party-hatred, by ignorance, or by ephemeral literary fashions, at present is becoming more and more an informing power in the formation of a new culture ideal in contemporary Germany. "Zu Goethes hundertfünfzigstem Geburtstag" emphasizes the value of Goethe's ideal of synthesis and harmony as a corrective in an age of specializa-

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edition by Vaganay of the *Amours de P. de Ronsard, Vandômois*, with the commentary of Marc-Antoine Muret, Paris, Champion, 1910, or Wyndham's *Ronsard and the Pléiade*, Macmillan, 1906.

tion like ours. "Goethe über künstlerische und mechanische Tätigkeit" discusses the sage of Weimar as a leader in the protest against the artistic degeneration ushered in by the spread of machinery—especially English machinery—in the nineteenth century. That the protest culminated in most brilliant fashion in two Englishmen, Ruskin and Morris, is a significant fact which Harnack ought not to have passed over in silence. In opposition to views maintained by Brandes, Harnack shows in "Hochgebirgs- und Meerespoesie bei Goethe," that Goethe was one of the earliest and greatest of the interpreters of the ocean, though—characteristically—not of the German Ocean, but of the Mediterranean.

The four essays on Schiller, though less original than those on Goethe, help to emphasize the contours of the book. That Harnack's ideal does not exclude intelligent appreciation of problems of modern life appears in the remaining pages of the work which deal with subjects like "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des deutschen Dramas im 19. Jahrhundert," "Zur Würdigung der dramatischen Kunst Hebbels," "Paul Heyse," "Zu Björnsons Gedächtnis," etc. The essay on Heine marks a refreshing reaction in favor of this great literary artist.

Yet we must add that here and there Harnack seems to underrate the positive contributions of some of the nineteenth century ideals when they happened to be out of harmony with Goethe's tenets. So the comparative indifference towards Italy on the part of modern painters, which Harnack criticises, is due in large measure to the discovery of many beauties in northern landscape to which the eighteenth century was blind, and hence is not merely a sign of deterioration. Goethe's contempt for German art and art-criticism of the early nineteenth century, for which Harnack has no word of disapproval, was distinctly a sign of limitation on his part. We feel now, that with all its faults, German Pre-Raphaelism—Wackenroder, Schlegel, Overbeck, etc.—ushered in a great new movement which reached its zenith in Ruskin and the English Pre-Raphaelites. Again, in the essay on the dramatist Grabbe,

not sufficient justice is done to the extraordinary originality implied in Grabbe's laying the entire emphasis on the environment, and hence completely freeing his tragic hero from the traditional "moral guilt"—and that as early as 1831, long before Hebbel's "Maria Magdalena" (1844), and even earlier than Alfred de Vigny's "Chatterton" (1834).

Whether we agree or disagree with Harnack, however, we must feel on every page of this last book from his pen, as we have done in the case of all his other contributions, that we are in contact with a personality at once sound in method and elevated in spirit, as well as endowed with a sense of form—a type of mind never more welcome nor more needed than among us to-day.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE SOURCE OF BRITANNICUS, II, 6

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—The celebrated scene of Nero's eaves-dropping upon Junie and Britannicus has a close parallel in Rotrou's *Bélisaire*, a tragedy written some twenty-seven years before Racine's.<sup>1</sup> Junie, it will be remembered, is required to speak with her lover, knowing that Nero is watching them from a hiding place and that any display of affection for Britannicus will be fatal to him. Similarly the Empress Theodora tantalizes her rival in *Bélisaire*. She had loved Belisarius when she was an actress in the Hippodrome, but he had neglected her for Antonina, so that now, as Empress, she is seeking to avenge her unrequited affection. In the first act she forbids Antonina to recognize her lover when he presents himself before the Emperor on returning from a victorious campaign. Later, she leaves her rival alone with Belisarius, after warning her that if she shows her feeling for him, he will be put to death,

<sup>1</sup>*Bélisaire* was published in 1644, probably first acted in 1642 or 1643; the first performance of *Britannicus* was on Dec. 13, 1669.

and adding, "je vous écouterai par cette jalousie."<sup>2</sup> The next scene shows her "à la fenêtre sans être vue," while Belisarius is making love in vain to Antonina. He cannot understand the latter's ambiguous words and concludes, like Britannicus, that she is faithless.

Rotrou's persons seem declamatory when their speeches are compared with the simple language of Racine's lovers; there is no verbal similarity between the two scenes; the difference of the persecutors' sex prevents a parallel in Rotrou to Britannicus's poignant suspicion that Junie has been dazzled by his imperial rival. But in other respects the situations are identical. In both plays are found the jealous, spying ruler, whose proximity is known to one lover only, the woman torn between desire to save her lover and fear lest her words may cost her his love, and the hero, eager to express his devotion, astonished to find his mistress cold. Rotrou was sufficiently famous, his printed plays sufficiently accessible for Racine to imitate him. The small success that *Bélisaire* had on the stage may have prevented the discovery of the borrowing. I find no mention of the episode in history. Indeed, the unhistoric hostility it implies between Theodora and Antonina and the fact that there is no reference to the scene in Procopius's record of court gossip indicate that it is a literary invention. As there is no evidence to show that Rotrou borrowed the episode from another author of fiction, it is reasonable to credit him alone with suggesting to Racine this excellent situation.

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BURNS'S *Awa, Whigs, Awa!*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—May I call attention to a slight inaccuracy in the notes to the Centenary Edition of Burns's poetry, to correct which would be hardly worth while were it not possible at the same time to throw a little more light on the

methods James Hogg employed in compiling his *Jacobite Relics*.

Commenting on Burns's spirited song *Awa, Whigs, Awa*, the editors say: "The Jacobite song thus named in Hogg's *Jacobite Songs* [*sic*] is chiefly Hogg's."<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, however, this is one of the few modern songs in that collection which do not bear traces of the Shepherd's "improving" pen. To differentiate his own version from those previously published he appropriated the four stanzas and chorus which Burns had contributed to the *Museum*, changed their order, and added three stanzas which he found in Allan Cunningham's version in Crome's *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*.<sup>2</sup> A comparison of the three versions makes it perfectly clear that Hogg had both Burns's and Cunningham's before him as he arranged his own, and also, that he is responsible for nothing but the arrangement of the stanzas.

Cunningham's note to the song, in chief part as follows, is brief and characteristically misleading. "This old song," he writes, "has long been a favorite among all classes, probably for its beautiful tune. The first two verses may be found in the *Scots Musical Museum*. Those annexed have never been printed, perhaps from their strong and direct severity. . . . It is from the recitation of Mrs. Copland."<sup>3</sup> The song, as the editors of the Centenary point out, did not appear in print "before the publication of Burns's set in Johnson's *Museum*,"<sup>4</sup> and could not have been a favorite for longer than fifteen years. Moreover, the stanzas which Cunningham printed for the first time were in all probability his own work.<sup>5</sup>

Hogg's note seems to have been written with equal intent to deceive, for Hogg knew Cunningham and the facts concerning Crome's *Remains*: "Part of the verses are as old as the time of Cromwell, but others have been

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 350.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1810.

<sup>3</sup> *Remains, etc.*, 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 350.

<sup>5</sup> The spurious character of Crome's *Remains*, and Cunningham's connection with the volume, became notorious soon after the book was published.

added of a later date, it is impossible to say when."<sup>6</sup> This is a fair sample of the Shepherd's editorial accuracy. The one element of mystery in Hogg's connection with the song is the fact that he did not, as was customary, change the older material to suit his own whim, but merely rearranged the order of the stanzas. This fact the editors of the Centenary Burns failed to observe.

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#### AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE *Critic*

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—Under the caption "A Note on the *Critic*," in *Mod. Lang. Notes* for May, 1912, Mr. Arthur B. Myrick suggests a parallel between certain lines from *La Mort de Daire* (ca. 1560) by Jacques de la Taille, and a burlesque passage in Sheridan's *Critic* (1779). The former runs:

"Ma femme et mes enfants aye en recommenda . .  
Il ne put l'achever, car la mort l'en garda."

The latter:

"And Whiskerandos quits this bustling scene  
For all eter—"

"—nity,—he would have added, but stern death  
Cut short his being and the noun at once! "

Mr. Myrick does not consider it likely that Sheridan knew the rather obscure French play. It seems very probable that if there was any imitation, both these authors followed the well-known passage in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532), xlii, 14; the death of Brandimarte.

"Nè men ti raccomando la mia Fiordi . . .  
Ma dir non potè ligi: e qui finfo."

It is only another instance of the danger that lurks in establishing parallels without possessing all the data; and one never has quite all. Who knows what *chanson de geste* preceded Ariosto in this natural path?

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<sup>6</sup> *Jacobite Relics*, I, 259.

#### ITALIAN FABLES

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xxv, pp. 65-67, Mr. H. E. Smith published an article in which he described more or less fully nine editions of a collection of Latin fables with Italian notes. What is claimed to be a unique copy of a tenth edition of the same text has recently been described in Catalogue No. 29 of Wilfrid M. Voynich, London, and three facsimiles have been likewise given. The first facsimile corresponds closely to the description given by Mr. Smith of a cut in the Harvard collection. But the accompanying title varies, and here reads "Esopus constructus moralizatus 7 ystoriatu ad vtilitatem discipulorum." Cf. the Mazarine edition.

The colophon, however, is quite different from any of those already known. It reads: "Impressum Mediolani per Magistrum Leonardum Pachel. Anno domini Mccccij, die xii September." The copy is in bad condition, and eight leaves are missing.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

*Library of Congress.*

#### AN ODD TEXT OF CHAUCER'S *Purse*

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—I append two stanzas of Chaucer's *Purs*, as they appear in ms., Caius College 176, folio 23. The ms. is of the middle XV century. So far as I know, this text has hitherto escaped notice.

#### A NOTHER BALADE

To you, my purse, and non other wyzt,  
Complayne I, for you be my lady dere.  
I am so sory now that you be light,  
For certes, but you make me hevye chere,  
Me were A leef to be layd upon my here,  
For which vnto your mercy thus I crye,  
Beith hevye agayne, or els most I dye.

Now wouschsaf this day or it be nyzt,  
 That I of you the blesfull sowne may here,  
 Or se your colour like the sonne bright  
 That of yowlenes had neuer no pere,  
 Ye be my lif, ye be my hertes stere,  
 Quene of comfort, and of all company,  
 Be hevvy agayne, or els most I dye.

H. N. MACCRACKEN.

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MILTON'S TRANSLATION FROM ARIOSTO

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In Milton's *Of Reformation in England*, Book 1, occur eight lines translated from the thirty-fourth canto of the *Orlando Furioso*; in the Oxford edition of Milton's Poems, edited by Dean H. C. Beeching, they are given as follows:

And to be short, at last his guid him brings  
 Into a goodly valley, where he sees  
 A mighty mass of things strangely confus'd  
 Things that on earth were lost or were abus'd.

Then past he to a flowry Mountain green,  
 Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously;  
 This was that gift (if you the truth will have)  
 That Constantine to good Sylvestro gave.

In the preface to her *Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton*, Miss Laura E. Lockwood writes: "I have used the text of the Globe edition. . . . I have added the bit of translation from Ariosto:

And, to be short, at last his guide, etc.,

found in *Of Reformation in England*; this Mr. Masson omits." Miss Lockwood refers only to the line which she quotes and the three following, for the four lines:

Then past he to a flowry Mountain green, etc.,

appear in the Globe edition. It may be added that not only Masson in his various editions of Milton, but also other editors omit the first four lines. None that I have consulted gives any explanation except Todd who, in a note,

quotes from Warton: 'Tickell and Fenton have added some lines from Harrington's version,' and adds: 'The additions, which may be found in Tickell and Fenton, occur in Tonsen's edition of 1713.' Todd refers to the translation of the *Orlando Furioso* by Sir John Harrington published in 1591; a second edition appeared in 1607, and a third in 1634. I have seen only the second. The eight lines in question are given by Harrington as follows:

But to be short, at last his guide him brings,  
 Unto a goodly valley, where he sees  
 A mightie masse of things strangely confused,  
 Things that on earth were lost, or were abused.

Then by a faire greene mountaine he did passe,  
 That once smelt sweet, but now it stinks perdye,  
 This was that gift (be't said without offence)  
 That Constantin gave Silvester long since (34.72, 79).

Harrington died in 1612, only four years after the birth of Milton; hence there is no possibility that Milton influenced the translator's work. Since the rendering of the last four lines given by Milton preserves the meter, the rhyme-scheme, and the beginnings of three of the lines of Harrington, it is probable that Milton, having taken the first four lines from Harrington, was unsatisfied with the second four, and revised them. The lines from Petrarch and Dante immediately preceding those from Ariosto in *Of Reformation* are unquestionably Milton's own; indeed he says of the passage from Dante: 'I will render it you in English blank Verse.'

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THE SPLIT INFINITIVE

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Jespersen rightly explains the split infinitive as the result of the linguistic instinct taking *to* to belong to the preceding verb rather

than to the infinitive (*Growth and Structure of the English Language*, p. 209). When Sweet (*New English Grammar*, 1864) compares *it is necessary to clearly understand this point* with the more usual *it is necessary to understand this point clearly*, he cannot mean that the end-position of the adverb has anything to do with the split infinitive. *To clearly understand* of course starts from the front-position *clearly to understand*. I believe that this shifting was favored by the analogy of the similar verbal group in *clearly understanding*.

The split infinitive does not seem to occur in Danish or Norwegian. I have noted a few instances in the earlier writings of K. Hansun, but they may be considered as Americanisms. The construction is, however, very common in Swedish, at least in the literary language, and here it has attained a development which is quite unknown in English. What C. Alphonso Smith styles the short circuit in English syntax (*Studies*, pp. 32 ff.) would not tolerate such sentences as: *med ytterlig försiktighet och sharpblick lyckades dock Alfred att under flere år hålle nordmännen på åfstand och ett slut-tigen med samlad styrka tillfoga dem ett nederlag*, Lindelöf, *Grunddragen i engelska språkels ljind- och formlära* 1895, p. 8: . . . "to during several years *keep* the Norsemen off and to at last with united forces *defeat* them;" *emellertid tenderar väl i denna punkt den allmänna uppfattningen alltmera därhän att såsom normalt riksspråks r betrakta det icke skorrande*, A. Noreen, *Vårt språk*, I. p. 97: . . . "to as the normal standard *r consider*;" *att åter med Tegnér och många andra författare fatta termen genus så vidtsträckt* . . . *låter sig vissetligen till nöd göra* 1 ib. V. p. 303: to like Tegnér and many other writers *give* the term genus such a wide application . . . is certainly possible. In the last instance *att* (to) does not depend on any verb, but the infinitive has front-position, as being the subject of the clause.

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### Tells His Tale

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In his discussion of Milton's line (*L'Allegro* 67, "And every shepherd tells his tale") in *The Nation* for January 11, Professor Hart objects to the interpretation in the *Oxford Dictionary*. "*Tells his tale*," Professor Hart maintains, means: *counts the number of his sheep* rather than *tells his story*, the interpretation preferred by the dictionary. The situation in Milton's lines, he argues, is "early morning, even daybreak:

Right against the eastern gate,  
Robed in flames and amber light,  
The clouds in thousand liveries dight;  
While the ploughman, near at hand,  
Whistles o'er the furrowed land,  
And the milkmaid singeth blithe  
And the mower whets his scythe,  
And every shepherd tells his tale, etc., etc.

In other words," he continues, "the ploughman, the milkmaid, the mower are *at work*, but the shepherds (note Milton's 'every') get together and exchange stories! Can we imagine this at sunrise?"

It seems that we *must* imagine this situation in another of Milton's early poems, which, curiously enough, no one, so far as I know, has cited in the course of this argument. Lines 85-92 of *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* read:

*The shepherds on the lawn,  
Or ere the point of dawn,  
Sat simply chatting in a rustic row;  
Full little thought they than  
That the mighty Pan  
Was kindly come to live with them below:  
Perhaps their loves, or else their sheep  
Was all that did their silly thoughts so busy keep.*

The fact that all this was in "*the winter wild*" when Nature had hidden "her guilty front with innocent *snow*" makes it difficult, one must admit, to imagine that shepherds with ordinary common sense would engage in such a performance; but I suppose we *must* imagine it, unless we change *chatting* to *chattering*.

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A SYNTACTICAL NOTE ON *sich nennen*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The German construction of *sich nennen* followed by the nominative case has sometimes been considered incorrect. It may therefore serve a purpose to show its comparative frequency.

In the Schlegel-Tieck translation of Shakespeare we find this construction frequently; cf. *Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung, Einleitung*:

Seid ihr mein Weib und nennt mich nicht mein Mann?

and Act 4, Sc. 5:

Das trifft sich gut, für deinen Sohn am besten;  
Und nach Verwandtschaft nun wie nach dem Alter  
Mag ich dich jetzt geliebter Vater nennen.

Other references are given in various dictionaries (Grimm, Sanders), and in some Grammars (Curme, for example); in short, the construction is sanctioned by good authority.

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## CONCERNING A PASSAGE IN GOETHE'S

*Hermann und Dorothea*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The fine opening passage to the eighth canto of Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* seems to have been misunderstood not only by one of our American editors of the epic but also by Ellen Frothingham in her well-known translation of the poem, the version which is included in the Harvard Classics.

Goethe's hero and heroine, as we read, walk together

“entgegen der sinkenden Sonne,  
Die in Wolken sich tief, gewitterdrohend verhüllte,  
Aus dem Schleier, bald hier bald dort, mit glühenden  
Blicken  
Strahlend über das Feld die ahnungsvolle Beleuchtung.”

The point at issue is the meaning of *Blicken*; this word surely does not here signify “intermittent flashes of lightning.” What the poet had in mind is this: the setting sun, through rifts in the gathering storm clouds, shoots out over the darkening landscape its last slanting rays, thus producing the ominous light or illumination (*ahnungsvolle Beleuchtung*). A grammatical analysis of the passage, to say nothing of further considerations, forbids any other interpretation; moreover, a parallel use of *Blick* is to be found in the poet's *Tasso*, his *Wilhelm Meister* and his *Wahlverwandtschaften*. And to the writer's knowledge over half a dozen other authors from Hartmann von Aue down to Gottfried Keller employ the word in connection with the sun.

In conclusion it may be interesting to note that the following passages in Milton and Thomson present a picture which reminds one, in a general way, of the natural phenomenon depicted in the Goethean lines above. In Milton we read—

“As, when from mountain-tops the dusky clouds  
Ascending, while the North-wind sleeps, o'erspread  
Heaven's cheerful face, the louring element  
Scowls o'er the darkened landskip snow or shower,  
If chance the radiant sun, with farewell sweet,  
Extend his evening beam.”

(*Paradise Lost*.)

And in his *Seasons* Thomson tells us how

“the downward sun  
Looks out, effulgent, from amid the flush  
Of broken clouds.”

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## BRIEF MENTION

*The English Language*, by Logan Pearsall Smith (London, Williams and Norgate; New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1912). Here are nine well composed chapters introducing the general reader to some of the most important aspects of the subject. The writer is well equipped in knowledge and treats his topics with philosophic insight. His style is clear, and his sincerity of purpose restrains him from obscuring doctrine with a pedantic display of

details. In a book so limited in size and so specifically addressed to the non-technical reader no topic can be treated exhaustively; but under these restraints, Mr. Smith has succeeded in giving a lucid account of events of history and of linguistic processes. One of the most important questions discussed in the first chapter is thus wisely answered, "the disappearance of grammatical forms is not a loss, but a gain," with this comment, "Simplicity of language is, in fact, like other kinds of simplicity, a product of high civilization, not a primitive condition; and the advance of analysis, the creation of words expressing abstract relations, is one of the most remarkable triumphs of the human intellect." "Foreign Elements" are well defined, with the omission, however, of the influence of French on prepositional phrases and idiomatic uses of many verbs. In the chapter on "Word-making," an overstatement is committed in the words "and we find, perhaps, the most vivid and idiomatic of English compounds in words of abuse and contempt like *lickspittle*, *skinflint*, *swillpot*, *spitfire*. This form or method of composition is very restricted in English, and it is derived from the French. There is also overstatement or too partial statement, if not serious error, in the contention that in the older language the appeal was "to the imagination and feelings rather than to the intellect" (p. 84), whereas the present demand is to a corresponding degree "for clearness of thought and precise definition in language rather than for emotional power" (p. 60), because "modern language is for purposes of use not beauty" (p. 97), since "science cares for nothing about emotion or vivid presentation" (pp. 124-5). It is the philosophic side of the subject that receives most attention, and the reader will be stimulated to reflect on the 'date of words,' on the conditions under which some words have fallen into disuse and others have become customary. The writer deals with the "mental atmosphere" of the successive epochs of the language with marked earnestness and a welcome touch of enthusiasm. To observe with him the changes in use of this word 'enthusiasm' (p. 242), for example, is one of the many lessons he would teach. The book is to be commended as a treatise in which political history and changes in thought and culture are suggestively considered with reference to influence on the language.

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*Raccoltina Scolastica* is the title of a new series of annotated texts published by M. Quidde at Trieste, under the general direction

of G. Vidossich. The series is auspiciously opened with Goldoni's *Il Bugiardo*, edited by Dr. E. Maddalena of Vienna, one of the most learned and enthusiastic authorities on the life and works of Goldoni. His notes not only explain the difficulties of the text, but furnish much information about the relation of this play to Goldoni's other comedies, and about the language and customs of Venice in the eighteenth century. As the dramatist states in his *Mémoires*, the subject of the play was suggested to him by Corneille's *Le Menteur*, which he had seen acted in Italian; but he follows the French work only in a few scenes and in the general lines of some of the characters, combining into a consistent plot his reminiscences of Corneille and elements derived from other sources or from his own imagination. Not all readers will agree with Dr. Maddalena that *Il Bugiardo* is "per arguzia e movimento ben superiore al *Menteur*;" but it is well worth reading for its own sake, and as an interesting specimen of Goldoni's style at the time when he was gradually breaking away from the conventional and inartistic comedy of masks. Four of the masks, including two who speak in dialect, Pantalone and Arlecchino, still appear among the characters; but the author shows his growing independence by carefully individualizing them. Altogether the text is very useful for studying different aspects of Goldoni's work.

K. McK.

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The "deuxième édition revue et complétée" of Volume I of Lanson's indispensable *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française* (Hachette, 1911) is simply a reprint of the first edition, with the addition, on loose leaves, of the eight pages of corrections which had already been furnished to subscribers to the whole work.

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Professor Colbert Searles has recently issued, in the Stanford University Publications, a catalogue of the library of Jean Chapelain. The books which constituted it have long since been scattered, and the present catalogue was prepared from a manuscript list of their titles preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is of interest as showing the works that were included in what was doubtless one of the best stocked private libraries of the seventeenth century.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXVII.

BALTIMORE, DECEMBER, 1912.

No. 8.

## CLASSICAL LITERARY TRADITION IN EARLY GERMAN AND ROMANCE LITERATURE

A student of the classics who is unfortunate enough to lose himself in the maze of discussion concerning the state of poetry during the Middle Ages is struck by the fact that the supporters of the many different theories, although they recognize the influence which Vergil, Horace, and Ovid had upon subsequent poets, apparently pay little attention to the great body of Greek literature and to the literary tradition to which it gave rise, a tradition which was handed on from writer to writer, which furnished the Latin poets much of their material, gave to the rhetorical school its commonplaces, and became the inheritance of both eastern and western Europe. How tenacious of life this tradition was, and how important a knowledge of it is to the student of modern literature, I have tried to point out elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> and I feel convinced that it is of equal importance to him who would try to solve the complex problems presented by the literature of the Middle Ages.

Such knowledge would prevent, in the first place, the hasty generalizations which are the weakness of much that has been written on this difficult subject. For example, because a Latin lyric<sup>2</sup> of the twelfth or thirteenth century describes a girl as *prudens*, *gracilis*, *pulchrior lilio vel rosa*, and because "*prudens* is *klug*, *gracilis* is *schlank*," and "*pulchrior lilio vel rosa* simpler and more direct than the customary *rosa rubicundior*, *lilio candidior*<sup>3</sup> or *nivei*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Sevanee Review*, Oct., 1912, p. 459; *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, forthcoming number. Schrötter in his dissertation, *Ovid und die Troubadours* (Marburg, 1908), p. 21, remarks: "Wer über den Ursprung des provenzalischen Minnesanges schreibt, hat die Aufgabe, eine Geschichte des Lob- und Lehrgedichtes, der Gelegenheitspoesie, der Briefe und Zuschriften zu geben, von den Zeiten des Kaisers Augustus an."

<sup>2</sup> *Carmina Burana*, 51.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

*candoris*, *rosei ruboris*,"<sup>4</sup> can we argue<sup>5</sup> that this is an indication of a German origin of the poem? The poem may be of German origin but surely such expressions cannot be cited as proof if we find them current not only in earlier poetry which cannot be of Germanic origin but also as part of a well defined literary tradition. What, then, can we learn of these expressions from this point of view?

The most convincing example of *prudens* in the sense of 'klug' is furnished by the parable of the ten virgins, *St. Matth.*, 25, 1, five of whom were, in the Greek version *φρόνιμοι*, in the Latin *prudentes*, in the German, from Luther on, *klug*. Hence in the hymns of the Middle Ages we find *prudens* applied to the Virgin Mary and the Saints; for the former, cf. Mone, *Hymn. Med. Aevi*, II, p. 300: "ubi veneraris virgo prudens;" for the latter, *id.*, III, p. 276, of St. Dorothea: "virgo prudens et formosa;" cf. *id.*, III, 273, 374, 548, 550. In secular verse a good example occurs in Mart. Cap. IX, 918, where we read of Leda, the mother of Helen: "*prudens puella pulchrae/mater fuit Lacaenae;/ inlecta sed canore / nescit dolum cavere.*" So Ovid, *M.*, III, 364, says of Echo, who aided Jupiter in his escapades with the nymphs: "*illa deam (Iunonem) longo prudens sermone tenebat.*"

Similar evidence may be adduced for the use of *gracilis* in the sense of 'schlank.' There comes to mind immediately the famous line of Horace, *Od.* I, 5, 1: "*quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa*," on which, it is interesting to note, Professor Shorey remarks: "*gracilis*: *ἰσχνός*,<sup>6</sup> schlank, svelte." Ovid, *Ars Am.*,

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 118. According to Meyer, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Altertum*, XXIX, pp. 213 sq., this formula bespeaks German influence. But this comparison of the complexion to the rose and snow is also a classical literary conceit; cf. *A. J. P.* cited above.

<sup>5</sup> So Allen, *Modern Philology*, VI (1908), p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> Only in later Greek is *ἰσχνός* a complimentary term; cf. the examples below. In the classical Greek it is a term of reproach; cf. Aristoph., *Plut.*, 561; Plat., *Leg.*, 665 E.

II, 660, in his lesson to lovers that "nominibus mollire licet mala," remarks: "sit gracilis, macie quae male viva sua est;" cf. *Ars Am.*, III, 267; *Rem. Am.*, 328. The first of these passages recalls Lucret., IV, 1166: "ischnon eromenion tum fit, cum vivere non quit / prae macie; rhadine verost iam mortua tussi;" Lucretius is following Theocr. x, 24; Battus sings: Μῶσαι Πιερίδες συναείσατε τὰν ῥαδινὰν μοι/παῖδ'—Βομβύκα χαρίεσσα—καλέοντί τυ πάντες,/ἰσχνάν, ἀλίοκαυστον.

That we have to do here with a tradition that slenderness was considered a requisite of the fashionable beauty we may conclude from Terence, *Eun.*, 313: "haud similis virgost virginum nostrarum, quas matres student, / Demissis umeris esse, vincto pectore, ut gracilae sient." And that this tradition goes back as far, at least, as the Alexandrian period we may feel sure from the relation of these Roman poets to the poets of that period, and from the fact that later Greek writers, especially those represented in the Greek Anthology, describe their beloved as λεπτή, ῥαδινή, ἰσχνή all equivalent to the Latin *gracilis*; cf. *A. P.*, v, 173: ὅτε τὰν ῥαδινὰν κόλποις ἔχων ib. v, 102: τὴν ἰσχνὴν Διόκλειαν v, 282: ἡ ῥαδινὴ Μελίτη ταναοῦ ἐπὶ γῆραος οὐδῶ. cf. *Anacr.*, fr. 66 (Bergk, *P. L. G.*, III, p. 273): πρόπινε ῥαδινούς, ὃ φίλε, μηρούς. This tradition, moreover, lived on as we see from Maximian., *Ecl.*, I, 85: "quaerebam gracilem sed quae non macra fuisset," and the presence of *gracilis* as an item in the stereotyped catalogues<sup>7</sup> of Dares; cf. ch. xii: "Antenorem longum, gracilem; Andromacham—longam, formosam,—sapientem;"<sup>8</sup> ch. xiii: "Palamedem gracilem, longum, sapientem." In similar catalogues in Malalas, *Chron.*, v, 41 sq., Astynome is described as λεπτή; so is Andromache, and Pyrrhus and Antenor are λεπτοί; cf. Tzetzes, *Antehom.*, 353, 399; *Posthom.*, 666. Hence Benoit, *Troie*, I, 5499:

<sup>7</sup> Cf. below.

<sup>8</sup> *Sapiens* is apparently a translation of φρόνιμος of the Greek original; so in Malalas, *Chron.*, v, 43-4 Helenus and Glaucus are φρόνιμοι. *Prudens*, also, occurs frequently in Dares; cf. ch. xiii, where Agamemnon, Patroclus, Nestor, Machaon are called *prudentes*. In Mone, *op. cit.*, III, 375, note *sapiens virgo* for the usual *prudens*.

"Andromache fu gresle et blanche," and in *Les Echechs Amoureux*, fol. 8a, we read of Mercury: "le corps avoit gresle;" cf. *Rom. de la Rose*, 805 sq. With the passage from Anacr., ῥαδινὸι μηροί, cited above, cf. the "gracile latus" of *Carm. Bur.*, 143, 3, and the familiar "grailles par les flans" of early French poetry;<sup>9</sup> cf. *Floire et Blanceflor*, 2863; *Narcisus*, 135. Surely, therefore, in view of this evidence, we ought not to be surprised if a *gracilis virgo* turns up in the *Carm. Bur.* or to draw from it any conclusion as to the origin of the poem in which such an expression occurs.

Nor can any argument be based upon the relative simplicity of such expressions as *pulchrior lilio vel rosa* and *rosa rubicundior, lilio candidior*,<sup>10</sup> for no one, in the first place, can decide which is the simpler. The proverbial form, it may be noted, is *lilio candidior* not *lilio pulchrior*, but both forms of the comparison appear everywhere side by side. In old French poetry, for example, the comparison of personal beauty to a flower is common; cf. *Guillaume de Palerme*, 3980: "Jovenet et bel com flors de lis;" *La bataille d'Aleschans*, 3098: "Aelis la rose samble en Mai la matinee;" *Bueves de Commarchis*, 3334: "ma dame est fleurs de lis et rose de saison." Similar expressions occur frequently in early Italian poetry; cf. Guido Guinicelli:<sup>11</sup> "Io vo' del ver la mia donna lodare, /E rassemblarla alla rosa ed al giglio;" so often in Jacopo da Lentino.<sup>12</sup> In Latin hymns, also, this comparison is not uncommon; cf. *Hym. ad Mariam*, in Mone, *op. cit.*, II, p. 95: "Regina nobilis, filia filii, /Rosae consimilis et flori lili;"<sup>13</sup> ib. 2,

<sup>9</sup> The ideal beauty of this poetry is slender; cf. Loubier, *Das Ideal der männlichen Schönheit bei den altfranzösischen Dichtern des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts*, p. 102; Voigt, *Das Ideal der Schönheit und Hässlichkeit in den altfranzösischen chansons de geste*, pp. 25, 52.

<sup>10</sup> For the comparison of the complexion to the rose and lily, cf. my article in *A. J. P.* cited above.

<sup>11</sup> In *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Firenze, 1816, Vol. I, p. 111.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.*, Vol. I, pp. 288, 302, 304.

<sup>13</sup> It is interesting to note, in view of the prevalence of this expression in old French poetry, that this hymn was probably written in France; cf. Mone's note on this line.

p. 424: "O regina—formosa plus quam rosa;" note, too, how often Mary and the Saints are addressed as *rosa*,<sup>14</sup> *vernans rosa*, *florens lilium*, etc.; cf. *ib.*, II, pp. 79, 249; III, 212, 216, 282; cf. Anselm,<sup>15</sup> *Vers. Eporediensis*, 260: "superas genus rosarum." The *Canticum Canticorum*, especially the second chapter, may have had influence here, but the comparison of a girl to flowers is classic, also, and is especially common in the writings of the late Greek rhetoricians; thus Achilles Tatius says of Leucippe, I, 19, that her beauty rivaled the flowers of the meadow;<sup>16</sup> Himerius, *Or.*, I, 15, in describing Severus and his bride, likens their beauty to spring rose-buds in a meadow; Philostr., *Ep.*, 9, says of some roses which faded after he had sent them to his lady, that they could not stand the comparison with her beauty. Cf. Martial's epigram, 12, 64: "Vincentem roseos facieque comaque ministros/Cinna cocom fecit. Cinna gulosus homo est;" Verg., *Ecl.*, VII, 38: "hedera formosior alba;" Catul., 61, 84 sq.

To support the theory that some of the Latin poems among the *Carm. Bur.* are of German origin and contain elements which came ultimately from a wide-spread native poetry, R. Meyer<sup>17</sup> collected from later German poetry a number of formulae which, because of the independent use of them by different poets, came, he concluded, from a popular lyric poetry current before the period from which the earliest remains date, *i. e.*, before 1160. Since, then, he found in Latin lyrics formulae similar to these German formulae, he concluded that the former came from the same source as the latter and were Germanisms. Convincing as many of Meyer's arguments are, they are weakened often, it seems to me, by the fact that

these formulae are, in the first place, of such a character that any poet might have thought of them, and, secondly, that the same formulae occur in classical literary tradition, so that it is impossible to decide whether a poet, writing in Latin, was influenced by the one rather than by the other.<sup>18</sup>

It would be profitable, I am sure, to consider from this point of view all the formulae in these Latin poems which Meyer claims are due to a native German tradition, to see whether they do not occur also in classical tradition. I can point out here a few cases only, in connection with descriptions of Spring, in which this seems to be true.

The appearance in Latin poems of the *Carm. Bur.* of such expressions as *flos purpureus* (100, 1), *locus purpuratus* (34, 2), *purpuratum floret pratum* (106, 1) are, Meyer argues,<sup>19</sup> after a German model and comparable to such phrases as *bluomen rô*t (100 a), *rôt mit rôsen underwieret* (Neidhart,<sup>20</sup> 34, 11); so *hiems saeva transiit* (118, 1), *arbor investitur* (118, 2) are Germanisms, as is the expression *ornantur prata floribus* (115), since in German spring-songs the meadows deck themselves with flowers<sup>21</sup> not, as in classical Latin poetry, with grass.

Although in Latin descriptions of Spring *varii flores* and *varii colores* are, as Meyer holds, common formulae, the use of the word *purpureus*, which he explains as due to German influence, is hardly less common. We may note, in the first place, the *purpureum ver* of Verg., *Ecl.*, IX, 40, which is repeated by Tibul., III, 5, 4, Stat. Silv. III, 3, 130, Colum., *De cult. hort.*, 256, and turns up again in Venantius.<sup>22</sup> *Purpurei flores* are found in Latin poetry of all periods; cf. *Ant. Lat.*, 575: "purpureos

<sup>14</sup> *Rosa* occurs as a term of endearment in Plaut., *Bacch.*, 83.

<sup>15</sup> Dümmler, *Anselm der Peripatetiker*, Halle, 1872.

<sup>16</sup> The comparison of a girl to a meadow of flowers is common; cf. Musaeus, *Hero and Leander*, 60; Philostr., *Ep.*, 21; Aristaen., *Ep.*, I, 10; II, 1; cf. Ovid, *M.*, XIII, 590: "floridior pratis;" *Carm. Bur.*, 154, 6: "rosa prati floridi;" Arborius, *Ad Nympham*, vv, 43 sq.

<sup>17</sup> In the article cited above.

<sup>18</sup> Meyer recognizes this difficulty in case of some of the commonplaces found in both Latin and German poems of the *Carm. Bur.*; cf. *l. c.*, pp. 224 sq.

<sup>19</sup> Allen, *Mod. Phil.*, VI, p. 138, is in hearty accord with Meyer on this point.

<sup>20</sup> Cited by page and line from Haupt's edition, Leipzig, 1858.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Neidhart, 34, 5; 6, 10-12; 18, 6-7.

<sup>22</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctores Antiquissimi*, IV, *Carm.*, vi, 6.

flores<sup>23</sup> humus effert vere comanti;” Nemesian., *Ecl.*, II, 22: “purpureosque—per gramina flores;” Lydia,<sup>24</sup> 66; Verg., *Georg.*, IV, 54, of the bees in Spring: “purpureosque metunt flores;” Tibul., I, 4, 29, of the end of Spring: “quam cito purpureos deperdit terra colores.” Nor are the German poets alone in emphasizing the redness of the rose, for in Latin poetry also it is described as *purpureus*; Ant. Lat. No. 390, 14; 808, 35: “rosa purpureum spargens per prata ruborem;” Nemesian., II, 48, “purpureae rosae,” an expression due, perhaps, to Horace, *Od.*, III, 15, 15: “flos rosae purpureus.” For the transference of this epithet to the fields, cf. Venant., *l. c.*, III, 9: “mollia purpureum pingunt violaria campum.” The Greek poets, we may note, use *πορφύρεος* in the same way; cf. Meleager in *A. P.*, IX, 363: *χείματος ἡμερόντος ἀπ’ αἰθέρος οἰχομένοιο, πορφυρέη μελίδῃσε φερανθέος εἶαρος ὥρη*. Cf. Oppian., *Cyn.*, I, 462: *εἶαρι γὰρ βοτάνησιν ἄδην ποιοτρόφοι αἶα/ἄνθεσι πληθύει τε πολύπνοος ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντη/εὐστέφανοι λειμῶνες ἀνήροτα πορφυρέονσιν* id. Halieut. I, 458: *ἀλλ’ ὅπῳ ἀνθεμόεσσαι ἐπὶ χθονὸς εἶαρος ὥραι/πορφύρεον γελάσωσιν*. I have noticed no example of the use of *πορφύρεον ἄνθος* in Greek descriptions of Spring, but the expression occurs in Dios., I, 134, and was evidently common; cf. the *Schol. ad Luc. Tox.*, 18.

With the second formula, *hiems saeva transiit*, Meyer compares Neidhart, 24, 13: “Nu ist der küele winder gar zergangen; / diu naht ist kurz, der tac beginnet langen,” and says, pp. 207 sq., that it is characteristic of the classical Latin poets to emphasize, in their songs of Spring, the disappearance of the snow, the melting of the ice, etc., which the German poets never do. In view of this statement it is interesting to compare with the verses cited from Neidhart the description of the opening of Spring in Ovid, *Tr.*, III, 12, 1 sq.: “Frigora iam zephyri minuunt, annoque peracto / longior antiquis visa Tomitis hiems, / inposi-

tamque sibi qui non bene pertulit Hellen, / tempora nocturnis aequa diurna facit. / Iam violam puerique legunt hilaresque puellae,<sup>25</sup> / rustica quae nullo nata serente venit;” etc.; cf. Catul., 46: “iam ver egelidos refert tepores, / iam caeli furos aequinoctialis / iocundis Zephyri silescit aureis;” so Verg., *Georg.*, IV, 51 says simply: “ubi pulsam hiemem Sol aureus egit / sub terras;” cf. *ibid.*, III, 328 sq.; Stat. Silv., IV, 5, 5 sq.: “iam trux ad Arctos Parrhasias hiems / concessit altis obruta solibus;” Auson. (?) *Ant. Lat.*, 646: “Ver erat et blando mordentia frigora sensu / Spirabat croceo mane revecta dies;” Pentadius, *ib.*, 235: “De adventu veris: Sentio, fugit hiems; Zephyrisque animantibus orbem / iam tepet Eurus aquis. Sentio, fugit hiems;” cf. also, the *Hymn. ad Mariam*:<sup>26</sup> “iam vinae floruerunt / flores odorem dederunt / iam enim hyems transiit.” In the most famous spring-song of them all, the *Pervigilium Veneris*, reference to winter is omitted altogether; so it is in the description of Spring by Calpurn., *Ecl.*, V, 16 sq., and in that by Ovid, *Fast.*, I, 151 sq.; and Lucret., I, 10 sq., the ultimate source of all these descriptions, is content with saying: “species patefactast verna diei/et reserata vige genitabilis aura favoni.” We find similar introductions in Greek poetry; cf. Meleager, cited above, a very close parallel to Neidhart, *l. c.*; cf. *A. P.*, X, 4: *χειμῶνες γὰρ ἀπέδραμον, ἄρτε δὲ κύμα γλαυκὸν θηλύνει πρηγέλας Ζέφυρος*. Longus, *Past.*, I, 9, begins a description of Spring with the words, “Spring was beginning, and all the flowers were in bloom, in woods and meadows and on the hills;” the rhetorician Himerius makes no reference to winter in his rhapsody of Spring, cf. *Orat.*, III, 1, sq.

There is just as little reason, also, for classing *arbor investitur* as a Germanism because

<sup>23</sup> In *Ant. Lat.*, 14, v. 15, “Europa purpureos iacit flores” because of Verg., *Aen.*, V, 79; vi, 884.

<sup>24</sup> In Vollmer’s ed. of *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. I, p. 74.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Neidhart 3, 18: “wir suln nâch bluomen beide gân.” And yet Meyer cites this line as a parallel to *Carm. Bur.*, 100, 2: “iuvenes ut flores accipiant,” which is, therefore, a Germanism. This and the other expressions I have noted are among those which have “ebenso viele deutsche Entsprechungen—wie wenige lateinische.”

<sup>26</sup> In Mone, *Hymni Medii Aevi*, II, p. 200.

it occurs frequently in German poetry; we find the same expression in Mart., x, 51: "ridet ager, vestitur humus, vestitur<sup>27</sup> et arbor," or does the absence of the prefix in- throw this out of court? We may compare, too, the similar use of *induere*, Pentadius, l. c. vs. 5: "laeta virecta tument, foliis sese induit arbor," an echo, apparently, of Vergil's remark of the Spring, in *Georg.*, iv, 142: "quotque in flore novo pomis se fertilis arbor / induerat;" so Ovid, *Met.*, viii, 280, says of the quick growth of an olive tree under Medea's charms, "fit viridis primo, nec longo tempore frondes / induit." In *Fast.*, i, 153, Ovid uses *operire* in this sense: "modo formatis operitur<sup>28</sup> frondibus arbor." In Greek descriptions of Spring, I have noted no occurrence of the corresponding words, and other figures are employed; cf. Liban., *Descr. Veris*, iv, p. 1052 (Reiske): καὶ δένδρα τὴν κόμην ἀπολαμβάνει Meleager, l. c., vs. 4: καὶ φυτὰ θηλήσαντα νέοις ἐσκόμισε<sup>29</sup> πετῆλοις. Cf. Himerius, l. c.

Nor is it characteristic of Latin poetry, in distinction from German, for the meadows to deck themselves with grass and not with flowers. A few examples will make this clear. *Ant. Lat.*, 574: "Ver agros nitidum gemmis stellantibus ornat;" *ib.*, 572: "Vere novis laeto decorantur floribus arva;" *ib.*, 571: "Vere gravis fundit tellus cum floribus herbas;" Venantius, l. c., vi, 1; "Vere novo, tellus fuerit dum exuta pruinis, / se picturato gramine vestit ager;" Tiberianus, *Ant. Lat.*, 809, 5: "subtus autem molle gramen flore pulcro creverat, / et croco solum rubebat et lucebat liliis," lines which recall another formula which Meyer cites as a Germanism, *Carm. Bur.*, 108: "thymus est sub ea viridi cum gramine," compar-

ing Neidhart 24, 20: "die bluomen dringent durch daz gras;" cf. also Martial's phrase, ix, 92, "gramen floreum," and the line of Fulbert:<sup>30</sup> "flagrat odor quam suavis florida per gramina;" Nemesian., *Ecl.*, ii, 22: "Naiades—purpureosque alites per gramina flores;" Petron., 127, 9: "albaque de viridi riserunt lilia prato;" Lucret., ii, 32: "cum tempestas arridet et anni / tempora conspergunt viridantes floribus herbas;" *ib.*, v, 785: "florida fulserunt viridanti prata colore." Similar expressions are found in Greek; cf. Achil. Tat., i: ἐκόμα πολλοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὁ λειμών; A. P., 10, 5: λειμώνες ὑπὲρ πετάλων ἔχέαντο ἄνθεα. cf. *ib.*, x, 4; Oppian, *Cyn.*, i, 462, cited above; Himer., *Or.*, iii, 5; Theocr. *Id.*, 22, 42: ἄνθεά τ' εὐώδη—ὄσσ' ἔαρος λήγοντος ἐπιβρύει ἂν λειμώνας.

It would seem, therefore, that no conclusion as to the origin of a Latin poem can be drawn from the appearance in it of these formulae. And whenever they occur in connection with other formulæ which are classed as German the latter should be subjected to the same sort of study. In *Carm. Bur.*, 57, 1, for example, occurs the expression, *cordis venator oculus*; a German proverb, says Meyer, and equivalent to 'ez sint gedanke und ougen des herzen jeger tougen,' Freidank, 115. The idea that a maid captures her lover by her eyes is, however, a commonplace in ancient literature,<sup>31</sup> and almost the same words are used by Phaedr., *Fab.*, v, 5, 4, to describe a girl: "oculis venantem viros." Again, Meyer finds his conclusion that *Carm. Bur.*, 118 (cf. above), was written by a German wandering poet supported by the line, "O quam crines flavi." But what force has this when we realize that every Latin poet gives his beloved golden hair?<sup>32</sup> Whether these similarities in poems written by poets of different nationalities and, in most cases, centuries apart, warrant the conclusion that there was but one literary tradition and that the tradition of Greece and Rome, or whether they

<sup>27</sup> With this use of *vestire*, cf. Columella, iv, 27, 1: "ubi se vites frondibus vestierint;" Ovid *Fast.*, iv, 707: "incendit vestitos messibus agros." In old French, *revestir* is used in the same way; cf. Raynouard, *Lexique Roman*, v, p. 530.

<sup>28</sup> With Ovid, *Fast.*, iii, 237, "arboribus redeunt detonsae frigore frondes," cf. Neidhart 22, 10: "Nu ist der walt / schône geloubet, den der winder kalt / het beroubet." So any two poets might sing of Spring, no matter in what age or in what clime they lived.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Stat. *Silv.*, iv, 5, 9: "Nunc cuncta vernans frondibus annuis crinitur arbos."

<sup>30</sup> In Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, pp. 47 sq.; cf. Allen in *Mod. Phil.*, v, 450-1.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. A. J. P. cited above.

<sup>32</sup> This is true of the Greek poets also; cf. *The Sevanee Review*, l. c. and below p. 239 sq.

are to be explained as survivals from a prehistoric poetry, or were developed independently by different peoples<sup>33</sup> who can tell? Whatever the answer may be, these examples show, I trust, the necessity of a careful study of classical literary tradition on the part of him who would discuss the origin of modern poetry.

In the field of Romance literature this necessity is, of course, all the more imperative, and yet here, too, the names of Vergil, Horace, and Ovid alone loom large and scant attention is paid to the existence of a literary tradition of which their poetry represents but a small part. Without this tradition, however, much in early French poetry is difficult of explanation.

In the romance of *Énéas*, vv. 7919 sq., the mother of Lavinia thus describes to her daughter the effects of love: "Pire est amors que fievre ague, / N'est pas retors quant l'en en sue. / D'amors estuet sovent suer / Et refroidir, fremir, trembler / Et sospirer et baillier, / Et perdre tot beivre et mangier / Et degeter et tressaillir," etc. Most of these symptoms the author may have found in Ovid, whom he knew well,<sup>34</sup> but nowhere does Ovid tell us that lovers sweat and yawn. The question arises, then, were these two symptoms invented by the French poet, or did he borrow them from some predecessor?<sup>35</sup> He has borrowed almost everything else and it is fair to conclude, therefore, if we find these unusual symptoms in classical literature, that to it, either directly or indirectly through tradition, they owe their origin.

In the *Aethiopica*, the Greek romance by Heliodorus, which belongs to a type of litera-

ture that had a profound influence upon the Middle Ages, Theagenes, the hero, sees the beautiful Chariclea, the heroine, and immediately succumbs. Although he is giving a banquet to her father and other friends, he cannot conceal the effects of his over-powering passion, he yawns<sup>36</sup> and sighs. His guests perceive that he is unwell and suggest that he has come under the influence of the evil eye. The same suggestion is made to account for the malady from which Chariclea suffers; she weeps floods of tears, her eyes are swollen, her countenance is pale, her thoughts wander, her words are disconnected, she cannot sleep, and visibly falls away. The physician who is called to attend her learns, by feeling her pulse, that her malady is not of the body, but of the heart, is love, and says that she can be cured by him only who inspired her passion. Calasiris, a wise Egyptian, undertakes to bring the two together, and when he talks to Chariclea about love and wedlock with Theagenes, she sweats.<sup>37</sup> Although we have, in Greek and Latin erotic literature,<sup>38</sup> many detailed descriptions of the effects of love upon both man and maid, pounding of the heart, alternate tears and laughter, sudden starting from sleep, evil dreams, pallor, abstraction, chills, fever, trembling, loss of appetite, etc., nowhere else, as far as I have noticed, is yawning mentioned. One other passage which may furnish an example I cite with diffidence; St. August., *Mor. Eccl.*, I, 7, 10, in writing of the effect which the knowledge of the Scriptures has upon the convert, says, "pal-

<sup>33</sup> Heliod., III, 11: ὥς δὲ καὶ χάσμενος ἀνάπλεως κατάδηλος ἦν οὐκ ὑγιαίνων. Gautier d'Arras was, perhaps, not influenced by gallantry when he "transferred to the hero the unpleasant characteristics" of love, Warren, *l. c.*, p. 100. In the love stories of the ancients the hero suffers equally with the heroine.

<sup>37</sup> Id. 4, 11: ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ διερρεῖτο τούτων εἰρημένων.

<sup>38</sup> Good examples are Long., *Past.*, I, 13, 17, 18; II, 7; Achil. Tat., I, 16; Musaeus, 86; Aristaeus, *Ep.*, II, 5; A. P., v, 242-3; Theocr., II, 104 sq.; for the Latin, besides the passages from Ovid cited by Faral, *l. c.*, cf. Claud., *Epith. Nupt. Hon. Aug.* 1 sq.; Sen., *Phaedr.*, 104 sq.; Apul., *Met.*, x, 2; for later Latin, cf. *Ant. Lat.*, 217, 240; *Carm. Bur.* 44, 50, 65; cf. Du Ménil, *Poés. Pop. Lat. du Moyen Age*, p. 224.

<sup>33</sup> To explain some of the similarities between Latin, German, and Old French poetry, on the one hand, and Oriental poetry on the other, both the last two assumptions, Meyer believes, are necessary; cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 226 sq.

<sup>34</sup> As is shown by Faral in *Romania*, XL (1911), pp. 161 sq.

<sup>35</sup> Since these symptoms are found in Chretien, *Cligès*, 462 sq., 875, Warren believes, on good grounds, that they stood in Chretien's source, the Tristan of Thomas, who borrowed them from *Énéas*; cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvii (1912), p. 107 sq.

pitet, aestuat, inhiat amore;" the climax would seem to warrant a literal translation of *inhiat*.

By several writers, on the other hand, both Greek and Latin, sweating is included among the effects of love. In the famous story of Antiochus and Stratonice, as told by Plut. *Demetr.*, 38, the physician, who is summoned to see the love-sick youth, notes among the usual symptoms of his malady, profuse sweating.<sup>39</sup> In a letter of Alciphron, II, 2, a girl writes that she had swooned and sweat on the departure of her lover. According to Plato, *Phaedr.*, 251 B, when one beholds "any bodily form which is the expression of divine beauty," a change as from a chill comes upon him and sweat and unwonted fever. Stat., *Achil.*, I, 306, thus describes the effect upon the young Achilles of his first meeting with Deidamia: "fax vibrata medullis / in vultus atque ora redit, lucemque genarum / tingit, et impulsum tenui sudore pererrat;" and, finally, in a fragment of Valerius Aedituus,<sup>40</sup> in which his lady, Pamphila, is addressed, we read: "dicere cum conor curam tibi, Pamphila, cordis,—per pectus manat—subito mihi sudor." These lines may be an imitation of Theocr., *Id.*, II, 106, where Simaetha describes the effects of her passion for Delphis, how the sweat poured from her face like dew, or Valerius may have drawn directly from the source of Theocritus, the famous poem of Sappho:<sup>41</sup> ἁ δέ μ' ἰδρὼς κακ-  
χέεται, τρόμος δὲ/πάσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα  
δὲ ποίας / ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγῳ πιδεύην /  
φαίνομαι. No better example of the persistence of tradition could be cited, and here we

<sup>39</sup> This is the same story which, mutatis nominibus, is told by Heliodorus; cf. Aristaen., Ep., I, 13. It was spread throughout the west by the *Gesta Roman.*, 40.

<sup>40</sup> In Baehrens, *Fragmenta Poet. Rom.*, p. 275.

<sup>41</sup> Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, p. 26, Frag. 2, and note, p. 233. It is interesting to note that Catul., 51, in his translation of this poem, omits this detail; so does Racine in his imitation, *Phèdre*, I, 3. No such restraint, however, is shown by the old French poets; cf. Warren, *l. c.*, for examples, and add *Venus la Deesse d'Amor*, 27 sq. Cf. Chaucer, *Rom. of the Rose*, 2481: "Though thou for love swelte and swete." So Sappho's "paler than the violet" has become a commonplace; cf. Theocr., *Id.*, 2, 88; Hor. O., III, 10, 14; Tibul., I, 8, 52; Petrarch, *Son.*, I, 188.

have, also, a good illustration of the way in which material found in the earlier writers became, in the hands of later poets and rhetoricians, a mere commonplace.

In the *Énéas*, too, there is another feature which owes its origin to classical literary tradition. The poet describes, vv. 3987 sq., Camille by means of a catalogue of her charms, devoting a line or two to each feature, forehead, eyebrows, eyes, nose, complexion, mouth, and cheeks. M. Faral<sup>42</sup> calls attention to the fact that descriptions of this style are common in the romances of the Middle Ages, that all depict a uniform type of beauty,<sup>43</sup> and he rightly concludes, from the "Descriptio Forme Pulchritudinis" given as a model by Mathieu de Vendôme in his *Ars Versificatoria*, that this description in the *Énéas* was "un produit de la rhétorique alors en vigueur dans les écoles." He is at a loss, however, to account for the origin of this scholastic tradition, but he compares a meager description of the same type in an elegy of Maximianus,<sup>44</sup> and remarks: "C'est donc dans un poème érotique que je trouve le germe des descriptions qui fleuriront dans l'*Énéas*, dans les romans en général," etc. There is, however, little in common between the descriptions in Maximianus and the *Énéas*; the order is not the same, nor, what is of more importance, are the same comparisons<sup>45</sup> employed to express the beauty of each feature. Much closer to the *Énéas*, both in order and in fulness of detail, is the famous *Incerti ad Lydiam* or the *Ad Nympham nimis cultam* of Arborius,<sup>46</sup> both of which poems may belong to a period not much prior to the *Énéas*. But it is folly to look for the origin of such a catalogue in any one poem or in any one type of poetry, for by the time the *Énéas* was written not only had the type of beauty described in such cata-

<sup>42</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 183.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *The Sewanee Review*, I, c.

<sup>44</sup> *El.*, I, 89 sq.

<sup>45</sup> For example Maximian says nothing about the complexion, which in the *Énéas* is described as "plus blanche ert que neis ne glace," v, 3994, a comparison, it may be noted, which goes back to Ov., *M.*, 13, 795: "Galatea—lucidior glacie."

<sup>46</sup> The former in Wernsdorf, *Poet. Lat. Min.*, III, p. 398; the latter, *ib.*, III, p. 217.

logues become a fixed type, namely a golden-haired blonde, but the language in which she is described, the comparisons employed, had become literary commonplaces ready to the hand of every poetaster; witness the catalogues<sup>47</sup> in the *Carm. Bur.*, in Anselm, Allyn de Lisle, Marbodius, A. de Marueil, and others.

Is it, then, as Faral thinks, difficult to decide whence this traditional type of beauty, this practice of cataloguing her charms, these literary commonplaces which were employed to do justice to them, were derived? Surely not if we leave individual authors aside and turn our attention to classical tradition as a whole.

Just at the time when the *Énéas* appeared in western Europe, there was written in eastern Europe the chronicle of Constantinus Manasses. In it<sup>48</sup> occurs this description of Helen of Troy, a description which it is well to compare with that in the *Énéas*:

"She was a woman of great beauty, with beautiful eyebrows, beautiful cheeks, large and beautiful eyes and well-curved eyebrows; her skin was whiter than snow,<sup>49</sup> she was slender, a very meadow of the Graces; her arms were white, she was voluptuous, beauty personified. Her skin was white, her cheeks were tinged with a rosy red laid on by no cunning hand, a blush as when one stains ivory with red dye;<sup>50</sup> her neck was long and very white, whence the story that Helen was born from a swan."

In Joannis Tzetzes, who also wrote in Constantinople during the first half of the twelfth century, we find not only a description of Helen in catalogue form,<sup>51</sup> but of many of the leading

Greeks and Trojans, both male and female.<sup>52</sup> Tzetzes, and presumably Manasses, found these catalogues ready at hand in the *Chronicle* of Malalas,<sup>53</sup> who wrote during the sixth century, and Malalas, in turn, probably found them in his Greek source, as we may conclude from the appearance of similar catalogues in Dares.<sup>54</sup> That, moreover, this practice of describing a woman by means of such catalogues was a part of the training in the schools of this period is shown by the fact that among the writings of Libanius, the leading teacher and rhetorician of the fourth century, there is a *Descriptio Pulchritudinis*.<sup>55</sup> And the type of beauty which is here described is the same, just as the comparisons which are employed to do justice to that beauty are, in a large measure, the same, as that found in the *Ars Versificatoria* of Mathieu de Vendôme written nine centuries later.

The influence of this rhetorical tradition is apparent, moreover, in nearly every form of literature from the second century onwards. A few examples will make this clear. In an epigram of Rufinus (6th cent.), *A. P.*, v. 48, a girl is described: "bright her eyes, her cheeks like glass,<sup>56</sup> and mouth more beautiful than red rose-bud, neck like white marble, gleaming breasts, and feet whiter than silvery Thetis." In the first letter of Aristænetus (4th cent.), a more detailed catalogue is given in this order: cheeks gleaming white and rosy red, lips redder than the cheeks, black eyebrows, straight nose, bright eyes with black pupils, hair like the hyacinthus, white neck, tall, graceful, light of foot, sweet voice. As early as the second century, indeed, the practice was common for Lucian, *Imag.*, 6 sq., gives us a catalogue, in as great a detail, of the charms of Panthea of Smyrna, the flame of the emperor Lucius Varus. Such detailed catalogues appear sel-

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Carm. Bur.*, 40; Anselm, ed. Dümmler, cited above, *Vers. Epor.*, I, 251 sq.; Allyn de Lisle, in Wright, *Sat. Poets of 12th cent.*, II, p. 431; Marbodius, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 171, col. 1655, 1717-8; cf. Hildebert de Tours in Migne, 171, col. 1309; A. de Marueil in Mahn, *Werke d. Troub.*, I, p. 153.

<sup>48</sup> 1158 sq.

<sup>49</sup> Helen was called "snowy" (*νιφόεσσα*) by the Greek poet Ion, fr. 46, Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, p. 575. It is, of course, a commonplace; cf. Bion, I, 10; *A. P.*, v, 35; Mus., 58; Hor., *O.*, II, 4, 3; Ov., *Am.*, III, 3, 6; M., III, 423; Stat. *Achil.*, I, 161, etc.

<sup>50</sup> This is also ancient and goes back to Hom., *Il.*, IV, 141; cf. Verg., *Aen.*, XII, 67; Claud., *De Rapt. Pros.*, I, 272; Stat. *Achil.*, I, 311; *Achil. Tat.*, I, 4.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Antehom.*, 115 sq.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Antehom.*, 223, 353; *Hom.*, 266; *Posthom.*, 469, 493, 653 sq.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. v, 38; 5, 41 sq.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. ch. 12 sq. They vary somewhat in detail.

<sup>55</sup> Ed. by Reiske, IV, p. 1069 sq.

<sup>56</sup> *ὑλαοεσσα παρειή*. Cf. Ov., *M.*, XIII, 791: "Galatea—splendidior vitro;" he found the expression in Hor., *O.*, III, 13, 1: "O fons Bandusiae, splendidior vitro."

dom in the Latin poets of this period, but good examples are furnished by Claud., *Epith. de Nupt. Hon.*, 265, in the description of Maria, the bride of Honorius, and by Stat. *Silv.*, II, 1, 41 sq., of a young boy. They were, however, common since Petronius in his *Saturae*, 126, thus describes a 'beauty':

"crines ingenio suo flexi per totos se umeros effuderant, frons minima et quæ radices capillorum retro flexerat, supercilia usque ad malarum scripturam currentia et rursus confinio luminum pæne permixta, oculi clariores stellis extra lunam fulgentibus, nares paululum inflexæ et osculum quale Praxiteles habere Dianam credidit."

And even in the writers which do not afford us a complete catalogue of the lady they would describe we meet with the same type of beauty and with the same literary conceits. This is true of the Greek poets in the *Anthology*, of Musaeus, Heliodorus, Longus, Philostratus, Alciphron, of the poets in the Latin *Anthology*,<sup>57</sup> of Apuleius, Martial, Statius, and the poets of the Augustan Age.<sup>58</sup> Ovid, indeed, in one or two cases, gives us a catalogue as detailed, at least, as that in Maximianus; cf. *Am.*, III, 3, *Her.*, XIX, 55 sq.

The productions of all the writers which I have mentioned, especially the late Greek writers, are permeated with rhetoric; many of them, indeed, are little more than rhetorical exercises, and the appearance in them of these catalogues of charms, or of the stereotyped formulae of which they are made up, is convincing evidence of the influence of the rhetorical schools. This fact furnishes a simple explanation of the presence of these conceits in the literature of both eastern and western Europe, for professional rhetoricians were great travellers and carried their stock in trade with them. Lucian, for example, gave lectures in Asia Minor, in Greece, in Macedonia, in Italy, in Gaul, and seems to have held the municipal chair of rhetoric in one of the Greek cities in the valley of the Rhone.<sup>59</sup> To them more than to any other

agency we owe it that literary tradition from Homer on through the Middle Ages is one unbroken chain.

Whence, then, it may be asked, did the rhetoricians get this part of their stock? Chiefly, I believe, from the literature of the Alexandrian period, which exercised upon them a predominating influence. A great majority of the formulae, at least, which make up these catalogues go back to this literature,<sup>60</sup> and we may safely conclude that the practice of cataloguing woman's charms also originated there. There has survived from this literature an epigram of Philodemus, *A. P.*, v, 132, in which the poet exclaims in raptures over his lady's beauty and apostrophizes every portion of her anatomy from her feet to her head. In Theocr., *Id.*, 20, 24, we have a short catalogue, raised above the commonplace by his art. A love-sick shepherd describes himself: "About my temples fell my locks, like curling parsley leaves, and white shone my forehead above my dark eyebrows. Mine eyes were brighter far than the glance of the grey-eyed Athene, my mouth than even pressed milk was sweeter, and from my lips my voice flowed sweeter than honey from the honey-comb."<sup>61</sup> We may cite, also, as belonging to this period, although the date is uncertain, the two "portraits" among the Anacreontics,<sup>62</sup> in the first of which the painter is bidden to paint the maid's black hair,<sup>63</sup> her breath of myrrh, her complexion of ivory, her joined eye-brows, black and well arched, her glance of fire, her eyes, blue-grey like Athene's, and languishing like Aphrodite's, her cheeks of roses mingled with milk, lips inviting kisses, marble neck, round which the Graces fly; the second portrait varies in detail only from the first. That such "portraits" were common we may infer from the *Descriptiones* and *Imagines* of the later rhetoricians; cf., also, the

<sup>59</sup> As I have tried to show in *A. J. P.*, l. c.

<sup>61</sup> Translation by Lang. The last comparison comes from Homer, *Il.*, I, 249; it is common henceforth in both Greek and Latin literature and turns up again in Venantius and Eugenius; cf. Warren, *Mod. Phil.*, IX (1912), p. 480, n. 1.

<sup>62</sup> Fr. 15, 16, Bergk *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*, III, pp. 306-7.

<sup>63</sup> This is one of the very few black haired maids in literature from Homer to Shakespeare.

<sup>57</sup> No. 217, written certainly before the eighth century, gives us a detailed catalogue.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *A. J. P.*, cited above for examples of this.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Croiset, *Hist. de la Litt. Grecque*, v, pp. 560 sq.; *ib.* 586 for Lucian's activity as a teacher.

Run-away Eros of Moschus, *Id.*, 2. Ausonius, *Id.*, 7, it may be noted, has painted a picture of Bissula. Many of the formulae in these catalogues are derived, of course, from classic Greek literature, many from Homer, but the catalogue bears every mark of the artificiality of the Alexandrian period, and was due, doubtless, to the same tendency to elaborate detail which characterized Alexandrian art.<sup>64</sup>

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## THE BALLAD OF THE GYPSY DAVY

The following version of the ballad of *The Gypsy Davy*, itself a version of the ballad of *The Gypsy Laddie*, was written down for me by one of my students, Mr. C. V. Sensenbaugh, of Arcanum, Ohio.

Mr. Sensenbaugh states that he learned the ballad orally from his mother when he was a boy, about 1900; that his mother learned it orally from her mother before 1880; and that the grandmother learned it orally from a family named Wolf, before 1840. The Wolf family, in all probability, got hold of it about 1820 or earlier. Mr. Sensenbaugh's relatives never had seen a printed version of the ballad until this year, when *The Gypsy Laddie* of Professor Child's collection (No. 200) was shown to them.

### THE GYPSY DAVY

1. A gypsy riding o'er the plain,  
He sang so loud and clearly;  
He sang and he sang till he made the valley ring,  
And he charmed the heart of a lady.
2. "Will you go with me, my bonnie a lass?  
Will you go with me my honey?  
And I will swear to the sword that hangs by my side  
You shall never want for money."
3. He slipped on his high-heeled boots  
Made out of Spanish leather;  
She slipped on her low cut shoes,  
And away they tripped together.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Lang, *Theocritus, Bion and Moschus*, Intro., pp. xxxiii sq.

4. When the master he came home that night,  
Inquiring for his lady,  
The servant made him a bold reply:  
"She's gone with the Gypsy Davy."
5. "Go saddle me my old grey horse,  
The black one's not so speedie;  
I'll ride all day and I'll ride all night  
Until I find my lady."
6. He rode and he rode till he came to Black Sea,  
Where it looked so dark and shady,<sup>1</sup>  
The tears came trickling down his cheeks,  
When there he beheld his lady.
7. "Will you forsake your house and lot?  
Will you forsake your baby?  
Will you forsake your new-wedded lord  
And go with the Gypsy Davy?"
8. "Yes, I'll forsake my house and lot;  
Yes, I'll forsake my baby;  
Yes, I'll forsake my new-wedded lord,  
And go with the Gypsy Davy."
9. "Last night, I slept on my own feather-bed,  
And in my arms my baby;  
Tonight, I'll sleep in the low wilderness,  
In the arms of my Gypsy Davy."
10. "Last night, I slept on my own feather-bed,  
And in my arms my baby;  
Tonight, I'll sleep the Lord knows where,  
But with my Gypsy Davy."<sup>2</sup>

Professor Child prints eleven versions of the ballad of *The Gypsy Laddie*, two of which are American versions, one entitled *The Gipsy Davy* (J, two variants) and the other, *Lord Garrick* (K, two variants). The J variants were written down in New England, and trace back to about 1840; the K variants were written down in New York, and trace back to about 1820. The oldest printed version of the ballad dates back to the beginning of the eighteenth century (1720-1740).<sup>3</sup>

The version printed here is longer and more complete than any of the other American versions. It bears the closest resemblance to J, although it contains some features not present in any of the American versions, but present in several of the other versions. A brief com-

<sup>1</sup> Variant sometimes heard, *lonely*.

<sup>2</sup> Another line, possibly the last of an eleventh stanza, was quoted:

"Surrounded by the band of gypsies."

<sup>3</sup> See Child, iv, p. 61 (Vol. vii of ten-volume edition).

parison of this version with others follows. For present purposes, the version here printed is referred to as L.

In several of the versions, the lord or master is named. He is Lord Cassilis in B, C, and F; Cassle in E; Castle in G; Corsefield in D; Cashan in I; Garrick in K. He is unnamed in A, H, and L. The gypsy is called Gypsy Davy in C, J, and L; Gypsey Laddie (Loddy) in G, H, I, and K; Johnie (Jockie) Faa (Fa, Faw) in A, B, D, E, and F.<sup>4</sup>

In most of the versions, the gypsy or gypsies come to the lord's gate or house. In H and I, they come by; in Ja, he "came oer the land;" in Jb, he "came tripping over the lea;" and in L, he came "riding o'er the plain." Singing charms the lady in all except D, in which the gypsies were "bonny" and "danced so neat and danced so fine."<sup>5</sup>

Stanza 2 of L reflects a modern influence in the reference to money. In F and G, the lady is asked by her lord why she left her money; but in no version besides L does the gypsy promise her that she shall not want for money. Usually, the gypsy swears that the lady's lord shall no more come near her (A, B, C, F); in Cb, the lady swears by her fan to the same effect; in D, the gypsy swears that his own hand shall not come near the lady; in E, F, and I, the Lord, in seeking to recover his lady, avows a similar protection to her if she will return home.

In most of the versions appear several detailed incidents preparatory to the flight of the lady with the gypsy. Stanza 3 of L stands for these incidents. This stanza is found also in G, I, and K. G reads as follows:

She pulld off her high-heeld shoes,  
They was made of Spanish leather;  
She put on her highland brog(u)es,  
To follow the gypsey loddy.

I reads as follows:

'They took off my high-heeled shoes,  
That were made of Spanish leather,  
And I have put on coarse lowlwnd brogues,  
To trip it oer the heather.'

<sup>4</sup>In C, the lord's wife is referred to as Jeanie Faa.

<sup>5</sup>The first stanza of K is lacking.

K as delivered agreed with L; but as Professor Child remarks (p. 63), these high-heeled boots were wrongfully transferred to the gypsy. The corrected reading of K is

They brought her down her high-heeled shoes  
Made of the Spanish leather,  
And she took off her low-heeled shoes,  
And away they went together.

The reading of L probably should be

She slipped on her high-heeled boots,  
Made out of Spanish leather;  
She slipped off her low cut shoes,  
And away they tripped together.

Stanza 4 of L, with very slight variations in the wording, is the same as in all the other versions.

Stanza 5 has the usual variation in the color of the horses. In A<sup>2</sup>, the master saddles the black as the brown is not so speedy; the same order is found in Ba, D, E, F, Jb; in Bb<sup>2</sup>, the colors are reversed, as they are in I. In Ja he takes the black in preference to the grey; in K, the brown in preference to the grey. In G, he takes a milk-white steed; and in H, he asks to saddle the bay and saddle the grey. The order in L is unique among the versions.

The boast as to what the master will do or will not do until he seeks, finds (or recovers), his lady is similar in all the versions. In A and F, he will not eat or sleep; in B, D, and E, he will not eat or drink; in C, he will not eat, sleep, or drink; in I, J, and L, he will ride all night and all day.

In all of the versions, the lord sets out to find his lady. In B, he finds her at the wan water; in C, in Abbey Dale, drinking with Gipse Davy; in F, near Strabogie, drinking wi Gypsie Geordie; in J, by the riverside; in K, at the Misty Mount; in L, at the Black Sea. In L, we are told also that

The tears came trickling down his cheeks,  
When there he beheld his lady.

No parallel to these lines is found in any of the other versions.

When the lord finds his lady, he "asks her tenderly if she will go home, Ba, E, F, and I; he expostulates with her, more or less reproach-

fully, C, F, G, H, and J."<sup>6</sup> He expostulates with her also in L.

In most of the versions, the lady declines to return with her lord. She does not care for houses or lands or babes in G, H, J, and L.

Stanzas 9 and 10 of L do not appear in the other American versions. I and L are the only versions in which these stanzas are addressed by the lady to her lord. In both of these versions, also, the two stanzas are placed near the end of the ballad; in the other versions the corresponding stanzas come just before or just after the flight of the lady with the gypsy; and she addresses them to the gypsy. They of course are reflective of the change about to take place in her life.

A. 'Yestreen I lay in a well-made bed,  
And my good lord beside me;  
This night I'll lay in a tenant's barn,  
Whatever shall betide me.' (B, C, D, F<sup>6</sup> are similar.)

E. 'Aft hae I lain in a saft feather-bed,  
Wi my gude lord aside me,  
But now I maun sleep in an auld reeky kilt,  
Alang wi a gypsie laddie.'

F is the only version which agrees with L in devoting two stanzas to this same sentiment. The fifth stanza of F agrees with A quoted above. The sixth reads

'Last night I lay in a weel-made bed,  
Wi silken hangings round me;  
But now I'll lie in a farmer's barn,  
Wi the gypsies all around me.'

In H, which is a defective version, the lord addresses this stanza to his lady. Only two lines are preserved:

'The tother night you was on a feather bed,  
Now you're on a straw one.' . . .

In B, C, D, and E, another sort of reflective stanza is found. It is spoken by the lady when she arrives at the stream which must be waded:

B. 'Aften have I rode than wan water,  
And my lord Cassilis beside me,  
And now I must set in my white feet and wade,  
And carry the gypsie laddie.'

The final disposition of the lady, in most cases, is uncertain. In E, we are told that the lord carried his lady back with him; but Pro-

<sup>6</sup> Child, p. 63.

fessor Child says that this portion of E is spurious. Professor Child adds, however, that the return of the lady may be inferred from the hanging of the gypsies. In the different versions, from seven to sixteen gypsies are hanged by the lord. J, an imperfect American version, has the lord marry again within six months after the elopement. The version here printed agrees with most of the others in having the lady remain with the gypsy.

The names of the persons mentioned in several of the versions of this ballad are known to history. Johnny Faa is referred to in documents of the sixteenth century, and the name was prominent and common among gypsies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Earl of Cassilis lived during the seventeenth century; his wife became the heroine of the ballad late in that century. For a complete statement concerning these persons and the traditional story of the abduction in which they were the principals, see Child, IV (VII), pp. 63-65.

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## NOVALIS ON FORM AND CONTENT

Nothing seems more unlike a system than Novalis' "Fragments." Yet his thoughts recur so persistently that it would be possible to get them together into something like a theory of the will, or of the imagination, or of an anticipation of many of the chief teachings of Christian Science, etc. Among these possible little systems we find one that has to do with the problem of form and content. For the most part his observations are scattered about like the other "Fragments," especially those having to do with concrete or real form and content. In Vol. II, however, of Ernst Heilborn's edition we find what is for Novalis a rather long discussion of the subject on its abstract side. This entire section is No. IV, between pages 606 and 619. It is entitled *Stoff und Form*. There is a great deal of repe-

tion in an effort to state his views as succinctly as possible. In general the following distinctions are made and kept: Pure form, or ideal form, or form only in thought is motion moving nothing, or action acting upon nothing, or reference referring to nothing, or relation relating to nothing. That is motion, action, reference, relation in the abstract. Pure substance (Stoff) is that which is to be moved, acted upon, referred or related, but which is not. Pure substance is thus subject, from which the start is made; pure form is predicate, or the whither. All this is in the abstract. "Stoff überhaupt ist Bezogenes. Form überhaupt Beziehung" (P. 614). "Ruhe ist Karakter des reinen Stoffs, Bewegung der Karakter der reinen Form" (P. 607). Pure (ideal) form and pure (ideal) substance do not exist, but are only a fiction, though a necessary fiction, of the imagination. "Reinen Stoff und Form giebt's nicht" (P. 614).

Over against these abstractions, however, Novalis sets real or empirical form and substance. "Die reine Form ist das Beziehn ohne Beziehungsgrund: Handlung schlechtweg. Die empirische Form—beziehn auf einen Beziehungsgrund überhaupt, Causalität" (P. 608). So likewise: "der reine Stoff ist Seyn, der empirische Stoff ist Bezogenseyn (Daseyn)" (P. 609). In a simple real existence, as in the work of art, form and substance are so inextricably woven together that they cannot be sundered. "Wie kann der Gedanke scheiden, was Gott zusammenfügte?" (P. 607). This real existing thing is a unit resultant. It is substance related, referred, *i. e.*, formed, or it is form checked, at rest, *i. e.*, substantiated. Content as real content comes into being only through form, form as real form comes into being only through substance. "Aller Stoff ist mögliche Form, alle Form möglicher Stoff" (P. 611). Further on (P. 619) Novalis identifies "absolute Form" with "Schein," and "absoluter Stoff" with "Seyn," and continues: "Keins ist ohne das andre erkennbar." Or "Schein is Realität aller Form, Seyn die Realität alles Stoffs. Kein Seyn, kein Schein. Kein Schein, kein Seyn . . . beydes ist nichts ohne das Andre."

This theorizing throws light on single passages referring to expression in a more concrete way. Most of them are to be found in Vol. II.<sup>1</sup>

P. 87: "Wir wissen etwas nur, insofern wir es ausdrücken, *i. e.*, machen können. Je fertiger und mannichfacher wir etwas produciren, ausführen können, desto besser wissen wir es. Wir wissen es vollkommen, wenn wir es überall und auf alle Art mitteilen, erregen können, einen individuellen Ausdruck in jedem Organ desselben bewirken können."

P. 106: "Jeder Mensch hat seine eigne Sprache. Sprache ist Ausdruck des Geistes. Individuelle Sprachen. Sprachgenie. Fertigkeit in und aus andern Sprachen zu übersetzen. Reichthum und Euphonie jeder Sprache. Der ächte Ausdruck macht die klare Idee. Sobald man nur die rechten Namen hat, so hat man die Ideen mit. Durchsichtiger, leitender Ausdruck."

These last two sentences are an extreme statement of the principle that content comes into being through form, while the first intimates strongly the individuality of every true expression.

Pages 163-165: Here Novalis goes on in his soliloquizing fashion to speak of the subjectivity of the artistic process. Among other things he says: "Wie der Mahler mit ganz andern Augen, als der gemeine Mensch die sichtbaren Gegenstände sieht—so erfährt auch der Dichter die Begebenheiten der äuszren und innern Welt auf eine sehr verschiedene Weise vom gewöhnlichen Menschen. . . . Der Mahler malt eigentlich mit dem Auge. Seine Kunst ist die Kunst, regelmäszig und schön zu sehn. Sehn ist hier ganz activ, durchaus bildende Thätigkeit. Sein Bild ist nur seine Chiffer, sein Ausdruck, sein Werckzeug der Reproduktion. (Here "Ausdruck" does not refer to essential form). . . . Der Musiker hört eigentlich auch active. Er hört heraus. Freylich ist dieser umgekehrte Gebrauch der Sinne den Meisten ein Geheimniz, aber jeder

<sup>1</sup>They appear to be, for the most part, of a slightly earlier date than the theories referred to. But nearly all the "Fragments" belong to the years 1798-1799.

Künstler wird es sich mehr oder minder deutlich bewusst seyn. Fast jeder Mensch ist in geringen (*sic*) Grad schon Künstler. Er sieht in der That heraus und nicht herein. Er fühlt heraus und nicht herein. Der Hauptunterschied ist der: der Künstler hat den Keim des selbstbildenden Lebens in seinen Organen belebt u. s. w."

P. 527 (Vol. II<sub>2</sub>): "Denken ist sprechen. Sprechen oder thun oder machen sind Eine, nur modificirte Operation. Gott sprach, es werde Licht, und es ward."

P. 645: "Wir wissen nur in so weit wir machen."

The similarity of these suggestions with the views made familiar to us in the luminous treatise of Croce<sup>2</sup> is apparent. Like that writer, too, Novalis draws the only logical conclusion of his assertions when he comes to speak of the appreciation of the work of art. He says (P. 80): "[Wer keine Gedichte machen kann, wird sie auch nur negativ beurtheilen. Zur ächten Kritik gehört die Fähigkeit das zu kritisirende Produkt selbst hervorzubringen. Der Geschmack allein beurtheilt nur negativ.]" This passage is in brackets, indicating that the editor found it crossed out in the manuscript. Perhaps Novalis felt that it was a rather extreme statement of the idea that the activity of the critic is the same in kind as that of the productive artist. The thought occurs again on page 179: "Man versteht Künstler, insofern man Künstler ist und wird." And again, applied in his peculiar fashion to religion, on page 645: "Wir können die Schöpfung als Sein (Gottes) Werck nur kennen lernen, insofern wir selbst Gott sind. Wir kennen sie nicht, inwiefern wir selbst Welt sind."

As a corollary to this proposition we find in Novalis, as in Croce, a very sane view of the genius. He insists over and over again on the qualities of reason, plan, economy in the poet. Here, as in the moral sphere, he demands that all mere instinctive activity be raised into conscious activity. "Die intuitive Darstellung beruht auf systematischen (*sic*) Denken und

Anschauen." (P. 212). The remarkable correspondence of his isolated sayings appears when we connect this sentence with a passage on page 532: "Jeder Tugend entspricht eine spezifische Unschuld. Unschuld ist moralischer Instinct. Tugend ist die Prosa, Unschuld die Poesie. . . . Die Tugend soll wieder verschwinden und Unschuld werden." Here he implies that "rohe Unschuld" should change to "gebildete Unschuld," the transition being made through Tugend or bewusste Unschuld. So in every activity of the human mind rude instinct shall pass into conscious activity, and this in turn into educated instinct. The first step of this change we find demanded on page 88 in these words: "Alles Unwillkührliche soll in ein Willkührliches verwandelt werden." And on page 324: "Es musz nichts Unwillkührliches, Regellooses in einer bestimmten Handlungsweise des menschlichen Geistes seyn—überall Kunst und Wissenschaft. . . . Kunst ist die vollkommene Anwendung einer Kenntnis." The second step results then naturally from practice. The final activity is that kind of consciousness which Croce describes as lacking "reflectiveness."

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### MILTON'S *LYCIDAS* AND SPENSER'S *RUINES OF TIME*

In looking through the notes to some five or six editions of *Lycidas*, I did not find a single reference to Spenser's *Ruines of Time*. Allusions to Spenser there are indeed,—to several of the eclogues in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, to the *Tears of the Muses*, to *Astrophel*,<sup>1</sup> to *Prothalamion*, and to the *Faerie Queene*. In almost every case the reference is interesting rather than striking. It appears to me that if any poem of Spenser's is to be resorted

<sup>2</sup> *Aesthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic*, translated from the Italian of Benedetto Croce by Douglas Ainslie. Macmillan and Co., 1909.

<sup>1</sup> There are allusions, also, to the non-Spenserian elegies in the *Astrophel* group.

to for annotations to *Lycidas* it should be the *Ruines of Time*.

It would appear that this poem has not generally received the recognition it richly merits. So far as I can recall, only one writer, Oliver Elton,<sup>2</sup> speaks of it in terms of great praise. It is not possible, however, to make this praise unqualified, for the *Ruines of Time* is far from being a masterpiece. In the *Ruines*, Spenser has not reached the high art, nor does he often attain it, that would enable him to shun the incongruous, the diffuse, and would limit him to the single mood and conception. Hence, the poem is a great deal of a medley. Now the poet introduces an emblematic figure in the manner of Du Bellay's *Songe*,<sup>3</sup> then he bewails the 'ruins' of Verlame in close imitation of the same poet's *Antiquitez de Rome*,<sup>4</sup> next he takes up his main theme, the elegiac strain of mourning for his loved Philisides. For a brief time he turns pastoralist, but he soon forgoes the oaten pipe, to discourse on Fame, on the vanity of temporal monuments, and on the sole earthly thing that is eternal,—poetic immortality. This falls in with his moralizing, earlier in the poem, on the perished grandeur of ancient cities. We have incidentally a necrology of the Dudleys, Sidney's noble family—a panegyric strain. Finally, come two series of visions made after the model of Du Bellay's *Songe* and his own *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*, and, at the end, there is an Envoy, which is also a dedication. Here, certainly, is a rare mingling of many inventions of the Muses. But in more than one passage, notably in the lines on Fame and Poetic Immortality, and in the pastoral stanzas, Spenser attains a noble felicity of phrasing, and an earnestness, that warrant one in coupling the work with Milton's great elegy.

Despite the heterogeneous nature of the *Ruines of Time* it can be seen that the poem is, above all, an elegy. If we discard the completely non-elegiac parts of the poem, it may be said, I think, that in the development there is much, in a general way, to remind one of

*Lycidas*. Both poems are marked by a like interchange of moods,—now mournful, then argumentative and speculative, then the mood of the higher hope, and again the reversion to the sorrowing undertone, followed by the sad serenity at the end. This motivation, if I may so name it, while characteristic of all great elegies, has not, I believe, been noted of the *Ruines of Time*, or, at least, not in connection with *Lycidas*. I do not claim, of course, that the two show a *parallel* sequence of moods. In addition, both poets use the elegy as a vehicle for the expression of views that lay near to their hearts, and which were naturally, but not fundamentally, connected with their theme. What is more, the personal views of both are strikingly similar, though, of course, not identical. This fact is especially important because of the compression, the pithiness, that is so marked in the portions of *Lycidas* under discussion. Exception must be made of the lines spoken by St. Peter, but the passages that touch upon Fame and Poetry, for example, have a Browningsque terseness and obscurity, as witnessed by the detailed and wordy editorial attempts at clarification.

Owing to the similarity mentioned, the *Ruines of Time* serves, in its very diffuseness, as a notable commentary to more than one *locus* in the later elegy. There is no curtailment of phrase in Spenser's poem;—elaboration, and not concision, is its distinguishing feature.

I shall now give some of the passages in the *Ruines of Time* that have struck me in connection with *Lycidas*. Needless to say, I do not cite these in the nature of verbal parallels, or to prove that Milton must needs have consciously imitated them. Verbal parallels often cast doubt upon the very relationship they are meant to substantiate; whereas a reading of the two poems under consideration will, I think, show that to institute comparisons here is not altogether a profitless undertaking. I cite the following, then, as from one point of view an anticipatory and enlightening commentary by Spenser on several classic passages in *Lycidas*. From another standpoint, the excerpts may be found significant as helping to prove Milton's

<sup>2</sup> See his *Modern Studies (Literary Fame)*.

<sup>3</sup> Englished by Spenser as the *Visions of Bellay*.

<sup>4</sup> Englished by Spenser as the *Ruines of Rome*.

familiarity with, and possible indebtedness to, another poem of his favorite poet.

In lines 9 and 10 of *Lycidas*, we find the conventional elegiac repetition:

For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,  
Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer.

The device is used again in ll. 58-59, and 37-38:

But oh! the heavy change, now thou art gone,  
Now thou art gone, and never must return.

Spenser resorts frequently to repetition:

"He now is dead, and all is with him dead,

He now is dead, and all his glorie gone,  
And all his greatnes vapoured to nought."<sup>5</sup>

Another instance is in the *Envoy*:

"Give leave to him that lov'de thee to lament  
His loss, by lacke of thee to heaven sent,  
And with last duties of this broken verse  
Broken with sighes, to decke thy sable herse."<sup>6</sup>

Further on in his poem Milton asks,

Who would not sing for Lycidas? he knew  
Himself to sing and build the lofty rhyme.<sup>7</sup>  
He must not float upon his watery bier  
Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,  
Without the need of some melodious tear.

Spenser expresses this thought:

"Yet will I sing; but who can better sing,<sup>8</sup>  
Than thou thy selfe, thine owne selves valiance  
That, whiles thou livedst, madest the forests ring,  
And fields resound, and flockes to leap and daunce,  
And shepheards leave their lambs unto mischaunce,  
To run thy shrill Arcadian pipe to heare:  
O happie were those dayes, thrice happie were!"

The last part of this stanza recalls Milton's

<sup>5</sup> ll. 211 and 218 ff.

<sup>6</sup> ll. 676 ff.; and cf. ll. 190 ff. These do not exhaust the occurrences in the *R. of T.* of what Putterham calls "*Anadiplosis, or the Redouble.*"

<sup>7</sup> See Professor Trent's note to this line. Spenser's idea of poetic monuments is as near a reminder of 'lofty rhyme,' as anything mentioned by editors.

<sup>8</sup> ll. 323 ff.

Meanwhile the rural ditties were not mute,  
Tempered to the oaten flute;  
Rough Satyrs danced, and Fauns with cloven heel  
From the glad sound would not be absent long;  
And old Damoetas loved to hear our song.

The later poet speaks of himself after an invocation to the Muses:

Begin then, Sisters of the sacred well<sup>9</sup>  
That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring;  
Begin, and somewhat loudly sweep the string.  
Hence with denial vain and coy excuse—  
So may some gentle Muse  
With lucky words favor my destined urn  
And as he passes turn,  
And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud!

Spenser sounds the personal note and makes his invocation somewhat differently:

"Yet whilst the Fates affoord me vitall breath,  
I will it spend in speaking of thy praise,  
And sing to thee, untill that timelie death  
By heavens doome doo ende my earthlie daies:  
Thereto doo thou my humble spirite raise,  
And into me that sacred breath inspire,  
Which thou there breathest perfect and entire."<sup>10</sup>

In the passage that follows Milton takes up the theme that Spenser treats with wearying thoroughness in his *Tears of the Muses*:

Alas! what boots it with uncessant care  
To tend the homely slighted shepherd's trade,  
And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?  
Were it not better done, as others use,  
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,  
Or with the tangles of Neaera's hair?

Then come the noble lines on Fame and on the true meed of the poet. Nowhere is Milton's reticence, his packed thought, in greater evidence. Truly he had learned, almost too well, the virtue of "the purgation of superfluities."

Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise  
(That last infirmity of noble mind)  
To scorn delight and live laborious days;  
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,  
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Ruines of Time* (l. 394), "whom the Pierian sacred sisters love."

<sup>10</sup> ll. 309 ff., and cf. ll. 225 ff.

Comes the blind Fury with the abhorrèd shears,<sup>11</sup>  
 And slits the thin-spun life. "But not the praise,"  
 Phoebus replied, and touched my trembling ears:  
 "Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,  
 Nor in the glistering foil  
 Set off to the world, nor in broad rumor lies,  
 But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes  
 And perfect witness of all-judging Jove;  
 As he pronounces lastly on each deed,  
 Of so much fame in heaven expect thy meed!

Spenser's treatment of these themes is necessarily different. To begin with, his argument is 'ruins,'—the *Ruines of Time*, the *Worlds Ruines*, as he says in his dedication to the poem. Hence his transition is not from the 'sighted shepherd's trade,' to Fame and the final reward, but from the vanity of earthly monuments, of 'the glistering foil set off to the world,' to Fame and the final reward. The parallel development, which merits noting, at least, becomes clear.

Spenser is moved by doubts similar in their trend, to those that trouble his great successor:

"What booteth it to have been rich alive?  
 What to be great? what to be gracious?  
 When after death no token doth survive  
 Of former being in this mortall hous,  
 But sleepes in dust dead and inglorious."<sup>12</sup>

And again,

"But ah! what bootes it to see earthlie thing  
 In glorie or in greatnes to excell,  
 Sith time doth greatest things to ruine bring?"

And once more in ll. 50 ff.,

<sup>11</sup>'Blind Fury' is, as noted by editors, probably borrowed from Spenser's *Ruines of Rome* (Sonnet xxiv), where the poet so translates Du Bellay's 'Si l'aveugle Fureur,' of the *Antiquitez de Rome*. Cf. Spenser's

"or one of those three fatall impes  
 Which draw the dayes of men forth in extent."  
 (*R. of Time*, ll. 17-18) and

"Yet whilest the Fates affoord me vitall breath."  
 (*idem*, l. 309) and again, l. 181, the closest reminder,  
 "So soone as Fates their vitall thred have shorne."

<sup>12</sup>ll. 351 ff. This is the ever-recurrent theme of Du Bellay in his *Antiquitez* and in his *Songe*. It is, similarly, the keynote of the greater portion of Spenser's early poetry.

"Why then dooth flesh, a bubble glas of breath,  
 Hunt after honour and advauncement vaine,  
 And reare a trophee for devouring death  
 With so great labour and long lasting paine,  
 As if his daies for ever should remaine?"

In vaine doo earthly princes then, in vaine,  
 Seeke with pyramides, to heaven aspired,  
 Or huge colosses, built with costlie paine,  
 Or brasen pillours, never to be fired,  
 Or shrines, made of the mettall most desired,  
 To make their memories for ever live."<sup>13</sup>

But from this discomfort springs the great faith:

"For deedes doe die, how ever noblie donne,  
 And thoughts of men do as themselves decay,  
 But wise words taught in numbers for to runne,  
 Recorded by the Muses, live for ay,  
 Ne may with storming showers be washt away;  
 Ne bitter breathing windes with harmfull blast,  
 Nor age, nor envie, shall them ever wast."<sup>14</sup>

Then, finally, Spenser voices the conviction that Milton has expressed in the same spirit, and in a manner not unlike:

"But Fame with golden wings aloft doth flie,  
 Above the reach of ruinous decay,  
 And with brave plumes doth beate the azure skie,  
 Admir'd of base-borne men from farre away" (ll. 421 ff.).

In connection with the allegoric figure of Camus it is perhaps not too fanciful to mention the lady emblematic of Verlame, in the *Ruines of Time*—"th' auncient genius of that citie brent" (l.19).

<sup>13</sup>ll. 407 ff. This passage is surely a fine commentary on Milton's

Nor in the glistering foil  
 Set off to the world, nor in broad rumor lies.  
 See in Professor Trent's edition of Milton's *Comus*, etc., the note, quoting Jerram.

<sup>14</sup>ll. 400 ff. To the same effect is many another passage:

"Provide therefore (ye princes) whilest ye live,  
 That of the Muses ye may friended bee,  
 Which unto men éternitie do give;  
 For they be daughters of Dame Memorie  
 And Jove, the father of Eternitie,  
 And so those men in golden throne repose,  
 Whose merits they to glorifie do chose" (ll. 365 ff.).  
 And again (ll. 428 ff.).

After the bitter words of St. Peter, comes the gentle passage wherein the flowers are gathered

To strew the laureate hearse where Lycid lies.<sup>15</sup>  
Then we have the transition,

For so to interpose a little ease,  
Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise—

This makes one think of a similar transition in the *Ruines of Time* (ll. 159 ff.):

"Yet it is comfort in great languishment,  
To be bemoaned with compassion kinde,  
And mitigates the anguish of the minde."

Now we are ready for the last *motif* of *Lycidas*:

Weep no more, woeful shepherds, weep no more,<sup>16</sup>  
For Lycidas, your sorrow, is not dead,  
Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor;

So Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high,  
Through the dear might of Him that walked the waves,

Where, other groves and other streams along,  
With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves,<sup>17</sup>  
And hears the unexpressive nuptial song,  
In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love.  
There entertain him all the Saints above,

<sup>15</sup> Compare, in the *Envoy*,

"And with last duties of this broken verse,  
Broken with sighes, to decke thy sable herse."

I might add in regard to the flower-passage (which many editors find to resemble a stanza in Spenser's fourth Eclogue of the *Sh. Cal.*) that if the resemblance is admitted, Milton is indirectly indebted to Clément Marot (Eclogue *De Madame Loyse*, ll. 229 ff.) after whom Spenser had modeled the lines in question. The trick, however, is a constantly recurrent one in pastoral and elegiac poetry. See Herford's ed. of *Shep. Cal.*, note p. 121.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Marot, in his Eclogue, *De Madame Loyse* (1531):

"Non, taisez-vous, c'est assez deploré;

Elle est aux Champs Elysiens receue?" etc.  
which Spenser imitates in his November eclogue, (Herford's note, p. 187—*Shep. Cal.*). Also the undersong, which changes from  
"Chantez mes vers, chantez dueil ordonné" (l. 93),  
to

"Cessez, mes vers, cessez icy vos plaincts." (l. 260.)

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Ruines of Time* (ll. 398 ff.):

"But with the gods, for former virtues meede,  
On nectar and ambrosia do feed,"  
and note ll. 195 ff. of the November eclogue.

In solemn troops and sweet societies,  
That sing, and singing in their glory move,  
And wipe the tears forever from his eyes.

Let us see how Spenser handles, in a similar way, a slightly different conception:

"But now more happie thou, and wretched wee,  
Which want the wonted sweetnes of thy voice,  
Whiles thou now in Elisian fields so free,  
With Orpheus<sup>18</sup> and with Linus, and the choice  
Of all that ever did in rimes rejoyce,  
Conversest, and doost heare their heavenlie layes,  
And they heare thine, and thine doo better praise.  
So there thou livest, singing evermore,  
And here thou livest, being ever song  
Of us, which living loved thee afore,  
And now thee worship, mongst that blessed throng  
Of heavenlie poets and heroes strong" (ll. 330 ff.).

In closing, I wish to repeat that I have not drawn the comparisons in the belief that Spenser's poem is the source of the annotated passages in *Lycidas*. On this question, it is best to maintain a discreet silence. I am in hopes, however, that the citations from the *Ruines of Time* will be found interesting elaborations by Spenser on themes that the great elegist of a later day touched upon with brief and pithy, but immortal words.

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## A RABBINICAL LEGEND IN THE CAVALLERO CIFAR

Professor C. Carroll Marden has called my attention to the following passage in a fourteenth century Spanish work of fiction, the *Historia del Cavallero Cifar*,<sup>1</sup> as containing a curious addition to the Biblical narrative of the deluge:

<sup>18</sup> Orpheus is a favorite theme with both poets. Cf. Milton's passage on Orpheus (ll. 58 ff.) with

"for pitie of the sad wayment,  
Which Orpheus for Euridyce did make" (*R. of Time*, ll. 380-1).

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Michelant, *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. CXII (Tübingen, 1872), p. 34. Obviously necessary corrections have been made in Michelant's text.

"Dios . . . partiolos en setenta lenguajes: los treynta e seys lenguajes en el linaje de Jafet, e los diez e ocho en el linaje de Sem, e los seze en el lenguaje de Cam, fijos de Noe; e este lenguaje de Cam, fijo de Noe, ovo la menor parte de todos estos lenguajes por la maldicion que le dio su padre en lo tenporal, por que le erro en dos manerras: la primera, porque yogo con su muger en el arca, onde ovo un fijo que le dixieron Cus, cuyo fijo fue . . . Ninbrot; e fue maldicho entonce Cam en los bienes. E otrosy dizen los Judios que fue maldito este Cam, porque yogo con la cadilla en el arca. E la maldicion fue esta, que quantas vagadas yoguiese el can con la cadilla, que fuesen ligados, pero los Christianos dezimos que non es verdad: ca de natura lo han los canes, desde que formo Dios el mundo e todas las otras cosas. E el otro yerro que fizo Cam [fue], quando se embriago su padre, e lo descubrio, faziendo escarnio del."

The ultimate source of the statements about the first offence committed by Ham against his father is to be found in a Rabbinical story found in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 108b). After referring to the well-known idea, based upon Genesis, vi, 18, and viii, 16, that sexual intercourse was forbidden in the ark,<sup>2</sup> the text goes on to make the following remark, which, guided by a famous observation of Boileau's, I give in Latin: "Tres coierunt in arca et omnes puniti sunt, videlicet, canis, corvus, et Cham; canis ligatur (in coeundo), corvus sput [semen ore suo in os uxoris], et Cham punitus est cute [quod Cus ex eo natus est]."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>This notion is found, e. g., in the *Mistère du Vieil Testament*. The editor of the latter, Baron James de Rothschild, or rather his informant, Chief Rabbi Zadoc Kahn, cites (vol. I, p. lxxx) only the eighth-century *Pirke de R. Eliezer* as the Rabbinical source of the idea, though it is found in the passage cited from the Babylonian Talmud (which is at least two hundred years older than the *Pirke de R. Eliezer*), and is there attributed to R. Johanan, who died in 279.

<sup>3</sup>The passages given in brackets are extracts from the commentary of Rashi (1040-1105). Another version of the Rabbinical story (translated in Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, iv. [Leipsic, 1889], s. v. *paham*, and referred to as found in the Palestinian Talmud, *Ta'an* I., *ad finem*, 64d) terminates thus: "Cham (Aethiopien) kam daher geschwärzt heraus, der Hund kam als bekannt durch seine Geilheit, der Rabe kam als

It will be seen that the author of the *Cavallero Cifar*, or his source, has confused the statements about Ham and the dog. A friendly critic suggests that the resemblance in Spanish between *Cam* and *can* may have aided in bringing about the confusion.

From the context in which the story appears it would seem that the Talmudic legend was derived by the author of the *Cifar* from a written source, presumably in Latin, rather than from an oral communication from some one familiar with the tractate *Sanhedrin*. I have been unable to discover any such Latin source; writers like St. Jerome and Petrus Comestor, whose works contain considerable Rabbinical material, do not seem to mention the legend. The text of Nicolaus de Lyra's commentary on Genesis is not accessible, and could hardly throw much light on the question, as it is contemporaneous with the *Cifar*.<sup>4</sup> It may be that, as in the case of other mediæval echoes of Rabbinical traditions,<sup>5</sup> we should assume the existence of an intermediary work by an author familiar with Jewish literature. Perhaps we shall have to wait for the explanation of the matter until more of the unpublished Latin exegetical works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have seen the light.<sup>6</sup>

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abweichend von allen Geschöpfen (wegen seiner Schwärze) heraus." In the Midrash (*Genesis Rabba*, xxxvi, *ad finem*) a similar legend occurs, the statement about the raven, however, being omitted.

<sup>4</sup>Lyra died in 1340, and the *Cifar* was written in the first half of the fourteenth century. On the date of the *Cifar* cf. Professor Charles Philip Wagner's useful dissertation, *The Sources of El Cavallero Cifar*, *Revue hispanique*, X, 11. Professor Wagner does not deal with the legend discussed in this note.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Professor G. L. Hamilton's very learned article, *La Source d'un épisode de Baudouin de Sebourg*, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xxxvi, 143.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Herzog, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, cxlii, vi, 7. For assistance in connection with the preceding note I am indebted to Professor W. A. Oldfather, of the University of Illinois, and to Professor G. Deutsch, of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

## NOTES ON MILTON

As is well known to all scholars in the history of drama, William (afterwards Sir William) Davenant was in bad odour with the members of the Long Parliament and, before the outbreak of the Civil War, was accused of attempting to divert the army to the King's cause. These accusations were brought against Davenant in May, 1641. He made denials and apologies in "The Humble Petition of William Davenant" to the Parliament of that year,—a document scarcely known to historical students. After several attempts, he finally escaped to France where he learned the rudiments of those first productions of his in England (1656), among the most epoch-making events in the history of the Stage, the introduction of opera, scenes, and women actors into England, as well as paving the way to the Restoration drama. But in the meantime, in 1650, he planned to carry a ship load of weavers to Virginia from France. He was intercepted by the Parliamentary fleet before he got to sea, and was imprisoned in the castle at Cowes, Isle of Wight, whence he was later taken to the Tower of London. In July of that year, a special High Court was established to try Davenant and others for treason. Just how Davenant managed to escape has always remained a mystery. On the authority of Anthony à Wood (*Athenae Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, III, 805), it was "upon the mediation of Joh. Milton and others, especially two godly aldermen of York" (whom Davenant is said to have befriended under similar circumstances) that he was given his liberty as a prisoner at large. Theophilus Cibber (*Lives*, 1753, p. 73) repeats both stories with caution, rather favouring the Milton side of the matter. H. J. Todd in his *Life of Milton* (2nd ed., p. 101) says that the story of Milton's intercession in Davenant's behalf emanated from Richardson, the painter, who got it from Pope who got it first hand from Betterton, "the protégé of Davenant." In one of a series of articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1738, entitled "The Apotheosis of Milton. A Vision" (Oldys has been suggested

as the writer), it is again told without reservation that Milton obtained Davenant's pardon directly from Cromwell (*Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1738, p. 521). If this be true, it would forever settle the question whether Milton did, or did not, know the Protector personally. He may have done so, but, respecting the Davenant business, there is one bit of strong negative evidence on the other side. Aubrey, who got much of his information about the matter direct from Davenant himself, as regards the latter's release from prison, ascribes the influence to the two Yorkshire aldermen, but does not mention Milton's name in the connection. The probabilities are that both theories are untenable, and that Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, Commissioner of the Great Seal, was the immediate instrument that intervened to save Sir William, and it was certainly he who made it possible for Davenant to give his performances at Rutland House *stilo recitativo*, in 1656 (see *Memorials*, 1732, *passim*).

Turning to Milton's blindness, there is a curious entry in the work just quoted (*Memorials*, 645) in allusion to the long-drawn-out treaty negotiations between the representative of the Swedish Government and that of the Lord Protector in 1656. Under date of May 6 of that year, "the *Swedish* Ambassador again complained of the Delays in his Business, and that when he had desired to have the Articles of this Treaty put into Latin, according to the Custom in Treaties, that it was fourteen days they made him stay for that Translation, and sent it to one Mr. *Milton*, a blind Man, to put them into Latin; who he said, must use of an Amanuensis to read it to him, and that Amanuensis might publish the matter of the Articles as he pleased, and that it seems strange to him there should be none but a blind Man capable of putting a few Articles into Latin. . . . The employment of Mr. *Milton* was excused to him, because several other Servants of the Council fit for that Employment were then absent."

This is a most extraordinary record. The "one Mr. Milton" were the words, of course, of the Swedish ambassador (M. Coyet) as Whitelocke must have seen Milton often at the

Council, and elsewhere, in connection with international affairs. That the official from Upsala knew nothing of Milton is not to be wondered at, for Sweden was then only beginning to be known to the world at large. The latter part of Whitelocke's statement, though naïve, is still harder to understand. He himself boasts throughout his *Journals of the Swedish Embassy* that he speaks Latin as well as English. The only explanation left is that the "high style" for which Milton was employed as Latin Secretary was wanting in the other members of the Council.

Another reference to Milton's blindness which I have not seen quoted before occurs in a "letter of intelligence from the Hague," dated 20 June, 1653—a little over a year after Milton became totally blind. (The letter is also interesting from the point of linguistics.) The portion of interest to us here runs as follows: "Vous aves en Angleterre un aveugle nommé Milton, qui a le renom d'avoir bien escrit. En Hollande ou à Amsterdam nous avons le Sr. Blondel de même devenu aveugle: il est de Paris appellé à Amsterdam sur un salaire de 3600 francs, & devenu aveugle il a neantmoins pu dicter cecy. C'est un homme fort versé es antiquites & vieilles histoires, mais il ne semble que dans les nouvelles il hallucine & manque par fois." (Thurloe, *State Papers*, I, 281.)

On 16 June, 1660, the House of Commons ordered a royal proclamation for the calling in and burning of John Goodwin's *Obstructors of Justice* and Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio contra Claudii (alias Salmasii)*, etc., and for the apprehension of the two offenders. The proclamation was duly published two months later (13 Aug.) in newspapers and placards (cf. *Mercurius Publicus*, Aug. 9-16, 1660). Masson faithfully recorded this proclamation (*Milton*, VI, 181, 182) but not its sequel. This appeared in the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* for Sept. 3-10, 1660, and is as follows:

"This week (according to a former Proclamation) several Copies of those infamous Books made by *John Goodwin*, and *John Milton*, in justification of the horrid murder of

our late glorious Sovereign King CHARLES the First, were solemnly burn'd at the *Sessions-house* in the *Old Bayly*, by the hand of the Common Hangman."

If the following biography is not the shortest on record, it is certainly one of the most interesting. It was written just twelve years after Milton's death by Winstanley, an old royalist, in his *Lives of the most famous English Poets from William the Conqueror to these Present Times*: "John Milton was one, whose natural parts might deservedly give him a place amongst the principal of our English Poets, having written two Heroick Poems and a Tragedy; namely, *Paradice Lost*, *Paradice Regain'd*, and *Samson Agonista*. But his Fame is gone out like a Candle in a Snuff, and his Memory will always stink, which might have ever lived in honourable Repute, had not he been a notorious Traytor and most impiously and villainously bely'd that blessed Martyr King Charles the First."

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*English Literature, Medieval*, by W. P. KER.  
New York, Henry Holt and Company; London, Williams and Norgate, 1912.

Each new handbook dealing with Medieval English Literature is eagerly welcomed, for the impetus given during the past few years to the study of this subject has resulted in the overthrow of many old misconceptions. Professor Ker's reputation as an authority in this field gives assurance that his volume will be free from any sort of inaccuracy, and will keenly enunciate appreciations individual yet not aggressively opinionated. Issued for the Home University Library, the book is written in a style of easy, casual, meditative comment, well suited to the purpose of this series, which is to interest and allure the general reader; yet there is no dearth of interest for the specialist. The book has nine chapters arranged as

follows: Introduction, The Anglo-Saxon period, The Middle English Period, The Romances, Songs and Ballads, Comic Poetry, Allegory, Sermons and Histories in Verse and Prose, Chaucer. A very brief *Note on Books* and a good *Index* are included.

The possible service to the college student of such a volume is the question which concerns teachers who are searching for a compact handbook. This one will not supersede Professor Schofield's *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, nor Professor Snell's *The Age of Chaucer*, for it lacks their orderly and precise statement. For the professed student Mr. Ker's book is merely supplementary, and regarded in this way it has undoubted value as stimulus. It is rich in suggestion, it presents ideas vividly, showing an intense thoughtfulness. The first four chapters are admirably full of keenly imaginative criticism, for here Professor Ker makes very clear the formative influences, the genesis, of early literature, and he discusses brilliantly the growth and the interrelations of these works which combine both French and English traits.

The author's intention is to give inspiration to an incipient student rather than to instruct him in the dry details of dates and biography and in the subject-matter of important works. With an informality rather disturbing to the plodding reader, Professor Ker flies lightly from one poem to another, giving sometimes a full report of the subject-matter, source, form, and style, as in the case of *Sir Orfeo*, to which five pages are devoted, while *Guy of Warwick* is disposed of in a dozen lines, which tell us nothing about the outline of the story. Undoubtedly all of us who love the clear, brief, beauty of *Sir Orfeo* would prefer this, but does it give a right impression, to the general reader, of the relative popularity, influence, and even length of the two romances?

Omissions there must of course be in such a short treatise, and Professor Ker has chosen to omit all account of the miracle plays of the period, which fact is quite in keeping with his general tendency to consider the courtly products at the expense of the more popular. Nothing is said about the macaronic poetry of

the medieval student, and the treatment of the religious lyric seems singularly inadequate when one remembers how many hymns to the Virgin and to Christ were written in that period, works, often, of great elevation of feeling. "Mandeville," who has deluded many generations, is sternly excluded; that might be excused, but why should Richard Rolle and Wiclif be given mere chance allusions and not be discussed as influential forces in the history of English literature?

A pleasant element of defiance appears now and then when Professor Ker very mildly but most evidently declines to be a party to recent critical fiat regarding some medieval poems. His attitude towards the doctrine of plurality of authorship of *Piers Plowman* is one of surprise that such ideas can be. In his opinion, the author of *Piers Plowman* was unique, a true progressive whose literary work was fashioned and refashioned as his own life deepened. It is a satisfaction to find this scholar firmly on the side of those whose belief in one author cannot be overthrown by unsupported theory. Without hesitation Professor Ker informs us that in the *Pearl* "the dreamer is instructed as to the things of heaven by his daughter Marjory, the Pearl that he had lost." No student of human feeling can doubt that the *Pearl* is an elegy, so poignant is the expression of love and longing, but Professor Schofield is certainly right in contending that there is absolutely no warrant for associating the name *Marjory* with this piece of poetic symbolism.

On page 225, the critic comes out flatly with what he has hinted in earlier pages, an assertion about Gower. He says, "Gower should always be remembered along with Chaucer; *he is what Chaucer might have been without genius* [italics mine] and without his Italian reading, but with his critical tact, and much of his skill in verse and diction. The *Confessio Amantis* is monotonous, but it is not dull. Much of it at a time is wearisome, but as it is composed of a number of separate stories, it can be read in bits, and ought to be so read. Taken one at a time, the clear, bright little passages come out with a meaning and a charm that may be lost when the book is read too perseveringly."

This of Gower, this of the man who, to quote Lowell, "raised tediousness to a science," this of the man whose colorless, mechanical narratives drag along in couplets that are the despair of any one who tries to read them aloud! The one principle which Gower thoroughly understood was to allow no contrasts nor distinctions in his tales. His incidents, characters, and settings preserve a strict *incognito*. One of those "clear, bright little passages" comes to mind, from the tale of Daphne:—

"A dart of Led he caste and smot,  
Which was al cold and nothing hot."

In the study of Chaucer's work, Professor Ker writes with a fine discrimination regarding the influences which produced the master poet, and although the chapter is rather disorderly and hurried, it gives one a sense of depth. The psychology of Chaucer is interpreted with a sure perception of cause and effect. The poet is not depicted as an artificial register of impressions, but as a vivid, thoughtful personality, always eager for experience. This, after all, is the true aim of literary criticism,—to show that literature is no accident, but a development of inner and of outer resources, a mysterious but not inexplicable impulse that forces men to reveal their imaginative perceptions. Precise and well-arranged details we can get in formal text-books, but few of these books give us what Professor Ker does,—a conception of the charm and beauty and rich significance to be found in the study of literary history.

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*Les accents dans l'écriture française.* Etude critique de leurs diverses fonctions dans le passé et dans le présent, par ALBERT SCHINZ. Paris, Champion, 1912. 81 pp.

This interesting contribution to the question of French spelling reform was first published in the *Revue de Philologie française*, and does

not aim to give a complete and detailed history of the use of accent-marks in French, such as is found in Dr. Hillmann's dissertation, *Geschichte der Accentsetzung im Französischen seit der Erfindung des Buchdrucks*, published at Halle three years ago, a work to which Mr. Schinz copiously refers. It rather proposes to bring out the salient features of the long and complex evolution of modern usage. Consequently Mr. Schinz frequently passes over the names of more famous grammarians in favor of obscurer ones who have happened to advocate a rule that, for good or evil, eventually prevailed.

Accent-marks, or rather signs that resembled them, were used in mediæval manuscripts as well as in the first printed Latin books. Mr. Schinz, however, reaches the conclusion that these signs had a very different function from their older one in Greek and their newer one in French. "There is no transition from the Greek to the French through the means of mediæval Latin except death, and later, in some points only . . . resurrection." The use of accent-marks in French is consequently a case of "spontaneous generation," brought about by existing conditions; if no accent-marks had ever existed before, the grammarians of the sixteenth century would undoubtedly have invented them.

It was the generalizing and democratizing of education fostered by the invention of the printing-press that generated the use of accent-marks, consequently their real history does not begin till the sixteenth century. This history (*e. g.*, the "common-sense" influence of the *Précieuses*, the nugatory attitude of the French Academy) points several morals which in the matter of linguistic progress and reform might well be taken to heart even today, and that not in France alone.

It is natural that the chief interest of the conclusions which Mr. Schinz reaches concerning the present use (or abuse) of accents should lie in their bearing on the question of spelling reform. But to fully endorse these conclusions it would be necessary to completely accept Mr. Schinz's premises, and it is not always possible to reconcile these with some of the prevalent

opinions concerning the actual phonetic status of modern French.

It will be sufficient to examine here Mr. Schinz's views of the function of accent-marks in connection with the different *e*-sounds in French, as it is by far the most important. Mr. Schinz distinguishes six distinct varieties of *e*'s: (1) mute *e*; (2) semi-mute *e*; (3) short closed *e*; (4) long closed *e*; (5) short open *e*; (6) long open *e*. The first and second are easily known by position; the third and fourth are only found in the stressed syllable of a word as *é*, or known by position before silent *r* and *z*; the fifth is written *ê* when medial, or *ès* when final, or is known by position being checked; the sixth is written *ê* before a sounded syllable (*bêtise*), and *ê* before a mute or semi-mute syllable (*bête*), also *è* in same position (*calèche*), and finally known by position before *rr* (*guerre*).

On the analogy of *extrême* / *extrémité*, the circumflex should be abolished in words like *bêtise*, and the *é* would eventually lose its exceptional length. The grave could also be profitably substituted for the circumflex in words like *bête*; and the exceptional writing *erre* be reduced to the regular *ère*. But the reform need not stop here. In the body of a word *è* stands for long open *e* and *é* for short open *e*, but there also is a rule that a sounded *e* is long before a mute syllable and short before a sounded one: there is no need therefore for two different accents, and *é* could stand both in *père* and *périr*. The unusual notation *ès* might also be suppressed. Only *é* would remain, used so that:

(I) final *é* would always represent closed *e* except in *és* (the *s* not being plural), where it would stand for the short open sound of *e*;

(II) medial *é* would represent: (a) short open *e* before a pronounced syllable; (b) long open *e* before a mute or semi-mute syllable. Furthermore Mr. Schinz considers that semi-mute *e* is not really a French sound, that it sins against the phonetic system of the language which, freed from the influence of grammarians, would quickly assimilate words like *tenir* and *genou* to *ténébreus* and *génie*. Much could be said on this point, but it may be suffi-

cient to remark here that it is the "popular" words *tenir* and *genou*, not the patently "learned words" *ténébreus* and *génie* that contain the objectionable un-French semi-mute. Assuming that the semi-mute should disappear from the language, Mr. Schinz proposes to drop *é* altogether in pretonic syllables. In addition to this, since the sound of final *e* can easily be determined by the sense of the words, even the acute accent could in theory be abolished, the following rules being a sufficient guide for pronunciation:

(I) Final *e* is silent (the sign of the plural making no difference); *es* stands for short open *e*.

(II) Medial *e* is (a) short open when checked and when it precedes a pronounced syllable; (b) long open before a mute or semi-mute syllable.

However, Mr. Schinz concludes that final *é* is a help in reading even to "intellectuals," and can therefore be allowed to stand; medial *é* helps to distinguish between semi-mute and open *e* for those readers who are not sure of the correct pronunciation, and will therefore persist as long as this "dead" sound is kept in speech. The complete abolition of the grave and circumflex accents is advocated as a distinct benefit to the language.

In its simplicity Mr. Schinz's system is certainly alluring, but the objections to it are obvious. Mr. Schinz's views both of the quantity and the quality of the *e*-sounds differ considerably from the one taken by some of the leading authorities on phonetics. With regard to the pretonic *e*'s, Mr. Schinz himself states that he differs from the indications given by the *Dictionnaire Général*; with regard to length it can be pointed out that of the nine words quoted by Mr. Schinz (pp. 59, 60) as containing long *e*, four are marked short in Michaelis & Passy's dictionary; these words being *calèche*, *fidèle*, *achèterai*, *avènement*.

These objections do not at all question the existence of the pronunciation assumed and advocated by Mr. Schinz, but merely its prevalence. The question, moreover, is not one of the kind that can be solved at long range; its solution must be left to those who are in a con-

dition to make not only minute individual but also broad statistical observations.

Meanwhile Mr. Schinz's study cannot fail to suggest much that is of interest to those who are concerned in the vital question of spelling reform.

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*The Philosophy of Schiller*, by EMIL CARL WILM. Boston: John W. Luce & Co., 1912. 183 pp.

A valuable presentation of an interesting subject. Schiller unquestionably enjoys the distinction of being the most philosophical man of letters, or the most literary philosopher of modern times, and while he is thought of even in his own country primarily as a poet and dramatist it is to the philosophical substratum in his writings that their enduring cultural value is undoubtedly in large measure due. The late Professor James has somewhere quaintly remarked that it is of greater importance for the mistress of a lodging house to be acquainted with the philosophy of life of a prospective inmate than with the size of his bank account. One might add that the bank account holds out to the individual a far less certain hope of earthly immortality than a correct system of philosophy. Modern America is perhaps as indifferent to philosophy, pure or applied, as any country or nation which is so fortunate as to be considered enlightened, and it is therefore here and now that the writings of a Schiller and the sympathetic critique of trained interpreters can be of the most immediate service. The writer welcomes the present volume as one fitted to acquaint the reader not merely with the ideas that governed the mind of one of Germany's most high-souled and gifted writers but to launch him upon the main current of philosophical thought that has flowed with less interruption perhaps than any other stream of human activity from ancient times down to the present day. Professor Wilm gives,

indeed, more than the title of his book would indicate, in that a whole chapter is devoted to "The Historical Background, Leibniz and the British Moralists," while toward the end of the discussion Schiller's relation to Post-Kantian Idealism, chiefly as represented by Fichte, is considered at some length. Greater attention is, of course, paid to the influence of Kant, and it is here that Schiller's real value as a philosophical thinker comes most clearly into view. For as Goethe, according to his own statement, was led to his evolutionary view of nature (*Metamorphosen*) through his instinctive apprehension of the inadequacy of the Linnæan system of classification as a sufficient basis for scientific thought, so Schiller, dissatisfied with the neglect by Kant of the sensuous side of man's nature, is led to his conception of beautiful conduct (*die schöne Sittlichkeit*) and the beautiful soul (*die schöne Seele*), in which *inclination vs. duty* has given way to *inclination to duty*.

The fundamental difference in ethical thought between these two eminent contemporaries is indicated most happily by Professor Wilm in these words:

"While Kant had unbounded confidence in the power of reason, and was jealous of its prerogatives, regarding feeling as an incompetent and dangerous guide to the will, Schiller was rather inclined to doubt the capacity of reason, considered in independence of the emotional nature, to furnish a sufficient motive for conduct, and had unlimited confidence, on the other hand, in the possibility of the education of feeling to the point where the will might surrender itself completely to its guidance, and have no occasion to fear for the consequences."

A superficial criticism, sometimes directed against Schiller, though more frequently against Goethe, is that he neglected the deeper interests of humanity, particularly its religious aspirations, in an exaggerated devotion to the æsthetic pleasures of art. The answer to this criticism consists not in minimizing the value which Schiller placed on art but rather in showing what lofty purposes he hoped to attain through the æsthetic education of man.

"As in art we obey the law of nature with gladness, so also should it be in conduct, which, from one point of view, may be considered as

one of the fine arts, and not the least noble." (Wilm, 143.)

"He emphasized the possibility of this moral education through the refinement of man's æsthetic nature by means of the objects of æsthetic appreciation, and he himself became a distinguished leader in moral and political reform by the products, not often surpassed in imaginative sweep and artistic finish, of his poetic activity." (Wilm, 171.)

The author's evaluation of Schiller's permanent contributions to æsthetics and philosophy is generous but just. And if Schiller the philosopher has been overshadowed in the popular estimation by Schiller the poet and playwright the book before us will do much toward establishing a better balanced appreciation of the whole Schiller,—Schiller the man.

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GIOVANNI BUSNELLI, *Il concetto e l'ordine del 'Paradiso' dantesco*, 2 vols., Città di Castello: Casa Tipografico-editrice S. Lapi, 1911-12.

Remote from latter-day philosophy and science, isolated in its well-nigh incorporeal beauty and its message of absolute surrender to the divine will, Dante's *Paradiso* has intimidated rather than allured the casual reader, and has offered the modern elucidator little promise of easy conquest. While commentators swarm thick as flies over the *Inferno*, and hover in clouds (though at a more respectful distance) about the *Purgatorio*, relatively few have dared to make a resolute attack on the last *cantica*. Gardner's excellent guide, *Dante's Ten Heavens*, hardly attempts to go beyond the obvious. Moore is concerned almost exclusively with the physical skies. Vossler's keen and learned study of the *Göttliche Komödie* does not take us very far heavenward. D'Ovidio has added no *Paradiso* to his fascinating *Purgatorio*. Even Flamini, so well equipped for the adventure, apparently balks at the third volume of

his *Significati reconditi della Divina Commedia*—the one which is to deal with the "fine supremo."

In the last few years, however, a couple of unusually competent scholars have made amends for many decades of comparative neglect. E. G. Parodi has published in the *Fanfulla della Domenica* of Dec. 5, 1908, and in the memorial volume dedicated to Pio Rajna, 1911, considerations on the structure of Dante's *Paradiso* which penetrate far beneath the surface. And now Father Busnelli (a pupil of Flamini, who contributes a short introductory letter), steeped in scholastic lore and well attuned to his task, offers to mature students not only a compendium of the philosophical and theological influences that must have affected Dante's thought, but also a series of highly ingenious hypotheses as to the poet's general conception of Heaven and his reasons for conceiving it as he probably did. Busnelli was previously known to scholars as the author of *L'Etica nicomachea e l'ordinamento dell' 'Inferno' di Dante*, 1907, *L'ordinamento del 'Purgatorio' dantesco*, 1908, and *Il simbolo delle tre fiere dantesche*, 1909. Clever as these investigations were, the present work is very much more important. It is not a book for rapid perusal. While Busnelli can be eloquent when the subject demands, he is not at all prone to the facile verbosity which makes most Dante literature such thin reading. His pages are full, both of solid matter requiring time for digestion, and of intricate conjectures which must be carefully studied and weighed. Whether we agree with him or not, he makes us think, and shows us how to think in Dantesque fashion. Noteworthy, in a field where vulgar abuse is unfortunately so rife, is his courtesy in handling the opinions of other critics. This urbanity does not desert him even in his sturdy and inspiring defence of the supreme loveliness of the *Paradiso*.

Two great problems which Dante often touches upon, but—like all his predecessors and followers—leaves without satisfactory answer, our author prudently refrains from discussing: the origin of evil and the relation of free will to predestination. Upon predestina-

tion, in fact, Busnelli may seem to bear rather lightly, when we consider that it is really the keynote of the *Paradiso*, as free will has been rightly called the theme of the *Purgatorio*. The mystery of God's foreordaining is surely the thought uppermost in Dante's mind in his distribution of beatitude; and this should make us cautious about trying to lay out the Rose of Paradise according to any humanly logical scheme. Dante's assignment of different degrees of happiness to babes that died before exercising election—a doctrine which (as Busnelli points out) runs counter to the poet's master, St. Thomas—indicates clearly enough the basic principle of allotment in the Emyrean.

In some other matters Busnelli is led by the very fulness of his information, as well as by the example of the scholastic theologians he has been frequenting, to indulge in rather fine-spun speculation and to read into his author things which the author himself does not suggest. For instance, he follows St. Thomas in a lengthy dissertation—founded on an accident of phrase—concerning three kinds of sight supposed to be indicated by St. Paul's words (1 Cor. XIII, 12), "For now we see as in a glass, darkly, but then face to face"—"*Videmus nunc per speculum, in ænigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem.*" The distinction of three types of motion in angels,—circular, straight, and oblique,—laid down by the Pseudo-Dionysius and by St. Thomas, while it may have been present in Dante's mind, has left no evident mark in his poem. On the other hand, some light is thrown on the allegory of the point and circles (representing God and the Angelic orders) by the citation of analogous figures from St. Thomas and from Boethius. The treatment of the symbolic colors of the three Christian Virtues, with a comparison of the rainbow and the three rings of the Trinity, although it leads to no positive identification, helps to reveal the chaotic background out of which Dante's concepts emerged. It is just as well for us to remember that serious, powerful minds were bent on determining the exact hues indicated by the gems in Rev. iv, 3: 'And he that sat was to look upon like a *jasper* and a *sardine*

*stone*: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an *emerald*.' Illumining, for the appreciation of the final "*ruota ch' igualmente è mossa*" (an image admirably discussed by J. B. Fletcher in the *Nation* of Dec. 29, 1910), are St. Thomas's words: "*Et ideo circularitas motus animæ completur in hoc quod ad Deum manuducit.*" Such a parallel is interesting, if for no other reason, as an illustration of the difference between prose and poetry. In dealing with the unknown source of Dante's portrayal of Paradise in the form of a rose, Busnelli presents the attractive suggestion that the poet derived the idea of a vast amphitheatre from a visit to the Roman Coliseum.

Perhaps the most satisfactory chapter is that containing the commentary on cantos XXIII-XXVII—the gathering of all the blest in the eighth sphere, and the triumph of Christ, Mary, and St. Peter. Old tradition makes the starry heaven a symbol of the Church; hence its appropriateness for such an assembly. Hence, too, its fitness (in Busnelli's opinion) to serve as the proper sphere of the Apostles, and presumably of the Evangelists and of Adam, above the rest of humanity. The spectacle here depicted is the counterpart of the pageant described at the end of the *Purgatorio*, the Church Militant having now become the Church Triumphant. Here, on the borderland of the visible and the invisible world, the God-Man comes to meet the ascending human creature. Here the three Apostles, types of the three Christian Virtues, dance before Beatrice, as the Virtues themselves did in the Garden of Eden. Here these Virtues are celebrated by the traveler. And it is suitable that their glorification should come from the lips of man, since they are essentially of the first life rather than the second; for while the blest retain Love, purified and intensified, their Faith has been transformed to knowledge, and their Hope to fulfilment. In the rising of Christ and Mary, before the waiting host, we have a representation of the Ascension and the Assumption. St. Peter, on the other hand, triumphs without leaving his flock, remaining below in the place of Jesus. On this occasion the An-

gels, who owe nothing to the Saviour of mankind, do not appear. But a conspicuous place is assigned to Adam, originator of the "felix culpa" which called forth the Redemption.

In the lower spheres vast numbers of blessed spirits are seen by Dante, and in this one all the souls of Paradise appear to him; yet we are told that their real abode is not in the material heavens, but in the Empyrean, beyond the confines of the physical universe. How are we to understand their apparently dual presence? The *Paradiso* itself offers no positive answer. Did the poet conceive of himself as seeing the things he describes, or as dreaming them; or did he dream some and see others? The problem of the nature of Dante's vision is bound up with the question (raised by the Apostle himself) whether St. Paul, when "he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter," was "in the body, or out of the body." St. Augustine, St. Thomas, and others discuss the matter at some length, without reaching a definite conclusion. With regard to the closely related question whether St. Paul actually saw God, St. Augustine and St. Thomas incline to the affirmative, but all the intervening theologians are on the other side. It seems altogether likely that Dante followed St. Thomas in his uncertainty over the first problem and in his answer to the second. But even this assumption leaves us in doubt about the twofold, or threefold, location of the happy spirits. Busnelli properly rejects the theory that the poet's journey through the spheres is to be taken as a purely imaginary experience, a preliminary, allegorical version of the reality of Paradise. The query then remains whether the souls, without leaving the Empyrean, merely project their semblances into the lower heavens, or actually quit for a while their seats in Paradise, to greet the upward faring traveler. Busnelli prefers the latter view, which, as he shows, is not inconsistent with theological teaching. There is authority for the opinion that the blest can assume unsubstantial but visible bodies, to converse with the living, and that they can move from place to place without ever losing sight of God. Furthermore, a dis-

inction is made by St. Thomas between the "essential reward" of the elect and their "accidental reward": the former consists in their contemplation of the Lord, which never changes; the latter, which is capable of variation, consists in the happiness due to good deeds performed by themselves or others. The existence of the blest is both quiet and active. As far as their "premium essenziale" is concerned, they are immutably in the presence of God; but the enjoyment of their "premium accidentale" may carry them hither and thither.

Busnelli's main thesis still remains to be stated. While the seating of the elect in the Rose depicts allegorically their "essential reward," their distribution through the spheres (which is neither more nor less symbolical than their appearance in the Empyrean) indicates their "accidental reward," corresponding directly to their conduct on earth. For the idea of a diversity of happiness in Heaven there is abundant theological authority. The "many mansions" of John xiv, 2, are interpreted as different degrees in the knowledge of God, which is the source of joy. The Divine Care, in itself, is the same for all, but its gifts are various. The "essential reward" depends on the intensity of love in each soul, which is a result of Grace; the "accidental reward" corresponds to the nature of service done, and this is determined largely by endowments coming from the stars. From the hodge-podge of mediæval astrology Dante selected those stellar influences which were manifestly appropriate to the several heavenly bodies and were at the same time consistent with his ethical scheme. St. Thomas, in his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, attributes to each planet a certain dominant effect, and these effects accord in part—but only in part—with the influences chosen by Dante; for instance, he assigns stability to Saturn, change to the Moon. At first sight, the scale of blessedness in Dante's spheres would seem to be founded entirely on this astrological principle. But Busnelli discovers in the plan a theological principle also, ingeniously harmonized with the astronomical. The gradation of the blest, even in the material

heavens, is based on Charity, or love of God, which is the basis of diversity in merit and reward. Now, according to St. Thomas, there are three degrees of charity, corresponding to three stages of human perfection: "incipient," "proficient," and "perfect." "Incipient charity" is lodged by Dante in the Moon; "proficient charity" in Mercury, Venus, and the Sun; "perfect charity" in Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Charity of any grade may reside in deed, will, or intellect; and these three manifestations of it form an ascending scale. Busnelli would have it that in the "incipient" stage, typified by the Moon, charity of all three kinds is imperfect. In the "proficient" stage, charity of deed is symbolized by Mercury, charity of will by Venus, charity of intellect by the Sun. In the "perfect" stage, we find charity of deed in Mars, charity of will in Jupiter, charity of intellect in Saturn. Thus we have a threefold partition of the planets (Moon; Mercury, Venus, Sun; Mars, Jupiter, Saturn), different from the astronomical and ethical grouping (Moon, Mercury, Venus; Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn). This apparently over-subtle classification is fortified by an abundance of apposite quotation from Thomas Aquinas, whom Dante studied with such devotion; and the reader who begins with uncompromising doubt is likely to be persuaded, before the evidence is all in, that the poet at least had St. Thomas's stages and types of charity in mind when he planned the *Paradiso*, and so contrived his heavens that their character should not be out of keeping with the ideas of his teacher.

Moreover, St. Thomas informs us that three kinds of life are figured by the planets: the active, the voluptuous, the contemplative. To these correspond three desires, which, by subdivision of the first two, increase to seven. Rearranged in the order of Dante's spheres, they may be made to appear as follows: self-preservation (voluptuous); fame (active), pleasure (voluptuous), wealth of wisdom (active); strong and rational action (active), government (active), knowledge of truth (contemplative). Thus phrased, and in this sequence, they exactly fit our poet's seven planets: Moon; Mercury, Venus, Sun; Mars, Jupiter, Saturn.

Of this distinction of "desires" we may say that, since Dante almost certainly knew it, we are probably justified in thinking that it contributed to the shaping of his conception of the scale of merit. Some other less successful comparisons urged by Busnelli need not be mentioned, as they are not essential to his argument. Unconvincing on the whole, is his correlation of the heavens with the virtues and with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. As to the relation of the orders of Angels to the classes of blest who appear in their heavens, even Busnelli confesses his inability to find a general principle of connection.

A table at the end of the second volume conveniently displays the several features of the scheme expounded in this erudite, penetrating, and sympathetic study.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### ANOTHER NOTE ON WARD

#### *To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—Like your correspondent, Miss Martin (*M. L. N.*, xxvii, 198) I have noted a number of small omissions and oversights in Ward's excellent *History of English Dramatic Literature*. Here is one of them.

In discussing the date of the production of *Macbeth*, Ward rightly rejects Malone's absurd contention that the mention of "the farmer that hang'd himself on the expectation of plenty" indicates the date of 1606, that being a year of heavy crops and low prices. But he rejects it on the ground that there were low prices for farm products in other years, overlooking the fact that this suicidal farmer occurs in Jonson's *Every Man Out of his Humour* (1599), where the miser Sordido hangs himself in apprehension of a plenteous harvest and low prices.

Jonson took the incident from Castiglione's *Courtier*. I quote from Hoby's version (1561).

"A covetous manne whiche woulde not sell hys corne while it was at a hye price, when he sawe afterwarde it had a great falle, for desperacion he hanged himself upon a beame in his chamber, and a servaunt of his, hearing the noise, made speede, and seeing his maister hang, furthwith cut in sunder the rope and so saved him from death: afterwarde when the covetous man came to himselfe, he woulde have had hys servaunt to have payde him for his halter that he had cut."

Jonson's Sordido, when cut down by rustics, cries

"How! cut the halter! ah me, I am undone! . . . You thread-bare, horse-bread-eating rascals, if you would needs have been meddling, could you not have untied it? But you must cut it, and in the midst, too!"

WM. HAND BROWNE.

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#### DANGIERS LI VILAINS

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Since publishing the short article identifying Dangers of the *Roman de la Rose* with the typical devil of the mediaeval Christian visions,<sup>1</sup> there has come to my hand evidence that the fifteenth century poet, Charles d'Orléans, had noted the resemblance. The first of two significant passages occurs in a ballad in which happy love is figuratively spoken of as paradise, and unhappy love as purgatory:<sup>2</sup>

Mon cueur au derrain entrera  
Ou Paradis des amoureux,  
Autrement tort fait lui sera,  
Car il a de maulx doloieux  
Plus d'un cent, non pas ung ou deux,  
Pour servir sa belle maistresse;  
Et le tient Dangier le crueulx  
Ou Purgatoire de Tristesse.

Even more conclusive is a line from the *rondel* beginning, *Dedans l'abisme de douleur*:<sup>3</sup>

Dangier, des dyables le greigneur.

STANLEY LEMAN GALPIN.

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<sup>1</sup> *Romanic Review*, Vol. II, pp. 320-322.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Guichard, Paris, 1842, pages 34-35.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Guichard, pages 352-3.

#### Thrim IN THE *Heliand*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the third and last edition (1910) by Professor Behaghel of Giessen of the Old Saxon *Heliand* the word *thrim*, occurring lines 501-502:

"That wirðid thi werk mikil  
thrim te githolonna"

is followed in the vocabulary by a question mark. The meaning 'sorrow,' 'anguish,' suggested by the context and tentatively adopted by Schmeller and Heyne, earlier editors of the *Heliand*, has evidently been rejected by Professor Behaghel for lack of proof by etymological connection. This meaning can be kept, however, and a satisfactory etymological explanation found, if *thrim* is taken to be connected with the strong verb *thrimman*, occurring in line 5000 of the *Heliand*:

"Thes thram imu an innan môd  
bittro an is breostun,"

for which the meaning 'tremble' is generally accepted. *Thrim* would then be a strong noun, having the same relation to *thrimman* as O. S. *fal* to *fallen* or *dêl* to *dêlian*, and with the meaning, a state of trembling or of anguish.

This relation was suggested by both Schmeller and Heyne, but it is a curious fact that while *thrimman* has been brought into connection with a well-known Indo-Germanic group, *thrim* has been entirely overlooked, so far as I have been able to ascertain. Schade: *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch* (2nd ed., 1878) gives under *thrim*: "stm(?) oder n(?) schwerer Kummer?" under *thrimman*: "springen, hüpfen, sich bewegen, cf. got. *thramstei*, Heuschrecke, (eigentlich die springende)." Feist: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* (1909) gives under *þramstei*: "a. s. *thrimman*, springen, hüpfen, nur *thram imu môd*, *Hel.*, 5002 (5000 in Behaghel's edition); Aisl. *þramma*, trampeln; mndd. *drammen*, lärmern; gr. *trémō*; lat. *tremo*; lit. *trimù*, zittere; gr. *trómos*, das zittern, lett. *tremt*, trampeln."

Fick: *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1909) gives under *Prem* the same references as Feist.

The addition of *thrim* to this group would clear up the passage in *Heliland*, 502, and give a satisfactory etymological connection to a word which must otherwise be considered as isolated.

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#### BEN JONSON'S LOMBARD PROVERB

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxvii, p. 198, Professor J. F. L. Raschen suggests a Dutch or German origin for the slang phrase "to get cold feet," in the sense of "to recede from a difficult position, or to lose one's nerve;" and he cites a novel by the Low German writer Fritz Reuter, published in 1862, in which a card-player in bad luck gives "cold feet" as an excuse for quitting the game. Noting the absence of the phrase from the *Oxford Dictionary* and from various works on English and American slang, he remarks that it "does not appear in English in former days." However, a similar phrase in Ben Jonson's *Volpone* has possibly an allied meaning. Attention has already been called to the passage by Dr. L. H. Holt, "Notes on Ben Jonson's *Volpone*," in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, June, 1905 (vol. xx, p. 167). In the second act of the play, *Volpone*, disguised as a "mountebank doctor," explains to the crowd why he has fixed his bank in an obscure nook of the Piazza of St. Mark's instead of a more prominent place:

Let me tell you: I am not, as your Lombard proverb saith, cold on my feet; or content to part with my commodities at a cheaper rate, than I accustomed: look not for it.

In other words, he is not so "hard up" as to be obliged to sell his wares at a sacrifice. When we follow the author's obvious indication and turn to dictionaries and phrase-books of the Northern Italian dialects, we find, e. g., in E. Restelli, *I Proverbi milanesi* . . . *col-l'aggiunta delle frasi e de' modi proverbiali più*

*in uso* (Milan, 1885, p. 177): *Avegh minga frecc i pee, essere ricco di denari, di beni di fortuna*. Exactly the same equivalent is given for the phrase: *Nen aveje freid ai pe*, in V. di Sant' Albino, *Gran Dizionario piemontese-italiano* (Torino, 1859, p. 865, s. v. *pe*). So also Zalli, *Dizionario piemontese-italiano* (Carmagnola, 1830, s. v. *pe*): *Aveje o patì freid ai pe, esser poverello*; while the same meaning is evidently intended in F. Cherubini, *Vocabolario milanese-italiano* (Milano, 1841, vol. III, p. 294, s. v. *pe*; cf. 1814 edition): *Avegh o avegh minga frecc i pee, Essere o non esser ricco di danaro*. Apparently it is only in Piedmont and Lombardy that the expression "to have cold feet" is used in exactly this way; but in Tuscany *freddare uno* means "to get a person's money away from him" (see Tommaseo e Bellini, *Dizionario*, s. v. *freddare*, with quotation from *Panciatichi: dopo aver freddati molti giocatori*). In the *Incantesimi* of G. M. Cecchi (act II, sc. 5) occurs the expression: *giovannotti di prima barba che vengono su caldi di voglie e non freddi di danari*. In his annotations to Buonarruoti's *La Fiera* (Firenze, 1726, p. 391), A. M. Salvini says: "Nel giuoco si dice ancora, *freddare uno*, cioè togliergli affatto i danari, e farlo rimanere freddo." Finally a familiar phrase in *Straforello, Sapienza del Mondo*, s. v. *freddo*, corresponds exactly to Ben Jonson's proverb: "*Aver freddo ai piedi*. Di chi è astretto dal bisogno a vendere le sue merci men di quello che vagliono."

If the original figurative meaning of the expression "to have cold feet" was "to be without money," its connection with gambling is obvious. And if a card-player, as a pretext for quitting the game in which he has lost his money, says that his feet are cold, the expression might come to mean in general "to recede from a difficult position," or more specifically, "to be without money." What, then, is the relationship, if any, between the "Lombard proverb," the Low German novel, and the modern colloquial phrase?

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## BRIEF MENTION

*Selections from Chaucer, including his earlier and his later verse and an example of his prose.* Edited with an introduction and notes, by Clarence Griffin Child (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1912). Why another text-book introductory to Chaucer? Just because, in this instance, the possibility of helping the beginner in another manner has been somewhat independently conceived. This book is therefore to be judged, as indeed all books should be judged, according to the merit and according to the execution of its plan and purpose. The author of a well-made book must have in mind a definable purpose and he must fulfil his promise by good workmanship. Dr. Child has successfully absolved this double requirement. The reader is not now to be concerned about the interests of the antiquary, but a happily devised analogue is introduced to assist him in forming a clear notion of why he should read the author of five hundred years ago, whose writings constitute a rich heritage for "every one who has in him the capacity to care for the brightness and beauty of the world, and for varied aspects of life and human nature;" for the keen and sympathetic observations of a great poet, and for his exquisite art. The persuasive argument is closed with a statement of an all-important Platonic tenet: "for it is through the appreciation of artistic beauty that we most surely attain to the highest truth, to the ability to understand the true relations and the true values of things, which is called culture." This rebukes that popular notion of literary culture which over-estimates superficial knowledge and merest trivialities. In providing an easy introduction to Chaucer, Dr. Child has succeeded in encouraging coherent thinking and a sustained effort in striving to understand the character and value of the gratifications supplied by the old author. The reader is brought well on his way to a just appreciation of how Chaucer came to be what he was and to write as he did by well-considered chapters on his life and works; and his language, pronunciation, and versification are, in additional chapters, divested of those usually conceived hindrances to a direct access. The selection of texts is favorable to the purpose of the book; the notes and glossary are also adequate. But a point must be raised against Dr. Child's scansion of a considerable number of lines. In these he has inadvertently or too subjectively not accepted what is indisputably the rhythm of Chaucer, but has assumed and marked for the eye 'initial inversions' that must in many instances surprise even the non-technical reader, who without such

direction, would be right in not suspecting a change in the place of the stress in, for example, ten of the eleven marked lines on page 25. The running head-lines of a portion of the book should be revised. It is especially desirable that reference to the notes be facilitated by the help of this device.

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The *Loeb Classical Library*,<sup>1</sup> of which nine volumes have appeared, will include "all that is of value and of interest in Greek and Latin literature, from the time of Homer to the Fall of Constantinople." The Latin or Greek texts are published in full, with an English page-by-page translation facing the original text. Where satisfactory existing translations could be procured these have been used, otherwise special translations have been made for the series. The general editorial work is under the direction of T. E. Page and W. H. D. Rouse, with the coöperation of an Advisory Board composed of Salomon Reinach and Maurice Croiset, in France; Otto Crusius and Hermann Diels, in Germany; J. G. Frazer and A. D. Godley, in England; Edward Capps, William G. Hale and John William White, in America;—ample evidence, indeed, of the importance of the undertaking, and of the determination to attain a high grade of scholarship. The texts at hand include Terence, two vols., with translation by John Sargeant; Euripides, vols. I and II, with translation by Arthur S. Way; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, with translation by F. C. Conybeare; Propertius, with translation by H. E. Butler; St. Augustine's *Confessions*, translated by William Watts (1631), and edited by W. H. D. Rouse. In each case the edition contains a short critical introduction and a biographical note, the latter varying from a scant item in the case of Philostratus, to more detailed and satisfying lists with Euripides and St. Augustine. An index accompanies the volumes on Propertius, Philostratus and St. Augustine, and the translation of Terence contains the stage directions of the English version acted in Westminster. The Loeb collection is of especial interest to the student of modern languages who would know the classics either as monuments of literature or as stages in later literary history. While reading the English versions, he has the original text constantly and readily at hand for confirmation or consultation.

<sup>1</sup> London, William Heineman; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1912. 16 mo. \$1.50 per vol.

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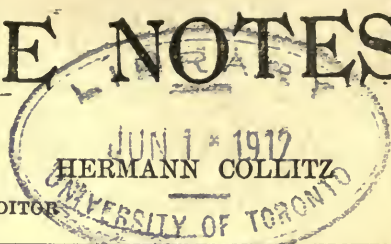
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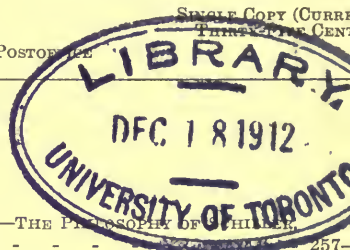
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